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De Bow



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THE
INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES, ETC.,
OF THE
SOUTHERN AND WESTERN STATES:

EMBRACING A VIEW OF THEIR

COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS,
SLAVE AND FREE LABOR, SLAVERY INSTITUTIONS,
PRODUCTS, ETC., OF THE SOUTH,

Together with

HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL SKETCHES OF THE DIFFERENT STATES AND CITIES OF
THE UNION—STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES,
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS, COMPARED WITH OTHER LEADING POWERS—THE
RESULTS OF THE DIFFERENT CENSUS RETURNS SINCE 1790, AND RETURNS OF THE
CENSUS OF 1850, ON POPULATION, AGRICULTURE AND GENERAL INDUSTRY, ETC.,

WITH AN APPENDIX.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

BY J. D. B. DE BOW,

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, ETC., IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA.

PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICE OF DE BOW'S REVIEW.

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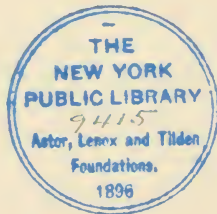
167 BROADWAY, NEW-YORK; AND EAST BAY AND BROAD STREETS, CHARLESTON.

1853.

1871

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Vol. II.
The paper on the early history of Mississippi, page 21, is from the pen of the Hon. J. M. Chilton; that on Maryland, by R. G. Barnwell, Esq.; on Missouri and North Carolina, by Prof. Duncan; on the Mexican Republic, Hon. Joel R. Poinsett; Mexican Mines, Brantz Mayer; Manufacturing Industry, 101, Senator James, of R. I.; New-York, T. P. Kettell; Negro Slavery, Chancellor Harper and Hon. J. H. Hammond; Negro Laws of the South, Hon. J. B. O'Neal; Negro Diseases, Dr. Cartwright; Negro Life Insurance, Dr. J. C. Nott; Pennsylvania, A. W. Ely, M. D.; Rice, R. W. Allston, of S. C., &c.



DE BOW'S REVIEW

VOLS. I TO XIII.

MONTHLY INDUSTRIAL AND LITERARY JOURNAL.

Illustrated with Steel Engravings.

COMMERCE—AGRICULTURE—MANUFACTURES—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—SLAVERY AND
SLAVE PRODUCTS—AMERICAN AND FOREIGN STATISTICS.

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Advocating the interests of the South and West, the REVIEW will not be unmindful of the great interests of TRADE, COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE throughout the world—Commerce in its various and multiform relations—in its History, its Laws, and its Statistics; Commercial Commodities; Regulations of Trade, interstate and international; Treaties; Foreign and Domestic; Tariffs, Excises and Posts; Marine Relations; Enterprises of Commerce, in SHIPPING, CANALS, RAIL-ROADS AND STEAM NAVIGATION, etc.; Mercantile Systems, Codes, Laws and Decisions, ancient as well as Modern; Banking, Insurance, Exchange, Partnership, Factorage, Guaranty, Brokerage, Bankruptcy, Wreck, Salvage, Freights, Privateering, Marque and Reprisal, Piracy, Quarantine and Custom-House Regulations, etc., etc.; COMMERCIAL LITERATURE AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE REVIEW is rapidly growing in circulation, and will exhibit many great improvements in the coming year, in size, matter and appearance. The following are its leading divisions:

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VIII. ADVERTISEMENTS OF PLANTATIONS, Southern schools, colleges, watering places, factories, mercantile and professional cards, agricultural machinery, etc.

NEW-ORLEANS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, May 14th, 1846.

Be it Resolved, That this Chamber highly approves of the Commercial Review, a periodical established in this city, by J. D. B. De Bow, Esq., and recommends it to the patronage of the commercial community.

SAMUEL J. PETERS, President.

CHARLES BRIGGS, Secretary.

CHARLESTON MERCANTILE LIBRARY SOCIETY, Feb., 1847.

In exercise of the power given them by the Constitution, the Board have unanimously elected, as Honorary Members, Freeman Hunt and J. D. B. De Bow, Esqrs. These gentlemen are entitled to wide and honorable distinction. The former in originating the Merchants' Magazine; the latter, one of our own citizens, in the laudable spirit which prompted the establishment of the Commercial Review of the South and West, and the masterly pen which he has wielded in elucidation of the commercial interests of the South, have richly earned our most grateful acknowledgments.

A. O. ANDREWS, President.

CHARLESTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, Oct. 26, 1846.

On motion of Col. James Gadsden, Resolved, that the Commercial Review, edited in New-Orleans by our fellow-citizen, J. D. B. De Bow, Esq., is a work well calculated to exercise a most favorable influence on the commercial interests of the South and West.

Resolved, That the zeal and talent with which it has been commenced, and the able articles which have appeared in its pages, (as foreshadowing on the future the promises of the past,) strongly recommend the Review to the patronage of the Southern community, and that the Chamber of Commerce of Charleston feel gratified at the opportunity of presenting to the public this testimony in its favor. W. B. HERIOT, Secretary.

CINCINNATI MERCANTILE LIBRARY SOCIETY, Jan., 1849.

Resolved, As the sense of the Mercantile Library Association of Cincinnati, that De Bow's Commercial Review of the South and West supplies an important desideratum in the mercantile literature of this great western valley; that the comprehensive views and practical attainments of Professor De Bow are special qualifications for conducting such a periodical, and that this Association very cordially recommend the Commercial Review to general favor, and the special patronage of our mercantile community.

DEPARTMENTS OF THE REVIEW.

The different departments of the REVIEW will be kept up faithfully from month to month, so as to preserve, in a convenient form for study or for reference, everything that particularly appertains to them, or that may be of value to the country.

Commercial Department.—Its statistics are full and complete upon every crop or community—the trade of every city and state of the Union, and of foreign countries. Here are included *Treaties and Tariffs, Shipping and Steam Navigation, Mercantile Laws and Decisions, Finances and Banking, Commercial Literature and Biography*. To Merchants and Bankers in particular these statistics are invaluable.

Agricultural Department.—Every staple product of the Southern and Western Country, under this head, receives its appropriate place, and everything tending to their advancement is carefully embodied and presented. The pens of practical planters are employed, who contribute their own experience for the benefit of their fellows. The agricultural information is thus specially adapted to our own localities, an advantage not possessed by works published abroad, which we have been hitherto supporting. Practical and scientific papers upon agriculture are included from the best authorities in our country and in Europe. The cotton planter finds the most interesting monthly summaries of information relating to the plant—the *estimates of crops, the mode of cultivation, extent of consumption, circumstances influencing prices, comparative tables of production and consumption, diseases affecting the growth, etc.* The SUGAR PLANTER finds a chronicle of all the latest improvements at home and abroad, *descriptions of machinery, modes of culture, productions of other countries, demand and supply, competition, etc.*; the latest and best experience of planters and manufacturers, etc.; *reprints of leading foreign works on sugar, with engravings*. The HEMP and TOBACCO grower, the Farmer and the Horticulturist, and, in fact, every agricultural interest, find equal sources of information.

Manufacturing Department.—Already cotton mills are multiplying on the banks of the Ohio, in Tennessee and Kentucky, throughout Virginia, Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. In a few years more they will extend through every part of the South and the West. In the infancy of our efforts we shall need the light of experience from abroad, and from each other. We must know what our neighbors are doing as well as ourselves, and their success. There is no other work in the Union devoted in such a degree to the *manufacturing interest*—none which has contained in the past such an immense amount of manufacturing information, and no work shall excel it in this respect in the future.

Internal Improvements.—The South and the West have entered upon a great era of progress in RAILROADS. Our necessities demand much, and we have thousands of miles in contemplation or in progress. Our people require information, collected from the experience of others. They must have all the facts and figures to aid their action. This has been our favorite field of labor, and will be. We entered the

vineyard among the very first, and have never deserted it. The reports and results of every road are chronicled; the cost of construction; the amount of travel, freights, passage and profits—the extent of lines in this country or abroad, etc.; proceedings of rail-road conventions throughout the South and West; resolutions, etc. Every rail-road stockholder, or officer, or person seeking investment or benefits in roads, will find the Review of very great advantage.

Miscellaneous.—Under this head will be included statistics of *population, and of health and diseases, public wealth and progress*; relative condition of *whites and blacks*; condition and operations of SLAVERY AT THE SOUTH; *slave laws and statistics* of the South and of other countries; management and amelioration of slavery; *origin, history, and defences of slavery and slave institutions*; standard treatises upon slavery from all the highest authorities. In this department the South will be fairly presented and vindicated before the world, and her interests maintained and protected. A large volume might already be made up from the extremely valuable papers, like those of Hammond, Harper, Dew, and many others which have appeared in the Review. This information is valuable to the planters in too many ways to be enumerated; and to the citizens of the free states honestly seeking information, the value will be even higher.

Literary Department.—Under this head, will be included Sketches of Fact and Fancy, Original Poetry, Critical and Historical Essays, Reviews and Notices of Late Books, Literary Movements at Home and Abroad, papers upon Education and Southern Schools and Colleges, Incidents and Notes of Travel, etc. Able pens will at all times be elicited, and no effort will be spared to give to this department of the Review as much of the character of the light MISCELLANY as will secure it a place in the parlor as well as upon the shelves of the library.

Biographies, Portraits, Engravings, Maps, etc.—The object here is to select from all of the states, men who have been, or are active in promoting the progress of enterprise and industry, and thus advancing their fellows. Handsome steel engravings will accompany these. Occasional views of cities will be furnished, wood-cuts and charts representing machinery-improvements, etc.

Advertising Department.—This will furnish an important part towards the completion of the work. A few pages at the end will be included, or a chart folded in.

Brief cards and announcements will be inserted—illustrated, where necessary, with wood-cuts. Thus the planters throughout the country may be informed of the names and places of business of the merchants; the merchants may know of the professional men in the interior; and those desirous of investing in estates may find a record of those in the market. We design entrusting this department, which may be made very valuable, to the management of a special person. The terms will be moderate to advertisers; and, now that we have over five thousand subscribers throughout the southern and middle states, of the best classes, the Review is the very best medium for them.

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

De Bow's Review.—This Review is an able one. We anticipate and realize invaluable information from its pages, as to the progress and industry of the flourishing districts of which it is the herald and organ.—*Simmond's Colonial Magazine, London.*

De Bow's Review.—We need hardly say that we are charmed with this Review, when we add that we read it through at a heat.—*Skinner's Farmer's Library, New-York.*

De Bow's Commercial Review contains much valuable matter of Commercial and Miscellaneous character. Success to our namesake. The paper in it which interests us the most, is that entitled "COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE SUBJECTS OF UNIVERSITY INSTRUCTION," from the pen of the accomplished editor of the Review, in which he submits the plan of a Professorship of Public Economy, Commerce, and Statistics for our Colleges and Universities. The plan has our hearty approval, and will, we trust, ere long be adopted by some of our higher institutions. The article on "CHARLESTON AND ITS RESOURCES," we shall endeavor to find room for in a future number of the Magazine.—*Hunt's Merchants' Magazine.*

De Bow's Review is one of the most useful of the monthly publications, accumulating at such periods a large and valuable body of statistics and opinions, such as we rarely find in any other form of publication. The editor is a person of rare industry and enthusiasm. His work is particularly important to the commercial community of the South.—*Southern Quarterly Review, Charleston.*

De Bow's Review.—We are exceedingly pleased to hear of the success of this work, so important to the South, and so creditable to its literary enterprise. It comes to us monthly, freighted with the most valuable and reliable information, in relation to the sources of that section of the country, and ought not to be missed from any northern library.—*Democratic Review, N. Y.*

De Bow's Review.—It gives us great pleasure to state, that J. D. B. DE BOW, editor of the Commercial Review, has been selected to fill the chair of Commerce and Statistics in the new University. Mr. D. has, in the columns of his popular and widely circulated journal, shown himself to be familiar with the commerce and statistics of the South and West, and also a zealous advocate for disseminating widely accurate information upon these important heads. We want more educated merchants, a more intimate knowledge of the history of commerce, and of the principles and theory of political economy, trade and manufactures.—*Bankers' Magazine, Boston.*

De Bow's Review.—Suppose one should desire to keep himself advised of the state of our domestic and foreign trade, and also of the commerce of all nations, where else would he find this information in a form so convenient, satisfactory and cheap, as in *Hunt's Magazine*. Should he desire to combine with commercial information a knowledge of the great interests of the South, her agriculture, manufactures, and internal improvements, where else could he find so much information in so small a compass, and at so cheap a rate, as in *De Bow's Review*?—*Western Journal, St. Louis.*

De Bow's Review.—This Review, now in its sixth year, has not as yet received the attention which it deserves at the North. It is amply supported, we learn, at the South; and for this reason, as an accredited organ of the commercial interests of that great region of our country, should find its readers in all circles. We should be more anxious to learn what views are taken of our great producing interests, and of the natural questions which agitate the country at headquarters.—*Literary World, New-York.*

De Bow's Review.—The statistics are collected with great care and industry; and the work presents more

useful information in relation to the great staples of the South, than can be found in any other periodical. As these staples form the basis of a great part of all our leading commercial transactions, the above work is an indispensable part of every business man's library.—*Rail-Road Journal, N. Y.*

De Bow's Review.—We are persuaded that no more useful publication than this emanates from the American press. Its range of topics is, indeed, a wide one, but it is always filled with valuable statistical papers, and its literary department is highly interesting. Mr. De Bow is well known as a scholar and a writer. A recent address delivered by him before an agricultural society, has pleased us so much, that we could find it in our heart to quarrel for not contributing more frequently in *propria persona* to the pages of his magazine.—*Southern Literary Messenger, Richmond, V.*

De Bow's Review.—The work is printed in a style creditable to the press, and its contents are such as to render it a valuable adjunct to the similar work devoted to the commerce of the United States, published by Hunt, of New-York, &c.—*Boston Daily Adv.*

De Bow's Review.—This periodical performs for the South and West the same office which the Merchants' Magazine performs for this part of the country. We learn that its circulation is rapidly increasing. The present number contains many valuable articles, among which is one by the Editor, on the "Progress of the Great West," full of interesting statistical information and speculations. It is to the credit of the mercantile class that works of this kind find encouragement among them.—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

De Bow's Review.—We rejoice that so good a work has been established at New-Orleans, and apparently well established. It can hardly fail to secure patrons in every part of the country.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

De Bow's Review.—This is the title of a monthly journal of trade, commerce, commercial policy, agriculture, manufactures, internal improvements, and general literature, published at New-Orleans by J. D. B. DE BOW, and is well worth the attention of the merchant and the statesman. It is second to no other work of the kind in this or any other country, and must soon become authority for everything relating to matters of which it treats. We notice among its contributors some of the most distinguished writers in the Union.—*N. Y. Herald.*

De Bow's Review has been upon our table for several days. This work is well worthy of attention, not only in the section of country in which it is published, but at the North, as it contains a great amount of very valuable information which cannot be found elsewhere. It is properly the complement of *Hunt's Magazine*, and in connection with that work, forms a complete record of mercantile and commercial facts. We commend it to the notice of our readers, and to the favor of all who are interested in the commerce of the South.—*N. Y. Courier and Enquirer.*

De Bow's Review.—It abounds, as usual, with able articles on the commercial, social and political questions of the South and West, and in statistical information. It is a work that ought to be cherished with liberality by the southern people, and it ought to be consulted by all statesmen, who aspire to the distinction of nationality.—*Southern Press, Washington.*

De Bow's Review.—It is conducted by a man of rare capacities and qualifications for such a work, as its pages abundantly attest. In addition to the editor, it has among its contributors some of the ablest and most distinguished writers of the South and West.—*Washington Union*

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

"The undersigned, Members of Congress, take great pleasure in recommending to their fellow-citizens *DE BOW'S REVIEW*, a work which has been edited and published in New-Orleans for the last *six* years, by J. D. B. De Bow, and which embraces in a monthly series of numbers, the most complete and reliable facts and statistics relative to the progress and development of all the great branches of industry in the country, whether in *Commerce, Agriculture, Manufactures, or Internal Improvements*; as also the growth and progress of *Population and Improvement*; the question of *Slavery in all its bearings, social and political, Slave Products, &c.* The 13 published volumes of this work constitute an invaluable library of *Southern and Western Statistics*, and have already become a standard authority."

Washington, D. C.

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INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES, ETC.,

OF THE

SOUTHERN AND WESTERN STATES.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER.—ITS SOURCES—MOUTH AND VALLEY.—THE BALIZE.—The great central region of America, which extends from the Rocky Mountains to the lakes, and sweeps away to the mouth of the Atchafalaya, and along the shores of the gulf; bounded by a perimeter of two thousand leagues; with an area of a million and a quarter of square miles, a population verging upon that of all the remaining portions of the Union, and a trade demanding access to all the markets of the world; belongs to the history of the generation of men that are now alive, and in the creation of which they have been the moving agents. In comparison, all the marvellous developments of the past sink into nothing; the famed fertility of the Nile, the Scandinavian forests prolific of men, and earning the epithet "cradle of the human race," the overshadowing growth of Rome and Roman power.

It is not for us now to dwell upon the era of savage domain over this empire; the first whisperings of its existence breathed to European ears; the early and romantic adventures to its midst; the marvellous narrations of the early explorers and travellers; their lives of incident and daring; their successes and reverses; the triumphant progress of civilized population beyond all haunts of civilized life; the aboriginal yielding to the stern destiny which decreed him to melt away, a tenant at sufferance only, until the coming of the lord proprietors of the soil.

At the era of the census of 1790, after the American revolution had been won, after sixteen years of American independence, and the adoption of a federal Constitution, nine-tenths of all the people of America were eastward of the Alleghany mountains. Scattering settlements only had passed this great barrier. "Tribes of fierce savages stood opposed, but the destiny of things could not be stayed. During the decennial period of 1790 to 1800 the savages were crushed and settlements greatly extended and population increased, expanding into the central basin."

This *central basin* includes the western portions of the states of New-York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and the whole of Ken-

tucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin.

The population of these vast territories was, in 1800, 482,777, having increased about one and a half per cent. per annum since 1790. In 1810 it amounted to 1,090,158, having doubled in ten years; in 1820, 2,217,464, having doubled again; in 1830, 3,672,569, or about seven to the square mile; in 1840, 5,302,918, or ten to the square mile. In these items the western portions of New-York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia are not included. If they be added for 1840, the total western population may be set down at 7,948,789, or fourteen to the square mile. The following table, prepared by Mr. Darby for the use of government, is computed on the supposition that the decennial increase from 1830 to 1840 has since been preserved:

POPULATION OF THE GREAT CENTRAL BASIN IN 1847.

Western New-York.....	50,600
Western Pennsylvania.....	564,600
Western Virginia.....	222,300
Kentucky.....	834,970
Tennessee.....	857,590
Alabama.....	759,500
Mississippi.....	459,070
Louisiana.....	434,100
Arkansas.....	161,600
Missouri.....	529,000
Illinois.....	867,000
Indiana.....	891,566
Ohio.....	1,862,400
Michigan.....	321,000
*Iowa.....	60,000
*Wisconsin.....	50,000
Total.....	8,925,696

Being about eighteen to the square mile, or one-ninth the density of Great Britain,

* These estimates of Mr. Darby in relation to Iowa and Wisconsin are greatly short of the reality. The census of Wisconsin, taken the present year, shows the total 155,000. Iowa had 43,000 in 1840, and the increase since is estimated at 12,000 a year, making the present population 120,000 at least.

Portugal, Spain, and France. The whole population of the United States at the same period being computed at 21,174,557.

To give any notion of the agricultural wealth of this region would require access to more complete information than any that can be had by us now. The census which was

taken in 1840, whatever its merits, could be of but little practical value, since in the progress of such a country the history of several years is as a century in older communities. We will yet introduce a few facts, if only to stimulate further the reader's investigations.

ESTIMATED AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF THE GREAT WEST, 1845.

	Wheat, bushels.	Oats, bushels.	Corn, bushels.	Potatoes, bushels.	Tobacco, lbs.	Cotton, lbs.	Sugar, lbs.
Kentucky,	4,769,000	13,091,000	54,625,000	1,508,000	63,310,000	1,200,000	2,110,000
Tennessee,	8,340,000	8,625,000	70,265,000	2,256,000	37,109,000	48,000,000	520,000
Alabama,	980,000	1,527,000	16,650,000	1,635,000	341,000	145,000,000	12,000
Mississippi,	378,000	1,189,000	2,167,000	3,040,000	193,600	235,000,000	—
Louisiana,	—	—	8,360,000	1,299,000	—	185,000,000	175,000,000
Arkansas,	2,427,000	426,000	8,250,000	642,000	—	17,000,000	5,000
Missouri,	1,225,000	5,406,000	15,625,000	875,000	13,744,000	200,000	450,000
Illinois,	4,563,000	12,957,000	25,584,000	2,631,000	1,168,000	270,000	600,000
Indiana,	7,044,000	13,902,000	30,625,000	2,680,000	3,520,000	—	8,000,000
Ohio,	13,572,000	24,447,000	57,600,000	4,120,000	7,576,800	—	3,900,000
Michigan,	7,061,000	4,815,000	4,945,600	4,555,000	—	—	3,000,000
Iowa,	793,000	681,000	2,028,000	516,000	—	—	150,000
Wisconsin,	971,000	1,200,000	672,000	938,000	—	—	300,000
Total,	52,423,000	88,336,000	297,396,000	26,695,000	125,962,400	631,670,000	194,047,000

Western New-York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia are also extensive agricultural regions, but it is almost impossible to give the exact amount of their products. Knowing what proportion of these states are included in the valley, and also their gross products, and remembering that the valley is by far the most agricultural, we should add at least four millions bushels wheat, three millions bushels oats, eight millions bushels corn, two and a half millions bushels potatoes, and three millions pounds tobacco, to the gross amount given above.

Mr. Calhoun, in his great Report on the Memphis Convention, kindled with the magnificent theme which was presented before him, a population pressing upon the limits of the Rocky Mountains, a tonnage augmented thirty fold in thirty years, a trade already equalling the whole foreign exports and imports of the United States together, three hundred millions of dollars, and this but in the beginning. "Looking beyond to a not very distant future, when this immense valley, containing within its limits one million two hundred thousand square miles, lying in its whole extent in the temperate zone, and occupying a position midway between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, unequalled in fertility and the diversity of its productions, intersected in every direction by the mighty stream, including its tributaries, by which it is drained, and which supply a continuous navigation of upwards of ten thousand miles, with a coast, including both banks, of twice that length, shall be crowded with population, and its resources fully developed, imagination itself is taxed in the attempt to realize the magnitude of its commerce."

The Mississippi river, with its greater and less tributaries draining the whole of this im-

mense country, and conducting its products and its commerce to the highway of nations, is worthy of elaborate consideration. We have designed a few pages upon this head, and suppose there are few topics which could have wider interest with our countrymen, and few with which the world at large have less familiarity. Nature has created nothing upon our continent more stupendous than these waters, and they are as much characteristic of the great American republic as the institutions, the policy, the liberty, which distinguish it from all the nations of earth. Characteristic we say, for there is that in the physical aspect of a country, which, if it does not influence the moral and political condition, is yet discovered to be in harmony with them. Vastness and grandeur in nature cannot be contemplated without elevation of thought and sentiment in nature's offspring. Could one be a craven by the side of Niagara? A slave's fetters might not be riveted on Alpine heights. Man sympathizes with nature, and nature with man; so that Goldsmith uttered but the sentiment of humanity when he exclaimed from wild and elevated prospects,

"———Creation's heir,
The world—the world is mine!"

And first of the Mississippi proper. In 47° 10' N. lat. and 94° 54' W. long., at an elevation of 1,680 feet above the level of the ocean, and at a distance of 2,896 miles, on the summit of the *Hauteurs de Terre*, the dividing ridge from the Red river of the north, a little pool, fed by the gurgling waters of neighboring hills, discharges a tiny rivulet, which, meandering over sand and pebble, dancing in shade and sunbeam, winds on its modest way. In breadth and depth scarce measured by a span, the timid water-course mirrors

nodding wild flowers, and floats forest leaves, a miniature fleet that gentle breezes waft and eddies whirl. Ever and anon it blends with kindred streamlets, and forms at last a minor lake. "From this lake issues a second rivulet, a cradled Hercules, giving promise of the strength of his maturity; for its velocity has increased; it transports the smaller branches of trees; it begins to form sand bars; its bends are more decided, and it subsides again into a third basin, larger than the two preceding. Thus attained renewed vigor, tried its consequence upon an additional length of two or three miles, empties at last into the Lake Itasca."

For the following table of distances and elevations, we are indebted to "Bradford's Notes on the North-west, 1846 :"

DISTANCES ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

	From Gulf Mexico, Miles.	Altitude, Feet.
New-Orleans, Cathedral and level of its pavement.....	104	10.5
Red River, Island opposite Mouth,	340	76
Natchez, Light-house.....	406	86
Yazoo River, Mouth.....	534	—
New-Madrid, Missouri.....	1115	—
Ohio River, north side, Mouth.....	1216	324
St. Louis, garden of the Cathedral,	1390	382
Illinois River, the Mouth.....	1426	—
Prairie du Chien, American Fur Trader's House.....	1932	642
Upper Iowa River.....	1978	—
St. Peter's River, the Mouth.....	2192	744
Falls of St. Anthony, U. S. Cottage,	2200	856
Lake Cass, the Old Trading House,	2755	1402
Itasca Lake, Schoolcraft's Island,	2890	1575
Utmost Sources of the Mississippi, at the summit of the Hauteurs de Terre.....	2936*	1680

The next principal river of the West, and the main tributary or branch of the Mississippi, is the Missouri, a description of which we cannot better give than in the language of the eminent geographer introduced above :

"The springs which give rise to the Missouri are not more than a mile distant from some of the head waters of the Columbia, which flows west into the Pacific ocean. At the distance of 411 miles from the extreme point of the navigation of its head branches, are what are denominated the 'Gates of the Rocky Mountains,' which present a view exceedingly grand. For the distance of 5½ miles the rocks rise perpendicularly from the margin of the river to the height of 1200 feet. The river is compressed to the width of 150 yards, and for the first three miles there is only one spot, and that only of a few yards, on which a man could stand, between the water and the perpendicular ascent of the mountain. At the distance of 110 miles below this, and 521 miles from its source, are

the Great Falls, 2,575 miles above its entrance into the Mississippi. The river descends, by a succession of rapids and falls, 357 feet in about 16½ miles. The lower and greatest fall has a perpendicular pitch of 87 feet; the second of 19 feet; the third of 47 feet; the fourth of 26 feet. Between and below these falls are continual rapids of from 3 to 18 feet descent. These falls, next to those of Niagara, are the grandest on the continent. The course of the river above these falls is northerly. The Yellowstone river, 800 yards wide at its mouth, probably the largest tributary of the Missouri, enters it on the south-west side, 1,216 miles from its navigable source, and about 1,880 miles from its mouth. This river, at the place of junction, is as large as the Missouri. Steamboats ascend to this place, and could go farther by each branch. Chienne river, 400 yards wide at its mouth, enters the Missouri on the south-west side, 1,310 miles from its mouth, in 44° 20' N. latitude. White river, 300 yards wide, enters it on the south-west side, 1,130 miles from its mouth. Big Sioux river, 110 yards wide, enters 853 miles from its mouth, in 42° 48' N. latitude, on the north-east side. Platte river, 600 yards wide at its mouth, enters it on the south-west side, 600 miles from its mouth, in 40° 50' latitude. Kansas river, 233 yards wide at its mouth, enters it on the south-west side, in 39° 5' N. latitude, at the distance of 340 miles from its mouth. Grand river enters it on the north-east side, 240 miles from its mouth, and is 190 yards wide. La Mine river, 70 yards wide, enters it 200 miles from its mouth. Osage river, 397 yards wide at its mouth, enters it on the south-west side, in 38° 31' N. latitude, 133 miles from its mouth. Gasconade river enters it on the south-west side, in 38° 45' N. latitude, 100 miles from its mouth. The Missouri enters Mississippi river 3,096 miles from its source, which, added to 1,253 miles, the distance to the Gulf of Mexico, makes its whole length 4,349 miles;* and it is probably the longest

* The navigable portion of this distance is from the Gulf to the mouth of the Yellowstone river, thirty-three hundred miles. We were under the impression that this was the greatest navigable "inland sea" in the world, but if the Report of Mr. Breeze to the Senate on the Railroad to the Pacific be relied upon in all particulars, we have presented to us in Asia a river which overtops ours, and dwarfs it in the comparison. We make an extract : "The Yangtse-keang has its source in the Peiling Mountains of Thibet. After an immense distance in a southerly direction, it enters the Chinese empire in north latitude about 28°, then it winds its way through the richest parts of China and the most numerous population of any part of the globe, crossing the vast empire, and after having accommodated by its tributaries, its lakes, its vast and numerous windings, its intersections by canals, almost the entire empire, and after drawing together on the grand canal at Chiung-Kyang-foo the vast productions, commerce, and resources of the greater part of this vast empire, gently rolls itself into the ocean in north latitude

* This table on the authority of Nicollet. Schoolcraft makes the whole length three thousand one hundred and sixty miles.

river in the world. Through its whole course, there is no substantial obstruction of the navigation before arriving at the great falls. Its principal tributaries are each navigable from 100 to 800 miles. The alluvial, fertile soil on this stream and its tributaries is not very broad, and back of this are prairies of vast extent. Through the greater part of its course the Missouri is a rapid and turbid stream, and in the upper part of its course, flows through an arid and sterile country. It is over half a mile wide at its mouth, and through a greater part of its course it is wider. Notwithstanding it drains such an extensive country, and receives so many large tributaries, at certain seasons it is shallow, hardly affording sufficient water for steamboat navigation, owing to its passing through a dry and open country, and being subject to extensive evaporation."

Lastly, let us exhibit a sketch of the Ohio:

"The Ohio is formed by the confluence of Alleghany river from the north, and Monongahela from the south, at Pittsburg, in the western part of Pennsylvania. The Alleghany river rises in Porter county, Pennsylvania, on the west side of the Alleghany mountains, flows into the state of New-York, and returns into Pennsylvania, and is the most important tributary of the Ohio. It is navigable for boats of a hundred tons and of light draft to Olean, Cattaraugus county, New-York, 270 miles from its mouth in the Ohio, 600 feet above the level of the river at Pittsburg, 1,230 feet above the level of the ocean, and 2,500 miles from the Gulf of Mexico. The Monongahela rises in Virginia, and where it unites with the Alleghany, is more than 400 yards wide. It is navigable at a good stage of the water for large boats, 100 miles from its mouth. The Alleghany, though not larger than the Monongahela at the junction, is the more important stream. Immediately below the junction, the Ohio is over 600 yards wide, and is a placid and beautiful stream. At Pittsburg it is 680 feet above tide water; at the mouth of the Muskingum, 541 feet; at the mouth of the Scioto, 464 feet; at Cincinnati, 414 feet; at its mouth in the Mississippi, 300 feet. Its length from Pittsburg to its mouth, according to the Western Pilot, is 959 miles; but the distance in a direct course is about 614 miles. Its average descent is not quite five inches in a mile. The French called it *la belle riviere*, or the beautiful river; but its name, according to Heckewelder, is derived from the Indian word *Ohiopekhanne*, meaning a very white stream, alluding to the white caps with which its surface is covered in a high wind, omitting all but the first part for

the ease of pronunciation. The Ohio, for some distance below Pittsburg, is rapid, and the navigation interrupted at low water by chains of rock extending across the bed of the river. The scenery is exceedingly beautiful, though deficient in grandeur, exhibiting great sameness. The hills, two or three hundred feet high, approach the river and confine it on either side. Their tops have usually a rounded and graceful form, and are covered with the verdure of an almost unbroken forest. Approaching Cincinnati, the scenery becomes still more monotonous. The hills recede from the river, and are less elevated. Heavy forests cover the banks and limit the prospect, but exhibiting a beautiful verdure, and often exuberant with blossoms. The river exhibits the same scenery as we continue to descend it, except that the hills become less bold and rocky. Many villages and farm-houses are passed through the whole course of the river; but as the bottom lands on its immediate margin are liable to be overflowed, the inhabitants prefer to settle a little back from the river, so that the dwellings in view do not correctly exhibit the population in the vicinity. Between Pittsburg and the mouth of the Ohio there are as many as one hundred considerable islands, besides a great number of sand-bars and tow-heads. These last are low, sandy islands, incapable of cultivation, and covered with willows. Some of the islands are of exquisite beauty, and furnish desirable situations for a retired residence. The principal tributaries of the Ohio are the Muskingum, Great Kanawha, Big Sandy, Scioto, Great Miami, Kentucky, Green, Wabash, Cumberland, and Tennessee. The last three are the most important, of which the last is the largest. One remarkable circumstance respecting the Ohio as well as other western rivers is, its great elevations and depressions. In the summer and autumnal months, it often dwindles into a small stream, affording limited facilities for navigation. Among the hills of Pennsylvania and Virginia, it is seen rippling over chains of rock, through which a passage is barely afforded to boats of the lightest burthen. Farther down, sand-bars either extend across the stream or project into the bed of the river. Steamboats are sometimes grounded on the bars, where they are obliged to wait in peril for the periodical rise of the river. The lowest water is generally in the months of July, August, and September. The melting of the snows in the spring, and heavy rains in autumn or winter, fill the river to overflowing, and many of its islands and the bottoms on its margin are covered with water. These rises are generally gradual, and attended with no danger. As the waters rise, trade and navigation are quickened into activity; the largest steamboats, often of 600 tons burthen, now float in security. The average rise

about 31°, just in front of the great city of Chang-hae, the port open for foreign commerce, being in length more than four thousand miles, and navigable even into Thibet."

of the water from low-water mark is 50 feet, but in the year 1832 an extraordinary flood was experienced. The river began to rise early in February, and on the 18th of that month it was 63 feet above low-water mark, and the lower parts of Cincinnati and Covington were flooded. The river here is 1,006 feet wide, and the velocity of the stream at its height $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour. The water discharged by the rise of the river above low water alone, would fill a lake of one square mile in surface, 107 feet deep, in one hour. The surface drained by the Ohio and its numerous tributaries is about 77,000 square miles, and water four inches in depth on this surface would be sufficient to maintain the river at the above height and velocity for fourteen days. Such a flood as this has scarcely been known since the first settlement of the country. There are no considerable falls in the river, excepting at Louisville, Kentucky, where it descends $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the course of two miles. Even over these, boats pass in high water. But they have been obviated by a canal around them, which admits of the passage of the largest steamboats. The current of the Ohio is very gentle; at the mean height of the river the current is about three miles an hour, at high water it is more, but at low water not more than two miles. During five or six weeks in the winter, the navigation is obstructed by floating ice. The Ohio and its tributaries have not less than 5,000 miles of navigable waters. The following distances have been derived from the Western Pilot, and are doubtless correct: From Pittsburgh to Steubenville, O., is 70 miles; to Wheeling, Va., 92 miles; to Marietta, O., 174 miles; to Gallipolis, O., $264\frac{1}{2}$ miles; to Portsmouth, O., 349 miles; to Maysville, Ky., 397 miles; to Cincinnati, O., $455\frac{1}{2}$ miles; to Lawrenceburg, Ia., $479\frac{1}{2}$ miles; to Louisville, Ky., 587 miles; to New Albany, Ia., 591 miles; to the mouth of the Cumberland river, Ky., 900 miles; mouth of Tennessee river, Ky., $911\frac{1}{2}$ miles; mouth of Ohio, 959 miles."

The free and uninterrupted navigation of these great inland waters must of course be a matter of prime interest to the country. They are to the populous nations on their banks as the ocean itself, over which commerce and not kings preside. No construction of state powers, as contradistinguished from federal, can exclude these arteries of trade from the pale of government regard and protection. They are points of national concern. No state or alliance of states can apply the remedies which their exigencies require. No narrowed views of economy and retrenchment, no prospective expenditure, however vast, could be allowed to deter the legislature of the Union from approaching the solemn act of duty which is involved here.

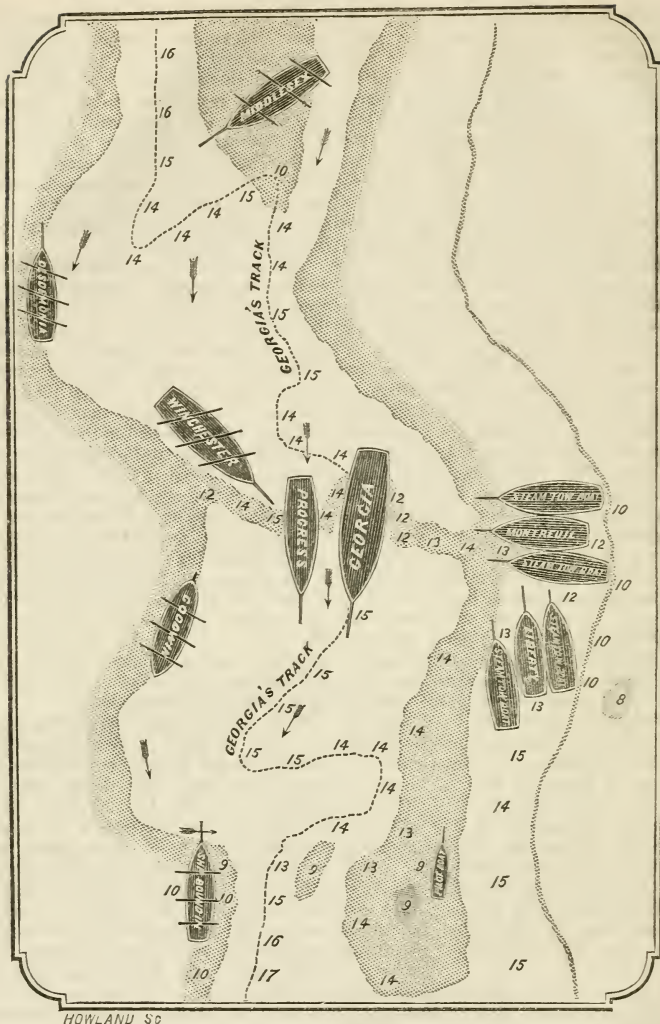
We have not space at this moment to advert to the various schemes which have been presented and urged for the improvement of this western navigation, but shall be happy on some other occasion to do so. The remaining sheets of our paper will be rather occupied with some reflections upon the "Passes of the Mississippi," which conduct its great waters into the gulf, the proposed methods of improving their depth and navigation, and of securing safety to the immense shipping seeking outlet and egress here.

The mouths of the Mississippi have been undergoing incessant changes so far as our records extend, and we might add, so far as the history of the river can be traced. Old channels have been filling up and new ones forming; at the same time that a continued sedimentary deposit has forced the delta itself continually to encroach upon the sea. The depth of water afforded in these channels has never been equal to the requisitions of commerce, and it is only by dint of the most enormous application of steam power, and ploughing through deep beds of sand, that the largest class of ships are enabled to navigate the channel. Considerable expense is always incurred in this manner, and delays prejudicial to trade. We have known of a ship, the *Coromandel*, in one instance, grounded in the Pass thirty-nine days. Could it be expected otherwise than that these impediments should be greatly detrimental to the interests of the whole valley having this common outlet?

In 1720, of all the Passes, the *south* one only was in use. A Report amongst the French Colonial Records, now in Paris, of date about 1730, gives the depth from ten to twelve feet on the bars, varying each year according to the violence of the winds, etc. Another Report by M. Paria gives a depth of seventeen feet to one of the Passes which had hitherto been but twelve feet only, and argues that twenty-two feet might be insured by dredges. The employment of two vessels three months in the year was tried during a portion of this time by the West India Company, but it worked badly. "A *flute* was then placed inside of the bar and sunk into eighteen feet by means of wells built for that purpose, inside such vessel, and filled up with water. This vessel was placed close to the bank of the bar for the purpose of receiving the cargoes of vessels that could not cross. It was soon perceived that the *flute*, receiving the whole power of the current, was forcing a passage of twenty-five feet through the Pass. The whole matter was immediately communicated to government."

The following sketch represents the mouth of the Mississippi in May, 1852, with the quantity of water at various points, the vessels aground, the amount of damage done, etc.:

MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI—SOUTH-WEST PASS.



REPRESENTING THE APPEARANCE OF THE BAR, MAY 16, 1852.

(Scale 600 feet to the Inch.)

Drawn by DAVID D. PORTER, Capt. U. S. N., and commanding Mail Steamship Georgia, and published by order of Committee Chamber of Commerce; Caldwell, Stanton, Owen, Skipwith and Sumner.

VESSELS ON NEW-ORLEANS BAR.

	Cotton		De-		Cotton		De-	
	Tons.	Bales.		tained.	Tons.	Bales.		tained.
Middlesex*...	1,420	4,500	\$10,000	40 days	2,500			
Deadmona...	625	2,000	50,000	35 "	800	800, &c.	\$60,000	8 days
Winchester...	1,475	5,000	505,000	33 "	600	2,000	70,000	" "
Progress.....	1,400	4,500	105,000	45 "	740	2,000	70,000	5 "
Add value ships and steamer.....					9,370	21,600	\$795,000	
Value of property detained.....							705,000	
							\$1,500,000	

* The Middlesex and cargo got damaged (by collision) on the bar \$30,000, and returned to repair. Many other vessels than those above were aground at the same time, awaiting a swell from southeasterly gales.

Examined before the Committee on Commerce of the Legislature, in March, 1846, William D. Talbot, a resident of the Balize for twenty-five years, used the following language :

"The bars at the various Passes change very often. The channels sometimes change two or three times in a season. Occasionally one gale of wind will change the channel. The bars make to seaward every year. The South-west Pass is now the main outlet. It has been so for only three years, as at that time there was as much water in the North-east Pass as in it. The South-east Pass was the main ship channel twenty years ago; there is only about six feet water in that Pass now, and where it was deepest then, there is only a few inches of water at this time. The visible shores of the river have made out into the Gulf two or three miles within his memory. Besides the deposit of mud and sand, which form the bars, there frequently arise bumps or mounds near the channel, which divert its course. These bumps are supposed to be the production of salt springs, and sometimes are formed in a very few days. They sometimes rise four or five feet above the surface of the water. He knew one instance when some brick that were thrown overboard from a vessel outside the bar, in three fathoms water, were raised above the surface by one of these banks, and were taken to the Balize and used in building chimneys. In another instance, an anchor which was lost from a vessel, was lifted out of the water, so that it was taken ashore. About twenty years ago a sloop, used as a lighter, was lost outside the bar in a gale of wind; several years afterwards she was raised by one of these strange formations, and her cargo was taken out of her."

Lieut. Poole, of the United States Engineers, in his Report of February 8, 1847, remarks: "Great changes have taken place in the last fifteen years in this (the South-east) and the North-east Pass, which has been deepening while this has been filling up." It is stated where the island, shown upon sheet No. 3, now is, there was at that period six fathoms water. The process seems to be still going on; the space between this island and Antonio being nearly covered by a shoal, the centre of which is already above water. During a few days that two ships were lying aground on the middle bank of the South-west Pass, in eight feet water, a channel formed between them, through which a ship of *sixteen feet draught* passed out without obstruction!

The project of deepening or improving these outlets has been for a long time before the general government, and special reports upon the subject prepared by the engineer service after extended surveys.

Three methods have been principally insisted upon, with different degrees of merit and expense:

1st. To deepen by dredging-machines one or two of the Passes

2d. To close up all but one of them where they leave the river trunk.

3d. To cut a canal from the river to the gulf.

All of these are regarded practicable. Supposing the first and second adopted together, Captain Chase estimates the expense as follows, to give sufficient depth of water:

Dredging N. E. Pass.....	\$160,000
Do. S. W. Pass.....	210,000
	<hr/>
	\$370,000

with an annual subsequent expenditure of \$72,000 more.

Closing the Passes.....	\$214,500
Jette at N. E. Pass.....	100,000
Jette at S. W. ".....	182,500
Contingenceis, &c.....	30,000
	<hr/>
	\$527,000

The line of the ship canal is proposed from a point two and a quarter miles below Fort Jackson, and extending seven miles to the shore of the Gulf, and thence by a jette, 1760 yards to 30 feet water. The canal to be 100 feet wide at top, and thirty feet deep. The cost of this magnificent work is estimated thus:

For the lock and guard work.	\$800,000
For trunk of the Canal.....	2,669,333
Jettes and Breakwater.....	2,463,996
Channel between.....	3,420,000
Contingencies.....	1,146,671
	<hr/>
	\$10,000,000

Whether this amount be held too vast for an annual commerce departing or entering the river, now of \$100,000,000, is a question we shall not take time to solve. Of the practicability of such a canal there can be no doubt. If we are content to leave unimproved the channel of the river, private enterprise will find a harbor for our commerce at some other point than the levee of New-Orleans. Ship Island may afford such a one for the heaviest tonnage, and a railroad locomotive be substituted for the laborious "tow."

The subject of pilotage over the bars of the river has for a long time excited deserved interest in Louisiana, and also in contiguous states. A history of this question would not be out of place here, particularly as from late developments it would hardly seem to be settled.

At the cession of Louisiana to the United States, a monopoly of the pilotage was in the hands of one Ronquille, appointed under the Spanish crown. This man was succeeded by two others, who bought out his establishment, and amassed a fortune in the course of a few years. The duties of these pilots were performed by deputies, common sailors picked up in the city, and the fees allowed were two dollars a foot with certain other perquisites.

The law of 1805 empowered the governor to appoint two or more sufficient persons to be branch pilots. Unlimited competition was the result. The masters and wardens of New-Orleans were constituted a board of examination for pilots.

The Act of 1837, now of force, introduced

a revolution in the system. The governor appoints under it not exceeding fifty branch pilots, who are to be citizens of the United States, and have resided two years in Louisiana; examined by a board of examiners, and recommended by it to the master and wardens of New-Orleans, and by them to the executive. This board of examiners to be from the pilots themselves, and consist of three members. Each pilot to give bond in the sum of one thousand dollars. Deputy pilots are forbidden, and none but a branch pilot shall conduct the business. The rate of pilotage upon all vessels indiscriminately is fixed at \$3.50 per foot, without other charge whatever.

Against this system a protest has been made by the New-Orleans Chamber of Commerce, and a committee of the Legislature charged during last year with the subject, after severe investigation and examination of a large number of witnesses selected from the pilots, the ship and tow-boat captains, ship owners, and merchants, presented a report which lies before us upon the table.

The committee support the present system against those that preceded it or are proposed in its stead, and furnish a beautiful and graphic sketch of the country which has been redeemed under its influence, and of the domestic life and condition of those who are employed in the pilot service. We make no apology for a lengthened extract from the Report, which will give no inadequate notion of the region known as the Balize in the beginning of the present century and now:

"Your committee have ascertained to their entire satisfaction, that every system that had ever been in force in this state, from the cession of Louisiana to the passage of the act of March 13th, 1837, had proved a total failure. Whether as regards the interests of commerce, the advancement of social order, or the behests of morals and civilization, they had one and all fallen short of the ends and purposes of their creation.

"On this point your committee have taken ample and unbroken testimony, without a dissenting voice. The whole evidence shows that, from the existence of the state as a portion of the confederacy, up to the year 1837, the pilot service was negligently performed, and more especially were the persons engaged in it, as a body, a desperate, worthless, reckless class of men. The Balize, during that period, was a scene of barbarous strife and drunken debauch.

"Your committee have been informed by witnesses of unblemished character, who have resided at the Balize, both before and after the passage of the act of 1837, that anterior to that law it was a mere mud bank, whose natural loathsomeness was made more intolerable by the beastly scenes enacted there. Riots and broils were daily exhibitions, and low revelry and debauches the pastimes of

the night. It was a place dangerous to visit: the savageness of man invested the desolation of nature with appalling attributes. The Balize is located upon the margin of the Mississippi, a short distance above the North-east Pass; in front the river flows sullenly; all around is a prairie overgrown with the rank luxuriance of the tropics; the waters of the gulf in daily tides cover the face of the earth round about, many miles; there is not a tree, nor a mound, nor a monument of any sort, unless placed there by the hand of man, to relieve a monotony that oppresses the beholder. The land itself is but a recent acquisition from the ocean, wrenched thence by the great father of rivers. This dreary and inhospitable vision was the first that greeted the stranger approaching our shores from the seaward; and it is appalling to reflect that the character of the people who dwelt there, and held appointments from the state, was yet more savage than the scene that surrounded them, and impressed the mind with ideas of our national qualities, as gloomy as the opinions such a spectacle might inspire of the natural features of our country.

"It was not surprising that your predecessors endeavored to remodel a system, or systems, under which the vestibule of the state was thronged by the worst description of men. Nor is there wanted a reason why they, who approached our shores to find themselves amid a class of men more dangerous than the deep they had escaped, made an outcry against the laws that encouraged or could not repress their outrages. Nor was it possible for a service, requiring sober, discreet, and intelligent men, to be conducted properly by such as spent their lives in daily broils and midnight was-sail.

"The experiments to infuse respectability and character into the pilot service resulted in the act of the 13th March, 1837. The effect of that act the committee will endeavor to explain in as brief a space as possible; and in this connection they will also attempt to point out the peculiar provisions of the law which in their opinion have, more than others, brought about the change that has been so beneficial and apparent.

"Shortly after the passage of the act of 1837, the pilots selected under it formed themselves into an association for their better governance, and the more prompt and efficient discharge of their duties. It will be seen that the act provided that there should be no deputy pilots; every person in the association was, therefore, a full branch pilot, and the equal of his compeers. The immediate effect of this provision was the elevation of the character of the pilots as men. There was no inequality between them—no superiors, no inferiors; every man who had heretofore occupied a subordinate sphere of life was raised in his own esteem. He was no longer a menial;

his responsibilities were increased, and with it his dignity and self-respect.

"The association was founded upon the broadest principles of equal rights. The business of the company was placed under the superintendence and control of a principal and board of directors, or rather executive committee. The by-laws regulating these appointments made them elective by the pilots in commission, and so limited the periods of service, and arranged the terms of re-eligibility, as to secure to each, in his turn, a share in the administration of the affairs of the association. The salutary influences of this system were soon manifested, in a total change in the habits, manners, and morals of the Balize; order succeeded confusion; soberness of living followed the scenes of riot and debauchery before prevalent; and the growth of social amenities rooted out the wild and poisonous weeds which had sprung up in that hot-bed of vice and profligacy.

"Another change more remarkable, but perhaps equally natural, was wrought by the act, in the domestic relations of the pilots. It was a rare thing to see a married woman at the Balize during the existence of the ancient systems, which were overthrown in 1837. Upon the disappearance of stews, lewd resorts, and places of public drinking, more sedate and rational views of life supplanted the savage and guilty notions that had so long swayed the conduct of the pilots; and that provision of the law which made members of their own body a board of examiners, giving to them the right to select their own associates, and in a good measure to purge the Balize of the worthless characters who might otherwise infest it, emboldened them to take wives to themselves, and perfect the reform by adding the claims of domestic connections to the inducement to a well-regulated social organization.

"The change produced by these combined influences upon the morals of the Balize is scarcely credible. It has been snatched like a brand from the burning—a diviner spirit has breathed upon it—a more exalting appreciation of the duties of citizenship has possessed its inhabitants. They have become fathers of families; children have grown up around them, whose prattle awakens other emotions than those that night revels and brawdy songs once stirred within them. Nor do they stop here. They have established a public school to educate these children for the duties of republicans. They have built up a reading room for the improvement of themselves as well. They have established a police there, too, to suppress disorder. The characteristics of the place are peace, order, progress. The abode of vice, lawlessness and profligacy, has been redeemed, and consecrated to the humanizing influences of the age—education, moral culture, and habits of industry, sobriety, and economy.

"The change in the physical features of the Balize is not greatly less obvious than in its moral qualities. A village of comfortable and convenient houses has sprung up like bright exhalations. A narrow strip of ground, fronting neat dwellings, has been wrested from the returning tides. By small additions, such as could be made in the intervals between the claims of duty, they have formed an embankment for the purposes of horticulture. The earth forming this artificial batture has been taken from the depths of the river. It is the product of years of labor. Each residence has a parterre before it; and here the matrons of the Balize and their daughters spend their leisure in beautifying the blasted desolation of nature. A more imposing instance of the power of law, when exerted for the dignity of man—for his protection, for the conservative instincts of our species—can nowhere be found. That there should be now a well-ordered society in this once sink of iniquity; that domestic virtues should hallow the abode of profligacy; that children should be pointed the ways of wisdom, where yet a little while the stern and formed character of men could not resist the force of abasing example; that flowers should be taught to grow upon a waste, where lately a vertical sun and the waters of the ocean held alternate dominion; that religion, peace and order should reign over a spot cursed with inhospitalities, and terrible from the depravity of its inhabitants, is a triumph which the law may boast, which civilization may rejoice over, which the state may claim as all her own.

"In the benefits of these ameliorations, commerce has also participated, for a more intelligent class of persons are brought to its assistance. It is in proof that the pilot service has been better conducted since 1837 than it ever was before—a proposition which scarcely required proof, unless it were doubtful whether sober, industrious, competent and respectable men are more capable of discharging responsible duties than sots and sea-loafers."

The following facts were elicited from witnesses in the course of examination before the committee:—There are forty-seven pilots now enrolled. The full complement of fifty has almost always been secured. A pilot-boat is ever stationed at the South-west Pass, and cruises southward and eastward; the South-west Pass came into use in 1830, previously the South-east was the main channel; four other boats cruise from the North-east Pass. Boats with five or six pilots remain at sea until they have all taken ships. The gulf coast is extensive and complicated; sun often seen only through fogs faintly for months at a time; pilots guide then by soundings and their knowledge of bottoms. The population of the Balize is 300 to 350. There are at the South-west Pass 60 or 70 more. Mortality

from various causes very great. In eleven years seventy or eighty boat-keepers or pilots have been drowned, killed, or have died. Within thirty-one years every man at the Balize has died—every human being, pilot or not pilot. The Association of Pilots have in their employ ten apprentices, receiving each from twenty-five to thirty dollars per month. The average annual distributable share of each pilot, for the last six or seven years, has been \$1,634 90. The salaries of tow-boat captains reach as high as \$2,000.

The evidence for the good order, faithfulness, decorum, and entire efficiency of the pilot service is unanimous. The Vice President of the Chamber of Commerce, W. L. Hodge, Esq., declared that he was not aware of any neglect, as represented in certain petitions, and that he had refused such petitions when presented to him. The objections of witnesses go to other matters—to the constitution of the Board of Examiners, to the alleged monopoly and excessive rate of charges. The evidence on the last point is various. Some are for maintaining the system as it is, many for a very considerable reduction; nearly all would advocate a reduction on vessels drawing less than ten or twelve feet. The pilots themselves admit the propriety of this last reduction, and advocate it as being more beneficial to themselves as well as to trade. Doubtless the proper modification will be made.

The total expense of pilotage is estimated by Mr. Hodge as one tenth of one per cent. on the whole commerce of the Mississippi with the sea.*

MISSISSIPPI RIVER.—THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF IMPROVING THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.—The Mississippi River, taken in connection with the Missouri, is the longest known river on the earth, and, with its tributaries, waters the greatest extent of territory. Yet, large as is the number of the

towns and cities at present upon its banks, whose commercial interests are directly connected with its waters, it is not a hundredth part of what it is one day destined to become; and vast as is the amount of produce from the interior which now descends, and of imports that ascends that river, they are really inconsiderable when compared with the most moderate estimate of the amount that must at some future day find a way to their respective markets along its channel. Being the outlet of an immense valley, and the travelling and commercial thoroughfare of a population increasing beyond all ordinary calculation, whatever affects the permanency of its channel, or general character as a navigable stream, must excite an interest in the minds of all who reside sufficiently near its waters to have their property affected by its overflows, or a change in its channel. These overflows have been of such a character for the last few years, as to spread consternation among those whose agricultural interests lie exposed to their ravages; while the changes evidently taking place in the lower channel of the river have begun to excite alarm in those who see their business and real estates likely to be endangered by their continuance. The agricultural and commercial interests immediately connected with the lower Mississippi, and liable to be affected by its changes, are too vast and important to the general prosperity of the whole country to permit the necessity for its improvement to be much longer overlooked, or the improvement itself to be much longer deferred. People must be blind, indeed, to their interests, and to the consequences which already begin to stare them in the face, much longer to stand with folded arms, indifferent to the condition of a river, the yearly damages from which already amount to millions; and the time cannot be far distant, if want of foresight or reckless indifference to consequences continue to characterize the action of the Legislature of Louisiana, when the river, breaking through its limits, and entirely changing its channel, will so affect present interests in that state as to bring total ruin to many, and leave others no longer possessing any interests capable of being protected by its improvement. Convinced as I am that, when threatened dangers are overlooked, and all prevention neglected, these consequences become inevitable, I feel anxious that those whose interests are so deeply involved in the subject should be fully aroused to a sense of its importance and its danger, and induced to take it up in such a way as to insure the adoption of effective means to save themselves from ruin, and secure the permanent agricultural and commercial prosperity of Louisiana. With this view I now write. I see great danger before the people of that state, which science and experience tell me, if not met by counteracting

* Major Stoddard, who took possession of Louisiana for the United States in 1804, and resided five years afterwards in the state, makes these remarks upon the Balize:

"The Mississippi, near its confluence with the sea, is divided into five branches, and of course has its *embouchure* in the gulf by means of five mouths. These are denominated the North-east, South, South-east, and South-west Passes. They are from three to nine miles in length, and furnish a depth of water for the largest ships except upon the bars. The East Pass, called the Balize, has about seventeen feet of water on the bar, and is the one usually navigated. The South Pass was formerly of equal depth, but is now, 1805 or 1806, gradually filling up. The South-west Pass has from eleven to twelve feet water. The North-east and South-east Passes are traversed only by small craft. On the south side of the East Pass, about three miles from the bar, is the pilot-house, a framed look-out house, about sixty feet high, *where several men reside*. They make use of row-boats, and seldom venture out to sea except in good weather."

remedies, is inevitable; and I cannot but feel astounded at the ignorance of some, the blindness of others, and the apathy of all. If I succeed in impressing upon their minds the necessity for action, and that action follows, I shall have accomplished a great good; if I fail, I shall at least have performed a duty, the neglect of which I should hold inexcusable.

The Causes of the present Condition of the River.—The condition of the lower Mississippi, its tendency to overflow, the frequent changes in its channel, and consequent threatened dangers, are the result of many causes, among which the following may be considered the principal: the sinuosity of the bed, and the want of uniformity in its breadth. Flowing through an alluvial soil, which, no doubt, was originally formed from the materials brought down by the river itself, it is natural that its bed should be subject to continual change, where change is so easily effected, and where so many causes for change are permitted to exist. The slightest irregularity of the banks, or a deepening or shoaling of the bed on one side or the other, will cause the current to change its previous channel, and, in its efforts to continue the obtained motion in the same direction, and with the same velocity, it will abrade whichever bank interferes with that direction. Thus a curve is commenced, which by degrees becomes more extended by the continual abrasion of the concave bank, while the opposite convex side increases at the same time by deposits of material brought down, its advance keeping pace with the retreat of the other. The curve continues to progress until the river, in its circuitous sweep, returns towards the point where it commenced, leaving only a narrow isthmus at the neck of the bend, between the channel above and the one below, through which the water during some high flood at last finds its way, and opens for itself a new and more direct bed. This may be called a natural cut-off, being one of those efforts which the river, under the direction of Nature's laws, makes to regulate a defect in its channel. No person can look over the map of the Mississippi River without perceiving that it has frequently exercised this self-regulating power, and, we may say, always to advantage.

Different degrees of density in the soil composing the banks, presenting more or less resistance at different points, will (all other things being equal) have a tendency to produce a similar result; while the same cause, existing in the soil of the bed, will cause such irregularity in the breadth and depth of the channel as to vary materially the velocity of the current in different parts, and thus destroy every thing like permanency and uniformity in the channel. The irregularity in the velocity thus produced by the sinuosity of the bed, and by the want of uniformity in its

breadth, also increases its tendency to overflow. For wherever the velocity is diminished, and the free discharge checked, there must be a greater head of water in time of flood, and consequently an increased danger of inundation.

Such are the evils consequent upon the present condition of the river: from the point where it enters the lower valley to its mouth, it may almost be said to consist of a series of curves. The channel being irregular, the velocity is diminished, and its deposits increased; so that while it apparently retains its usual depth in some parts, in others the bed is evidently rising, and the tendency to overflow, from want of a regular and free discharge of its waters, is increased. There is also a prospect that the present channel may be so filled up as to force the river to open a new passage for itself, and thereby cause the utter ruin of the great commercial interests which have grown up upon its banks.

There are other causes, also, operating upon the Mississippi, which have more or less contributed to its present condition, and continue to exercise an injurious influence upon its channel. Above New-Orleans there are three outlets: the Atchafalaya, Plaquemine, and La Fourche, through which no inconsiderable portion of the water of the main river finds its way in time of flood. These outlets, reaching the gulf by a shorter course, have a greater fall than the main river; and their channels not being so deep, the velocity of their currents is greater at the bottom, consequently they are experiencing a gradual but steadily progressive deepening of their beds, and enlargement of their cross sections. On the other hand, the volume of water in the main river, being diminished by the discharge through these outlets, loses velocity in proportion, while its deposits are increased. Thus the bed of the main river, below these outlets, must experience a gradual and progressive elevation, and while these outlets are clearing out, deepening and enlarging their channels, the Mississippi is gradually filling up. Indeed, such is the effect produced upon the channel of the main river by means of outlets, that, in the passes, where they are numerous, the depth of the channel decreases regularly from their upper entrance to their mouths. The reason is obvious. The volume of water which enters the passes from above is diminished, and the breadth of the bed being extended towards the sea, the velocity is likewise diminished; and the current, no longer able to sweep into the gulf the sedimentary matter which it holds in suspension, or which it carries along at the bottom of the bed, nearly chokes up the mouths of the passes with it. Thus it is, that while there is a depth of over a hundred feet at New-Orleans, there is only twelve at the mouths of the passes; and thus it is that, the free discharge

of the water through the mouths of these passes being impeded, the surface of the river higher up is made to reach a greater elevation in time of a flood than it would if the mouths of the passes were deep enough to admit of a free discharge of water into the gulf. It requires a certain centralized volume of water to keep open the channel of a river, as it acquires a different cross section after the volume of water is diminished, because the river will fashion the size of its bed to the volume of water that remains.

The rapid increase of settlements along the tributaries of the Mississippi, the clearing of the woods, and the cultivation and draining of the lands, by affording a freer and more rapid passage for the waters of the valley into the streams, and carrying along a greater quantity of sedimentary matter, serve to increase still further the tendency to overflow in the main river. For though the quantity of rain that falls throughout the entire valley may not be greater than before, yet much of the impediments in the way of its discharge being removed, and the absorption and evaporation diminished by the increased rapidity of the discharge, the water, after heavy rains, makes its appearance in the main river more speedily and more simultaneously, and it consequently rises to a greater height. This evil, however it may be provided against by an improved condition of the bed of the river, cannot be prevented. On the contrary, it may be expected to increase in proportion as the settlement and cultivation of the lands throughout the Great West continue to progress.

Incident to the condition of the river may be considered the swamps, lagoons or dead lakes interspersed along the low grounds that lie on both sides of the river, throughout much of its length in the lower valley. These act as reservoirs or feeders to the main river. In time of floods much of the surplus water flows into them, and, remaining there until the water in the river begins to fall, returns to the main channel. In this way they tend to equalize the volume of water in the river, preventing it from rising as high in time of flood as it otherwise would, and also from falling too rapidly. The effect which they have upon the condition of the river is beneficial, not only because they check, in some degree, the tendency to overflow, and shorten the time of low water; but also because they serve as repositories for much of the sedimentary matter brought down by the water which otherwise would remain in the river channel.

The Remedy.—Before proceeding to state the remedy for the present evils and threatened dangers, it may be well to lay down a few simple general principles in Hydrodynamics. The velocity of running water depends upon volume, fall, and resistance. When these are uniform, the velocity is always the

same; but, in proportion as the volume and fall are lessened, and the resistance increased, so is the velocity diminished, and *vice versa*. From this arises the fact, that in a straight reach of equal cross sections, where the volume, fall and resistance are uniform, the velocity remains the same; while in a sinuous course of unequal cross sections, where the fall is diminished, the resistance increased, and both constantly varying, though the volume may remain the same, the velocity is not only lessened, but it becomes varied in different parts of the channel. Velocity also varies where uniformity is wanting in the breadth of the bed; being greater where the bed is narrow and deep than where it is wide and shallow. Water in a state of motion is enabled to take up and carry with it the sediment from the bottom of the bed along which it flows; while still water deposits there whatever body heavier than itself may fall into, or be contained in it. The quantity and character of the sediment thus taken up, depends upon the degree of velocity with which the water runs. It requires less to take up alluvial sediment than sand, sand than gravel, and gravel than stones or boulders. Thus the velocity of the current regulates the depth of its bed. Where it is great, the channel is deep, for the current is able to take up the sediment or sand, and carry it along; and where it is languid, the channel is shallow, because the current is not only unable to scour out its bed and keep it deep, but even to carry the sediment brought from those parts of the channel where the velocity is greater, but deposits it along the bed, thus elevating the bottom, and making the river more shallow. From these few simple principles, it is plain that the course of a river should be straight, and its bed of a uniform breadth, or cross sections, whereby a regular velocity may be secured, the discharge of water be performed in the shortest time, and the abrasion of the banks prevented.

In accordance with these principles, the remedy for the evils in the present condition of the Mississippi is as follows:

1st. If a straight course cannot be given to the river, from its too great expense or other local difficulty, it can be made to approximate as nearly as practicable to such a direction of its channel: that is, to alter the present curves, so that those of small radii may be replaced by others of much larger radii; and the angles of incidence be considerably enlarged. This alteration in the course of the river, by diminishing resistance and increasing its fall, would have a tendency to lessen abrasion, and by rendering the velocity more uniform, deepen the channel, remove present shoals, prevent their re-formation, and relieve the river in time of flood by causing a freer discharge of its water.

2d. Establish a uniform cross section be-

tween the principal tributaries and outlets, so as to adapt it to the volume both at high and low water mark. This would aid in accomplishing the result sought for above.

3d. Regulate the width, and centralize the current, by giving the channel such a form that the greatest depth and velocity may be in the middle of the bed, and its least depth and force near its banks and levees. This would prevent abrasion, and secure permanency to the channel.

The old Remedies and their Defects.—In all attempts to remedy the evils arising from the defective condition of the Mississippi, the practice has been to erect new levees, and raise still higher those already in existence, in order to prevent overflows, or assist nature in her efforts to straighten the course by making cut-offs. The state of the river for the last few years shows clearly enough that, while the elevation of the levees may have a temporary effect in confining the water within the channel, it affords no permanent security, and applies no remedy whatever to the causes which are evidently rendering overflows more frequent and more destructive. Indeed, the increased height of levees helps to render the overflows more destructive, when the water, rising still higher, finally breaks through. Because, the volume of water brought down by subsequent floods being either increased in quantity, or having a more elevated surface from the partial filling up of the bed, presses upon the levee with greater weight; and when it does break through, pours from a greater height, and makes its ravages more sudden and widely extended.

Neither has any attention been paid to giving a proper direction to the course of the river, or to make the bed between the levees of such a form as would prevent the injurious action of the current on the banks and levees. So no remedy has been adopted for the bad effects of abrupt curves, or acute angles of incidence, which are the most active causes of irregularity in the bed and abrasion of the banks.

The relative Merits of the different modes of directing the Bed.—A most important point in regulating the course of a river that abrades its banks, and frequently changes its bed, is the proper direction of the channel. But the mode of doing this has given rise to a variety of opinions. One is to give long reaches—long as the country will admit—with the angles of meeting rounded off by curves. This plan, however, is defective, and the defect is in proportion to the fall of the water; for the velocity acquired on the straight reach exercises a powerful and injurious effect on the curve where it meets the resistance of the concave bank, particularly where the curve is of small radius, and the angle of incidence acute. It would render defensive works necessary to protect the con-

cave bank, which must cause great expense, but can prove of but little service. Neither should straight reaches be rejected altogether. Where the course cannot be made direct, nor curves avoided, straight reaches may be admitted, if of moderate length, with curves of as large radii as possible, to lessen resistance in the curve and the injurious effect of the current on the concave bank. Yet even this is rejected altogether by many, because, in some rivers so regulated, they find curves, angles of incidence, and abrasions. They affirm that irregularities are always produced by this plan, by irregular resistance in the river's bed, and by deposits which vary with every flood; and that, to insure it from all change, defensive works are absolutely necessary throughout its entire length, and on both sides, which would involve heavy expenses; while in curves of small radii the current never abrades the convex bank, and defensive works cannot be needed under any view, save on the concave side.

But such opinions are unsound, and exhibit, on their part who hold them, a great want of good practical judgment and mature reflection.

Although defensive works be only needed on the concave banks, yet, in a river made up of curves of small radii, there must necessarily be far more of them needed than in one of straight reaches of moderate length, connected by large curves.

In the second place, as resistance must always be greatest on the concave side of a river thus made up of curves of small radii, because, the angles of incidence being more acute, the action of the current in the bend is more violent and injurious than in larger curves; so, whatever defensive works be needed, they must be much stronger and more expensive.

Thirdly, the irregularities found in rivers of this kind—namely, of straight moderate reaches with large curves to connect them—arise from the imperfect manner in which this system of improvement has been carried out, rather than in the system itself. For in none of these cases has any attempt been made to give the bed of the river a regular cross section, and thus confine the force of the current to the middle of the channel; the only method by which the banks of the river can be protected from abrasion. It is neither just nor reasonable to urge, or argue against any system, the imperfect manner of carrying it out, the evils of which had been effectually prevented by its proper execution.

The advocates of small curves, with well protected concave banks, seem to believe that bends and angles of incidence cannot be avoided; and are satisfied with attempting to remedy their evils in what they conceive the best manner, and at the least expense. But I am satisfied that they *are* to be avoided by

straight moderate reaches, and curves of large radii, when the course of the river cannot be made altogether direct; and that it is more consistent with sound policy to remove the causes of irregularity in the bed and abrasions in the banks, than to patch up any remedy for evils consequent on their existence. And I am equally satisfied such a policy will prove the cheapest in the end.

The Principles upon which the proposed System of Improvement is based.—Where the Mississippi runs in straight lines, or in curves of large radii, and where the greatest depth of water occupies the middle of the channel, forming a basin from which the banks on either side rise with a gradual and uniform elevation, we find no abrasion of the banks; consequently, the principles which serve as the base of the proposed system are neither innovations nor mere theoretical ideas, but the results of a simple imitation of the mode which nature, when uninterrupted, adopts to regulate the motion of water. It is an established fact, that in straight canals, where the cross section is formed of a half circle, the greatest velocity is always in the middle, where there is the greatest depth, and consequently the least resistance to motion. It is equally true, that where the banks of a river or a canal rise from the bottom of the bed progressively, with a gradual and uniform elevation, the velocity and action of the current are weakest near the banks, and there exists no apprehension of abrasion. These facts being indisputable, the problem is reduced to finding the means to give, and preserve, to the bed, a proper direction, and a cross section composed of a regular concave form, deepest in the middle, with lateral sides, or banks, rising from the bottom of the bed with a gradual and uniform elevation.

Reasons in favor of the Application of those Principles.—By the adoption of this system of improving the channel of the lower Mississippi, two important effects will be secured.

1st. The middle of the bed being the deepest, the greatest velocity and action of the current will be confined to that part where it can produce no injury; but, on the contrary, prove most useful in deepening the bed, and keeping it clear.

2d. The banks rising from the bottom of the bed in the form of inclined planes, or gentle curves, present the least possible resistance, and, the water rearest them having the least depth and velocity, there can be no abrasions of consequence, and little probability of changes in the channel.

The only difficulty in the application of this system of improvement consists in maintaining the regularity of the proposed profile. The displacement of materials, which always takes place during floods, is generally caused by the irregularities of the present channel,

and is considerable only where there are sudden changes in the fall, or in the direction of the current. These causes would not exist were the channel regulated as proposed; and the higher parts of the banks or batture in front of the levee being covered with a sheet of water of little depth and velocity, the displacement of materials would only occur in the middle of the bed along which they would be carried, rendering the formation of shoals highly improbable; or, if formed at all, they would be of little consequence. And if slight irregularities still remained, caused by abrasions during a flood, they would only acquire a slight depth, which the materials that the current always brings down with it would fill up as soon as the velocity diminished.

Admitting, even in opposition to the advocated opinion, that there would be a considerable transport of materials, they would be almost equally deposited, because the uniform action of a current in a regular channel could not produce irregular effects; so the *régime* of a river could not be sensibly altered. I am well satisfied that the quantity of matters carried along by the current would be much less in the bed if properly regulated, than in its present state. The displacement of the materials forming the bed, which now takes place at every flood, is only due to the sudden changes in the breadth and direction of the current, which are constantly occurring in the present condition of the river. The abrasion of the steep concave banks in the curves of small radii, and that of the bottom caused by the irregularity in the velocity of the stream, provide the greater part of the materials now carried along by the current; while the want of uniformity in the direction and breadth of the bed causes the changes in the extent and height of deposit at the convex sides. In an entirely straight channel, or in one consisting, as before said, of straight reaches of moderate length connected by curves of large radii, of a uniform cross section, and with gradually inclined banks and regular fall, those causes would not exist.

The Mississippi, in its lower course, carries along in suspension small particles of earth, and at its bottom fine sand, which results from the abrasion of its banks, or from the tearing up and wearing away of its bed; while the gravel and *débris* from the upper course of the river and its tributaries, which are found on its lower course, were no doubt deposited there at the time of the great revolutions of the globe. It follows from this, that as soon as we avoid the abrasion of the banks, and the causes of the accumulation of deposits in the channel, there will be little displacement of the materials which compose the bed and banks; then the accumulation of deposits will be prevented, and the *régime* of the river be regular and uniform: for the form of

the proposed bed will effectually prevent the removal of its materials, and the irregularity of the deposit of such sediment and sand as may be brought down from the higher parts of the river, which I am justified in considering the chief evils of its present condition, and the result entirely of those defects which I propose to remedy.

Character of the proposed Improvement.—The special character of the system which I propose for the improvement of the Mississippi River, may be thus stated:

1st. The bottom of the bed will have a concave form, with the greatest depth in the middle, with lateral sides rising progressively towards the top of the banks, so that the current will be completely centralized.

2d. That the action of the current will be strongest in the middle, where it can do no injury; but, on the contrary, be useful in removing all materials which would otherwise be deposited there, and might tend to alter the regularity and uniformity of the cross section.

3d. That the high water cannot reach the levee except over a gentle plane, or slope, covered with grass, which will have a tendency to lessen its action, and thereby prevent abrasion; so that there will be no apprehension of its being broken through, or requiring any important repairs.

4th. That the borders of the bed being thus protected, and secured from the force of the current, and the middle kept deep and clear, the levees will not require to be as high as under the present system, and may be made of common earth, the interior slope being lined with grass; thus combining the least possible resistance to the passage of the water with economy in construction and facility of repair.

5th. That the channel of the river, approximating as nearly as practicable to a straight course, and the main force of the current being confined to the middle, and nowhere washing against the banks, there will be no possibility of the formation of shoals, and scarcely a probability of the existence of snags, or sawyers, to impede navigation or render it dangerous. For such trees as may be brought down from the upper course of the river, or its tributaries, will naturally be carried by the force of the current into the middle of the channel, where the depth and velocity will be greatest, and where they will meet with no impediment to stop or detain them in their onward course to the gulf.

Advantages of the proposed Improvement.—I think that the proposed system for the improvement of the Mississippi River, on account of its special advantages, and its economy, is not only the best, but the only practicable one for permanently regulating the channel and embanking the river; and that when its advantages, and the facility of its

execution, are once confirmed in the public mind by experience, it will afford a model for regulating and embanking such other rivers as may require improvement, and be adopted in preference to any other, with such slight modifications as the peculiar character of each may require. I am convinced that this system, fully and properly carried out, will entirely prevent the too frequent disasters caused by inundation, and secure to navigation a mid-channel of uniform, constant, and sufficient depth everywhere, and at all seasons.

These advantages appear to me to be sufficiently important, and to have enough claim upon public interest, to authorize my asking for this system of improvement, and the reasons upon which it is based, that attention and examination, and the sanction of that approval, which I think they deserve from the well-informed part of the community, who now begin to feel the necessity and importance of improving the course of a river whose inundations cause so many ravages, and whose frequent changes threaten to interfere with the navigation of its channel.

Objections to the proposed Improvement.—The only objection that can be made to the mode of directing the course of the river, and of centralizing the current as proposed, is, that it will require land at some places for a new channel, and at others for extending the breadth of the present bed of the river. But it is certainly better that the planters who reside along its banks, and whose interests are so deeply involved in the future as well as the present condition of the river, should make a voluntary sacrifice of the necessary land, by which a perfect guaranty may be secured for the rest of the delta, than that their plantations should continue to be exposed, as they are at present, to heavy losses every year from inundations caused by the wearing away and breaking through of the levees.

The examination of a system of improvement is often referred to persons who are not thoroughly acquainted with the subject, and who judge of the plan before them according to ancient prejudices and opinions, which are not applicable thereto; and the proposed improvement being unfamiliar to every day's practice, it is rejected, and society deprived of all advantages which may arise from it, or would contribute to the advancement of its commercial and agricultural prosperity. We admit that government ought to be very cautious about adopting a system of improvement suggested by persons who have no experience, and who are unable to give a detailed account of the principles upon which they base them. But propositions brought forward by competent persons, who have had long experience in the practice of their profession, ought to be received with less reserve

and more confidence. Instances are numerous, in which yearly losses have been permitted to continue, until the aggregate amount has gone a hundred fold beyond the expense that would have been sufficient, in the first instance, to prevent them, and in many cases the remedy has come too late to save. The reluctance of governments to undertake the responsibility of new improvements, has deprived some countries of opportunities of national preëminence which time never threw in their way again. Indeed, if a fair estimate could be made, it would be found that the losses consequent upon the refusal to adopt, or the procrastination of new improvements of a public character, have been greater than the actual expense of all that have ever been undertaken, successful or unsuccessful.

The present Defective and Dangerous Condition of the River.—So long as the present condition of the river is permitted to continue, all attempts to remedy the abrasion of its banks, the overflow of its waters, and the damage resulting from them, by mere temporary, or local, improvements—no matter how costly they may be—must prove utterly inefficient. The course of the river must undergo a radical change, and the system of improvement must be of a general, uniform and consistent character, before any real permanent benefit can be derived from the amount of expenditure which the giving way of the levees renders yearly necessary. It is, therefore, the duty of the Legislature of Louisiana to adopt some such system, as by that means only can they hope to remedy the evils consequent upon the present condition of the river; or relieve the agricultural interests along its banks from the heavy losses yearly recurring; or save the commercial and real estate interests from the utter ruin that now threatens them. A heavy responsibility must rest upon each future Legislature of that state, for every neglect to perform so highly important a duty. That the improvements hitherto attempted have proved insufficient to accomplish the end desired, requires no argument: the results speak for themselves. Till now, if the utterly futile efforts to deepen the southwest pass by dredging machines be excepted, all attempts to improve the river have been limited to a few cut-offs, executed without any regard to system, and not even in the proper direction; and of levees erected along the banks at random, without any regular, uniform, or consistent plan. In fact, the river has been left in its natural state, and entirely to the discretion of the planters along its banks. Consequently, the convex banks have steadily increased, in some cases naturally, in others by artificial means used for that purpose; so that the whole current of the river has been thrown with a yearly increased force against the concave banks, and

the tendency to abrasion, change, and overflow, has been yearly increased. This is all that has been done for the river, the result of which has been to increase its already existing defects; while nothing has been attempted in aiding the discharge of the water, so as to reduce its height, or to relieve the levees from its great pressure in time of flood, which is continually wearing them away and breaking through; such as straightening the course of the river, where it could be done by the making of properly directed cut-offs, or altering abrupt curves into those of large radii, or by centralizing the current. The very means used operate against the intended object. To increase the convex banks and the levees, also building new and raising the old, serves but to increase the resistance to the motion of the waters, and add to their accumulation in time of flood, thus making the damage more certain and wide-spread, should a crevasse occur. The great error has been, that all attempts have been made with a view, or at least with the result, of raising the waters by impeding their progress; instead of lowering them, by straightening and regulating the bed in which they run.

Conclusions.—In thus placing my views before the public, my desire is to confer a benefit upon my fellow-citizens of the state of Louisiana, by presenting for their consideration a mode of improving the Mississippi, consisting of a system for regulating and leveeing the channel, which combines that economy and security so indispensably necessary in works of this kind. It needs no argument to prove that the evils arising from the present condition of the river are yearly increasing; and that the time has come when some general and uniform system for the permanent improvement of the channel throughout the whole lower valley ought to be adopted. For the heavy losses and expenses entailed upon the planters by periodical inundations already surpass, in the aggregate, the cost of any system of improvement that may be adopted, however general or extensive it may be. The cost of constructing the levees, even on their present defective system, is a great obstacle in the way of any general improvement of the river, as it must cause expense, which, with the uncertainty of success in the minds of some, may for a time prevent the adoption of my plan. But I feel confident that the people of Louisiana, when they consider how utterly inefficient their present system has proved, notwithstanding its immense consumption of time, labor, and money; and when they compare it with the system I propose, which is simple, comparatively cheap, and entirely in accordance with the laws of nature, they will be compelled to adopt it, even on the principle of economy, as not only the best, but the only means by which the agricultural interests can be secured

from heavy and frequent losses, and their commercial and real estate interests from total ruin.

If this system of improvement be adopted by the Legislature, I have no hesitation in declaring my entire confidence that the result will fully establish all that can be claimed for it. Overflows will cease; the channel will become uniform and permanent; its navigation will be secure and uninterrupted in low water as well as in time of a flood; and the agricultural, commercial, and real estate interests along the river banks will no longer be exposed to heavy losses, or threatened danger.

The great size of the lower Mississippi, the extent of territory through which it flows, and the vast and important interests which have grown into existence upon its borders, and now lie exposed to the ravages of inundations, render it utterly impossible that its power can be controlled, and its defects remedied, through the means of individual energy or individual capital. The improvement of the river must be the work of that government whose people are the most deeply interested in its accomplishment; and upon the Legislature of that state must devolve the highly important duty of selecting and adopting the mode in which it shall be carried out. They can no longer neglect this duty in justice to themselves, for many of them are sufferers by the present condition of the river, and personally interested in the matter; nor in justice to the whole state, whose every prosperity is involved in it. For the manner in which they may undertake to discharge this duty, they will incur a heavy responsibility; but should they neglect or refuse it altogether, they will prove themselves to be as blind to the experience of the past as deaf to the warnings of the future.—*Albert Stein.*

MISSISSIPPI RIVER.—DEPOSITS AND CHANGES AT ITS MOUTH.—We have been presented by Professor Riddell, at our solicitation, with the manuscripts of the Report prepared by him to be read before the Society of American Geologists, and a letter furnished by him to Professor Lyell upon the subject of the sedimentary deposits of the Mississippi. We regard the subject as of deep interest and importance, both as a matter of scientific research and of practical utility. The changes going on at the mouth of the Mississippi cannot be unimportant to our commerce. The remark has been made by some one, that in a remote age our shipping will leave the river on entering the ocean somewhere between

Florida and the West Indies; and that is practically even now the real mouth of the Mississippi. But however this may be, we publish the investigations of Professor Riddell, which have not yet appeared in print.

To the Association of American Geologists and Naturalists :

GENTLEMEN :—At your convention in 1845, you named me as one of the committee of three, to ascertain the amount of sediment carried into the sea by the Mississippi River; the result to be reported to you in 1846. The other members of the committee residing at a distance, I have been unable to profit by such a coöperation with them as would be desirable. What I can present you, will be mostly my individual observations, as yet necessarily incomplete, inasmuch as they extend through only a part of the year. I am of the opinion, however, that the general average amount of sediment, the year through, and one year with another, will not be found to vary essentially from the mean result which my observations give.

The following table embraces the results of experiments upon Mississippi water, taken at intervals of three days, extending from May 21 to August 13, 1846. The water was drawn up in a pail from a wharf near the mint, where there is considerable current. Its temperature was observed at the time, and the height of the river determined. Some minutes afterward, the pail of water was agitated, and two samples of one pint each measured out. The glass pint measure was graduated by weighing into it at 60° Fahr. 7295.581 grains of distilled water, and marking the height with a diamond.

From the pint samples of water, after standing a day or two, most of the matter mechanically suspended would subside to the bottom of the containing vessels. Near two thirds of the clear supernatant liquid was next decanted, while the remaining water, along with the sediment, was in each instance poured upon a double filter, the two parts of which had previously been adjusted to be of equal weight. The filters were numbered and laid aside, and ultimately dried in the sunshine under like circumstances, in two parcels, one embracing the experiments from May 21st to July 15th; the other from July 17th to August 13th. The difference in weight between the two parts of each double filter was then carefully ascertained, and as to the inner filter alone the sediment was attached, its excess of weight indicated the amount of sediment. I employed Mr. John Chandler, a skilful manipulator, to assist me in all these operations.

Date of Experiment.	Height of river above low water.	Temperature.	Grains sediment in pint water.	
1846.	ft. in.		A.	B.
May 21....	10 11	72°	6.66	7.00
" 25....	10 11	73	9.08	9.12
" 27....	10 10	73	7.80	9.00
" 29....	11 0	74	7.80	8.10
June 2....	11 1	75	4.80	5.45
" 4....	11 1	75	7.87	6.10
" 6....	11 4	75	4.60	4.90
" 8....	11 4	75.5	5.48	5.60
" 10....	10 4	76	6.70	6.80
" 12....	10 8	76	6.50	6.30
" 14....	10 5	76.5	6.00	6.00
" 16....	10 4	76.5	6.47	6.15
" 20....	10 4	77	7.08	7.40
" 22....	10 2	77	9.88	9.00
" 24....	9 8	77	8.40	8.48
" 26....	8 9	77.5	8.25	8.78
" 28....	8 0	79	9.10	9.58
July 1....	7 2	79.5	9.15	9.25
" 3....	7 2	79.5	9.63	10.00
" 6....	6 2	81	8.20	7.57
" 8....	6 0	81	7.30	6.96
" 10....	6 1	81	6.12	6.28
" 13....	5 9	82	7.72	7.30
" 15....	5 10	82	6.67	6.80
" 17....	5 10	82	4.65	4.57
" 20....	5 4	82	6.07	5.75
" 24....	3 10	84	5.76	5.72
" 27....	3 1	84	4.77	4.60
" 29....	3 11	84.5	4.28	4.13
Aug. 1....	2 6	85	4.40	4.44
" 3....	2 0	84	3.18	3.34
" 5....	1 9	83	3.56	3.40
" 7....	1 5	83	2.85	2.85
" 10....	1 6	83	3.03	2.92
" 13....	2 3	84	2.97	3.00

The mean average of column A is...6.32 grs.
 " " " " B is...6.30 "

By repeated trials in the first week in July, by direct and careful comparison with distilled water, the specific gravity of the filtered river water was found to be 1.00025; consequently a pint of such water at 60° weighs 7297.404 grains. Thence by weight, the ratio of the sediment to the water is as 1 to 1158.3.

In the months of June and July, 1843, I made several experiments after a different manner, and obtained an average of $\frac{1}{1245}$ for the proportion of sediment, being less than the above by nearly one fourteenth part of the whole. The proportion 1 to 1155 is probably nearest the truth, as it is based upon experiments embracing the most usual average variation of 10 feet in the stage of water.

We have no direct information as to the full depth of the delta formation about New-Orleans. The deepest boring that I have

heard of extended 200 feet below the level of the sea. M. W. Hoffman, Esq., an intelligent lawyer of this city, informs me that in May and June, 1828, he daily witnessed the progress of this boring at the old fort, near the mouth of the bayou St. John, on the shore of Lake Pontchartrain, a few miles north of the city. Harvey Elkins, then proprietor of the hotel, bored to the depth of 207 feet, in search of pure water. He desisted because the auger broke. A copious supply of water arose, with occasional evolutions of gas; the quality of the water being brackish, like that of the wells in the city. Some few recent fossils were occasionally brought up, such as shells, crustacea, bones, and part of a deer's horn. Indian pottery was found at the depth of 30 feet. The strata perforated were all of the delta formation, the lowest being a hard blue, silicious clay, like that now found at the bottom of the Mississippi river.

As to the quality of New-Orleans well water, alluded to above, it will be proper to quote some observations thereon, made by me in 1837. (Gibson's New-Orleans Directory, 1838, p. 292.) "The proportion of mineral matter dissolved in the water varies in different seasons of the year, it being the greatest after long-continued dry weather, when the wells are lowest. A well at No. 328 Camp street, ten feet in depth, on the 22d of September, yielded by evaporation one part of solid residue to 1200 by weight of water. On the 20th of December, 1 to 1094. This residue is an olive-colored powder, with a sharp taste. Nearly one fourth of it appears to be organic and organized matters, such as the sporules of algae, microscopic animalcules and their ova. One half only of the whole residue can be re-dissolved in water; oxide of iron, carbonate of lime, and the organized matters still retaining the solid condition.

"By chemical reagents I determined the presence of the following substances, which may be regarded as the mineral impurities of the water, viz: carbonic acid, chlorine, lime, oxide of iron, magnesia, and soda."

The saline and other dissolved impurities, contained in the Mississippi river water, doubtless vary very much at different seasons of the year; dependent upon the particular tributary river which happens to have the ascendancy. On the 20th of August, 1846, the solid residue from the evaporation of carefully filtered water was by weight 1 to nearly 10,000 of the water. But I presume the mean proportion the year through would be found considerably less. Besides organic matter, this residue was found to contain chrome, lime, magnesia, soda, carbonic acid, sulphuric acid a trace, oxide of iron a trace. At the ratio of 1 to 10,000, suppose one half to contribute permanently to the saline matters of the ocean, one cubic foot of sea water is derived from every sum of 727 cubic feet of

Mississippi water that runs into the Gulf of Mexico. This is equivalent to the production of 0.043 of a cubic mile of sea water of present density every year, or to a cubic mile of sea water produced in about $23\frac{1}{4}$ years.

With a view to learn the main composition of the Mississippi sediment, Mr. Chandler and myself submitted to careful analysis 100 grains taken the 20th of May, from the river margin, and dried at about 212° Fahr. before weighing. We found

	Grains.
Silica.....	74.15
Alumina.....	9.14
Oxide of iron.....	4.56
Lime.....	2.08
Magnesia.....	1.52
Manganese.....	0.04
Potassa, } not determined.	
Soda, }	
Phosphoric acid.....	0.44
Sulphuric acid.....	0.07
Carbonic acid.....	0.74
Chlorine.....	0.01
Water.....	3.12
Organic matter.....	3.10

Total.....98.97

*Branch Mint, New-Orleans, }
March 5th, 1846.*

PROF. LYELL: *Sir*.—In accordance with your request, I proceed to make estimates from the best data in my possession, respecting the deposition of sediment from the waters of the Mississippi, and the probable length of time heretofore occupied in the delta formation.

On the 17th of August, 1841, when the Mississippi was about five feet below its average height, I made careful soundings directly across from the mint, where the width is very near one third of a mile. The soundings were made at nearly equal intervals, beginning twelve rods from the wharf, and ending eight rods from the opposite shore, showing the following depths in fathoms, viz.: 11, 13, $13\frac{1}{2}$, 15, 23, 23, $22\frac{1}{2}$, $22\frac{1}{2}$, 19, $13\frac{1}{2}$, $10\frac{1}{2}$, $8\frac{1}{2}$.

In July, 1843, I made some careful experiments to determine the amount of sedimentary matter in the Mississippi water, which then possessed about an average degree of turbidness. For each experiment I used near a pint of water, 475.85 grammes Fr. actual weight. The sediment was allowed near ten days for natural subsidence; it was then carefully collected, allowed to dry spontaneously, and when effectually dry, was carefully weighed.

Sediment in grammes.	Ratio by wt. to the whole.
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No. 1—Procured from opposite Randolph, by Dr. Drake, in June, 1843...	0.40....1-1190
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Sediment in grammes.	Ratio by wt. to the whole.
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No. 2—Opposite Carthage, June, Dr. Drake.....	0.38....1-1250
No. 3—Opposite New-Orleans, June, Dr. Drake..	0.35....1-1350
No. 4—Opposite New-Orleans, July 6th, 1843...	0.40....1-1190

Average ratio of dry sedimentary matter in numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, to the weight of water and sediment, = near 1-1245.

From the best information which I have obtained, derived principally from C. G. Forshey, Esq., of Vidalia, Engineer, I think the superficial area of the true delta formation of the Mississippi, or below Baton Rouge, where the last bluffs show themselves, may be taken as 15,000 square miles; constituting a region of mean width 75 miles, and mean length 200 miles.

Probably the depth of the alluvion may be set down at one fifth of a mile, by inference from the depth of the Gulf of Mexico.

I will now proceed to make some numerical approximations relevant to the subject.

Width of the river opposite the mint $\frac{1}{3}$ mile = 1,760 feet..... (1)

Mean depth, 100 feet..... (2)

Mean variety of the current per second, say 2 feet..... (3)

Mean amount of sedimentary matter by weight 1-1245, by volume near 1-3000. (4)

$(1) \times (2) \times (3) = 1760 \times 106 \times 2 = 352,000$ cubic feet of water passing per second. (5)

$(4) \times (5) = 1-3000 \times 352,000 = 117\frac{1}{2}$ cubic feet of earth per second..... (6)

$(6) \times \text{sec. in 1 year} = 117\frac{1}{2} \times 31,557,600 = 370,275$ and 400 cubic feet of earth borne down by the current in 1 year.. (7)

$(7) \div \text{cubic feet of a cubic mile} = 025.155$ of a cubic mile of earth brought past New-Orleans in 1 year..... (8)

One fifth of a mile $\div (8) = 7.95$ years occupied in depositing the equivalent of one square mile of delta, as at present rates (9)

$(9) \times 15,000$ square miles of delta below Baton Rouge $= 7.95 \times 15,000 = 119,250$ years occupied in its deposition.

Thus, giving a broad margin for inexact data, the latest formed considerable sum of the earth's dry land surface must have engrossed in its continuous matter and enlargement up to the present time, the round period of one hundred thousand years.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
J. L. RIDDELL.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—Professor Lyell having been referred to in the article above, we may remark that there is before us a letter written by him to Professor Riddell, in which he remarks:

"On reading your valuable paper I perceive that you state that the water, when taken for

the experiment, possessed an *average* degree of turbidness. This may be sufficient if you are equally satisfied that the average quantity of water discharged may be measured by the month you assign for your experiment.

"Perhaps you may fairly say, that in assigning two feet per second, we *underrate* the average velocity, which may more than counterbalance any excess, on the score of volume of water.

"Next, as to one fifth of a mile for average depth of the filled-up space, if this be said by any to be a probable exaggeration, we may remark on the other side, how vast a discharge of mud we have lost by its being carried far beyond the delta into the gulf.

"The bulk of *drift wood* also ought, perhaps, to be considered."

The late imposing assemblage of the British Scientific Association, over which Sir R. Murchison presides, and to which delegates were accredited from the Emperor of Russia, the Kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia, etc., was the occasion of an address from Professor Lyell, on the *Valley and Delta of the Mississippi*:

"For nearly fifty miles of its extent, that of the Mississippi presents a vast river running nearly parallel with the sea, from which it is separated at particular places by an embankment only half a mile across. The valley is nearly level, there being only a rise of nine feet between the mouth of the river and New-Orleans, a distance of 150 miles; and the inclination is equally trifling still further inland, being never more than six inches in a mile. This uniformity is explained by the fact, that the moment the river reaches its banks it overflows, and so the velocity, which is only four miles an hour, is instantly checked. The debris carried along with the flood is deposited over the surrounding plains, the principal part being left near the bed of the river; the necessary result being, that the banks have been gradually raised to a higher level than the lands adjoining them. This slope, from the river to the interior, is as much as 18 feet in a distance of a few miles. The interior consists of vast swamps covered with trees, the tops alone are visible in the time of floods. Sometimes the inhabitants on the bank of the Ohio or Red River, after making a large raft, on which they prepare to bring all the produce of the year, for 1,800 or 2,000 miles, to the market of New-Orleans, find themselves, near the termination of a journey of some two months, entire weeks of which may have been passed by them aground, waiting for a flood to float them off again, suddenly hurried through one of the openings which the river makes in its banks, at the rate of 10 or 12 miles an hour, and left aground in the midst of a vast morass; where they are obliged to climb a tree for safety, and await the chance of a boat coming to their rescue. Neverthe-

less, the course of the river cannot be permanently altered by these violent torrents, on account of the great depth of the main stream. Respecting the age of this vast formation, some curious points were stated. It appears that the Delta has not, in point of fact, advanced into the sea—notwithstanding all the assertions to the contrary—more than one mile in one hundred or one hundred and twenty years past; the sediment of the water is only 1 in 1,800 by weight, or 1 in 3,000 by volume. The time required for the accumulation of matter found in the Delta and Valley of the Mississippi, must have been 67,000 years; and another 33,000 years must have been required for bringing down to its present position the great deposit above. The larger fossil animals found in the soil of the Valley of the Mississippi are the mastodon, the megatherium, an extinct elephant, an extinct species of horse, some bovine animals, and a kind of tapir. Taking the period which he assigned for the formation of the Delta as a unit, it would be necessary to conceive as many of these units as the unit itself contained years, in order to arrive at the vast antiquity of even the comparatively modern formations beneath it."

MISSISSIPPI BASIN.—For the following, we are indebted to Wm. Darby, Esq., in a communication addressed to the Hon. J. C. Calhoun:

The outlines of the Mississippi Basin can only be determined approximately; but, however, with adequate accuracy for all general purposes. Commencing on the Gulf of Mexico, and at the mouth of the Atchafalaya, the subjoined tabular view, taken from the best maps, will serve to show the several parts and perimeter of this great Basin:

	Miles.
Mouth of Atchafalaya, between the sources of streams confluent of the Mississippi Basin, and those of the Gulf of Mexico, to latitude forty degrees in the Rocky Mountains, from whence issue the sources of Platte, Rio Grande, and Colorado rivers.....	1,400
Along Rocky Mountains to sources of Marias river.....	700
Around northern sources of Missouri river, to the head of Red river branch of Assiniboin.....	800
Around the sources of Mississippi proper, to the head of Kankakee branch of Illinois river.....	1,100
Between the confluent of the Canadian sea and those of Ohio, to the extreme source of Alleghany river.....	500
Along the dividing line of water source between the sources of streams flowing towards the Atlantic ocean and those into Ohio river.....	700

Between confluent of Mobile and Tennessee rivers.....	300
Between sources discharged into Mississippi and those of Mobile and Pearl rivers, to the mouth of Mississippi river,	400
Outlet of Atchafalaya.....	200

Entire outline of Mississippi Basin.....6,100

To estimate, to any very near approach to accuracy, the actual area comprised within this great perimeter, exceeding six thousand miles, is no easy task; but the following carefully measured sections, geographically and by the river valleys, will exhibit the parts comparatively with each other:

Table of the extent of the Mississippi Basin by lines of latitude.

	Square Miles.
From lat. 45 deg. to 49 deg. N.,	150,000
“ 40 deg. to 45 deg. N.,	410,000
“ 35 deg. to 40 deg. N.,	520,000
South of latitude 35,	170,000

Entire surface, by rhombs of lat., . . .1,250,000

The following, from a careful measurement of its great valleys, is the aggregate area of the Mississippi Basin, as given in the third edition of Darby's Geographical Dictionary:

	Square Miles.
Valley of Ohio.....	200,000
Valley of Mississippi proper.....	180,000
Valley of Missouri.....	500,000
Valley of the Lower Mississippi.....	330,000

Aggregate area.....1,210,000

MISSISSIPPI.—EARLY HISTORY.—Of the early discovery of this country, there is no history which, in all its details, can be called authentic. Though not quite so apocryphal as that which narrates the adventures of Jason in search of the golden fleece, or Hercules strangling lions and other monsters, with which Grecian and Roman traditions have entertained mankind, the story of the adventures of De Soto and his companions is, at best, believed only because no more probable or authentic account exists.

The territory now embraced within the limits of the state of Mississippi was a “vast, unbroken, untrodden, magnificent wilderness,” save the almost imperceptible traces by which the untutored savages glided from one of their hunting grounds to another, and the few sparse villages which they inhabited, until the year 1540, (310 years ago,) when De Soto, with his followers, numbering about 1,000 mounted men, led on by thirst of conquest and gold, penetrated across the eastern boundary of the state, to that portion of it now called Yallobusha county. They there took possession of several hundred wigwams, which the affrighted Indians abandoned at the approach of this warlike and formidable train. Here they found an abundance of corn, which afforded subsistence

to themselves and their horses during a winter of unusual severity, and fortified themselves against attack from the only quarter which threatened them, as well as the nature of their situation allowed. Well it was for them that they did so: for the Spaniard of that day, with all his chivalry and pride, was but a barbarian and his cruelty and injustice to the native tribes, whom they had driven from their rude but happy homes, soon provoked retaliatory measures from the latter. The Indians attacked their fortifications with such courage and success, that every habitation was burnt, about forty of the Spaniards and their horses killed, their arms and clothing consumed, and indeed almost everything essential to the comfort, subsistence and protection of adventurers, far from their native land, and in the midst of implacable enemies, was destroyed.

The Spaniards were thus forced, temporarily, to adopt another position, which having done, and having repaired their losses so far as ingenuity and labor could accomplish it, they recommenced their march westwardly, and in a few days struck the eastern bank of the Mississippi river. Having here consumed a month in constructing boats, they finally succeeded in landing on the western bank of the river, at a point (as it is supposed) a short distance below Helena, Arkansas. They then penetrated Arkansas, in search of gold, as far as the Arkansas river; and at this point, De Soto, having lost about half of his gallant band, and their horses, and being without sufficient provisions for the residue, despairing of the object which had hitherto animated his bosom—the discovery of gold—and dejected and dispirited by all these causes, resolved to return to the bank of the Mississippi river, and there establish a colony, until he could send to Cuba (then occupied by Spain) for ships and a reinforcement of men and arms, with which to take permanent and secure possession of his newly-discovered country, doubtless with the view of founding a mighty and populous empire, with which his memory would for ever be associated. But alas, for ambition—that aspiring quality, “for man's illusion given!” No sooner had De Soto reached the Mississippi river, than he was seized with a fatal disorder, which terminated his life. Before his death, he appointed Luis de Muscoso his successor in command. To prevent the Indians from mutilating his body, his followers excavated a green oak, in which they laid his body. They then nailed a plank over it, and threw it into the river, where it sunk.* This occurred in the year 1542.

It would be naturally supposed that the remnant of his band would now desire to return to Cuba; but, although dispirited, they were undismayed, and, under the command of

* De Soto was 42 years of age when he died, and had expended 100,000 ducats in this expedition.—*Holmes's Annals of America*, vol. 1, p. 74.

Muscose, they wandered for many months among the western wilds, suffering all the misery which want, exposure and danger could inflict, till the year 1543, when the survivors returned again to the Mississippi river, and prepared to leave the country, and by descending the river to the sea, seek a more hospitable land. Having, after several months, constructed a number of large open barks, the sides of which were defended by hides against the Indian arrows, they embarked.

They now numbered about 350 men. They found their way beset by hostile Indians, who, in their light canoes, would pass or run around them, and discharge showers of arrows among them, during several days and nights. At length, weary of submission to this harassing species of warfare, about fifty of the Spaniards manned a pirogue, and boldly sallied out to attack the savages. But all were cut off—not one returned. The remainder, at the end of twenty days, reached the sea, and shortly afterwards arrived at a Spanish town on the coast of Mexico, where they were kindly treated. But adventurers like these are always unfitted, by their peculiar habits of life, for any permanent occupation or home; and from this point they soon dispersed, and wandered whither-ever accident or fortune might lead them. Thus ended the romantic expedition of Fernando de Soto.†

In 1682, (140 years after De Soto's invasion of American territory,) La Salle descended the Mississippi river to the point of its confluence with the Gulf of Mexico, and there took formal possession of the adjacent country, in the name of the King of France, and called it Louisiana.

Ascending the river again, he tarried among the Natchez and Tensas tribes of Indians, and then went to Chickasaw Fort. A short time afterwards he went to France, and in 1684 returned with a colony, bound for the mouth of the Mississippi river; but unfortunately missing the longitude, he landed on the coast of Texas, where, for several years, the unhappy colonists, assailed by various hardships, wasted away, and La Salle himself, not long afterwards, was murdered by some of the discontented and factious survivors.

In 1698, M. d'Iberville was authorized by the French king again to colonize the regions bordering on the lower Mississippi. He landed at Ship Island, off the mouth of Pascagoula river, and erected huts for his colonists. Here he discovered the Biloxi tribe. From this point, setting out in two large barges, he explored the coast, and on the second day of March discovered the mouth of the Mississippi

river. All doubt of the identity of this river with that descended by La Salle was dispersed by discovering, when they reached Bayou Goula, articles left there by the latter in 1682, and also a letter left by De Tonti for La Salle, in 1685. Having visited the mouth of Red river and Manchac, Iberville returned to Ship Island, and erected a fort at the bay of Biloxi, about eighty miles east of New-Orleans. He then embarked for France, leaving the fort in command of his brother, Bienville. In December, 1699, Iberville returned from France, and built a fort soon afterwards on the banks of the Mississippi river.

In 1700, De Tonti, having descended the Mississippi river, arrived at Iberville's fort with a party of Canadian French, from the Illinois. Iberville availed himself of De Tonti's experience and knowledge of the country, to ascend the river and explore its banks, form alliances, &c. He accordingly detailed a party, with De Tonti and Bienville, to ascend in barges and canoes. They ascended as high up as the Natchez country, four hundred miles above the French fort. Here he selected a site for a fort, which, however, was not erected till sixteen years afterwards, and called it Rosalie. A settlement was also made in 1703 on the Yazoo river, which was called St. Peter's.*

In 1704, Iberville died at Havana, leaving the colonists dependent for subsistence on hunting and fishing, and the precarious bounty of the Indians. They did not resort for some years to agriculture, and it may well be supposed how difficult it was to induce men accustomed to this idle but seductive life, to exchange it for agriculture or other regular labor. In 1713, they cultivated small gardens at Biloxi.

In 1716, Bienville built a fort at Natchez—the site which Iberville had selected and called Rosalie, sixteen years before—and left in it a garrison of eighteen men, under M. Paillaux.

The colonies, thus established, grew but slowly. New-Orleans having been soon afterwards founded, and the coast above that city being exceedingly fertile, numerous emigrants were attracted thither, and in 1728, rice, tobacco, and indigo had been produced and exported in considerable quantities.

Unfortunately, at this time, reciprocal ill-will had grown up between the frontier settlements and the neighboring Indians. The consequence was, a conspiracy of several tribes for the purpose of exterminating the whites. The Natchez dispatched runners to the various towns and settlements of the Indians, who distributed quivers full of reeds, each of which contained the same number. It was agreed, that after a certain moon, a reed should be drawn every day from each quiver, and that the day when the last reed was drawn should

† In 1673, Father Marquette, and Joliet, a citizen of Quebec, employed by M. Talon for the Mississippi, entered that noble river on the 17th June, and after descending it until they came within three days' journey of the Gulf of Mexico, they returned towards Canada.—*Holmes's Annals of America*, vol. 1, p. 74.

* The site of St. Peter's is now owned by J. U. Payne, Esq., of New-Orleans, being part of his plantation.

be that of the intended massacre. It is said that an Indian girl, anxious to prevent the destruction of the whites, and especially to save the life of *one* of them, secretly drew several reeds from the quiver which the Natchez tribe possessed, with the view of thus defeating the union of the different tribes on the same day, without which, it was believed by her that no single tribe would make the attack.

But her stratagem only precipitated the catastrophe. On the appointed day, the Natchez, thinking that their allies had faltered, resolved to execute alone the original design contemplated by all. Accordingly, while the whites (though forewarned) were in their houses or fields, dispersed and engaged in their various pursuits, the Indians entered the settlement, and, under the pretense of trading for provisions and ammunition for a great hunt, obtained access to their counting-houses and dwellings, and in an evil hour fell upon them, and massacred them in detail. Every white man in the settlement was murdered, except a carpenter and a tailor, both of whom were spared by the Indians, with the view, on their part, of building houses and making garments for themselves; and also with the exception of two soldiers, who, having been absent on that day hunting, were on their way back to the fort, but perceiving the smoke and flames issuing from the houses, and hearing the yells of the savages, instantly fled, and by various means found their way to New-Orleans, where they announced the terrible calamity which had befallen the garrison at Fort Rosalie.

The women and slaves were preserved as prisoners. The governor, Chapart—who, though frequently admonished of his danger before this massacre, had turned a deaf ear to the advice of his counsellors, and, being of an audacious and reckless character, had even threatened every one with punishment who should communicate any similar intelligence—was the first to pay the forfeit of his temerity. At the same time, the little colony at St. Peter's, on the Yazoo river, and the one at Sicily Island, and a third, near the town of Monroe, shared the same disastrous fate.* For, although the neighboring tribes had been prevented by the stratagem of the Natchez girl from uniting in the massacre at Fort Rosalie, they yet proceeded, on the day which, but for the precipitancy of the Natchez tribe, would have been the time for general coöperation, to massacre all the whites within their reach.

Thus, in the year 1728, in one day, were swept away every vestige of civilization by the Indians, within the limits which now constitute the boundaries of the state of Missis-

sippi. Not less than two hundred persons, who had encountered and survived all the perils and hardships of emigration and a sickly climate, perished in an hour beneath the scalping-knife of the savage.*

The Indians, inflated with success, and glutted with spoil, abandoned themselves, over the collected bones of their victims, to the most intemperate orgies; but in the midst of their prolonged carousing, Lesueur, having obtained the aid of six hundred Choctaw warriors, on the Tombigbee, advanced suddenly upon them, and took sixty scalps, and rescued fifty women and children, and the carpenter and tailor before mentioned, from captivity, besides one hundred and six negro slaves. After this exploit, these Choctaw warriors dispersed without further action. But, in the mean time, Loubois was advancing with a large force from New-Orleans, and the Natchez Indians, learning their approach, ceased from their carousals, and fortified themselves for defense. After a skirmish of seven days, during which the Indians fought desperately, they sent a flag to Loubois, proposing to surrender the remaining French prisoners, numbering two hundred souls, provided the French artillery should be removed, and the siege abandoned; but declaring that a refusal of these terms would be followed by the immediate destruction of all the French prisoners by fire. In order to preserve life, Loubois consented, and negotiations commenced, for which purpose hostilities had been previously suspended for ten days. At length it was agreed that the prisoners should, on the following day, be surrendered, opposite to the fort. But during the night, the Indians, *justly suspecting* treachery on the part of the French, retired from their stronghold with their women and children, and personal effects, and crossed the river. On the next morning the French found the prisoners, but the Indians were beyond their pursuit.

* I have taken the foregoing narrative from Monette's History of the Valley of the Mississippi. In Holmes's Annals of America, vol. 1, p. 545, A.D. 17 9, I find the following account of the Natchez massacre:

"The Natchez, an Indian nation, formed a general conspiracy to massacre the French colonists of Louisiana." (Louisiana then comprehended Natchez.) "M. de Chepart, who commanded the post at Natchez, had been embroiled with the natives, but they so far dissembled as to excite the belief that the French had no allies more faithful than they. The plot having been deeply laid, they appeared in great numbers about the French houses, on the 28th November, telling the people they were going to hunt. They sung, after the calumet, in honor of the French commandant and his company. Each having returned to his post, a signal was given, and instantly the general massacre began. Nearly two hundred persons were killed. Of all, not more than twenty French and five or six negroes escaped. One hundred and fifty children, eighty women, and almost as many negroes, were made prisoners." The authority quoted for this is *Charlevoix, Nouv. France*, ii. 466.

* The *immediate* cause of this massacre was the wrestling from the Indians, by the governor, of a fertile tract of land, about six miles below Natchez, for the purpose of bestowing it on ——— Hutchins, whose venerable descendant now resides on it, and is nearly 80 years of age.

Savages though they were, there is no doubt that the Natchez tribe felt all the sorrow of exiles, in being driven from their delightful home. No one can now ride among the romantic hills of Adams county, or the beautiful valley opposite to Natchez, which constituted the home and hunting ground of the Indians—and which, in their day and generation, abounded with fish and game, as well as the spontaneous growth of many articles essential to their comfort,—without sympathizing with them in the sad destiny by which they were driven from this fair inheritance.

A few days after the expulsion of the Indians from Natchez, M. Loubois erected a terraced fort, of which the high bluff easily admitted, on the banks of the Mississippi, and supplied it with cannon and other munitions of war, and a garrison of one hundred and twenty men. The remains of this fort are still visible, though all traces of the race which founded it, as well as of their language, have been obliterated. But their habits are still exemplified in the lives of some of their descendants, improved by association and amalgamation with a more energetic race; and few towns or neighborhoods exhibit more evidences of the virtues of all races and nations, without the vices of either, than Natchez and the adjacent settlements.

My next number will contain the history of the Natchez tribe, and their allies, after the massacre at Fort Rosalie, and of the territory now composing the state of Mississippi, up to the period when the American flag first floated over it, and converted it from a refuge of the European to the "land of the free and the home of the brave."

WAR OF THE NATCHEZ—CHICKASAW WARS—DEFEAT OF BIENVILLE—EARLY HISTORY.—In the first number of this compendious history, we reached the period when Loubois, having driven the Natchez tribe from the eastern shores of the Mississippi river, and having also erected and garrisoned a new fort at Natchez, returned to New-Orleans with the rescued captives, to make fresh preparations for the pursuit and extermination of the fugitive savages. The further prosecution of the war was delayed till the arrival of reinforcements from France. In the mean time the French succeeded in forming alliances with several powerful tribes of Indians inhabiting the south, as well as the Illinois and Wabash regions.

The Natchez, expecting an invasion, fortified themselves, with great skill, at a point on Black river, below the confluence of the Ouachita and Little rivers, near the spot where the town of Trinity now stands.

M. Perrier, by whom the war was to be conducted, having organized all the effective force of the colony—which (inclusive of a reinforcement of 180 soldiers from France) did

not exceed one thousand men—commenced his campaign. Leaving about 200 men to defend the colony at home, he embarked at New-Orleans, and ascended to Black River, with an army numbering little over 700 men. On the 20th of January he came in sight of the stronghold of the enemy, where the "Suns" had resolved on a desperate defense. On his way to the fort, the French general had been reinforced by about 350 Indian allies, who proved to be of invaluable service in the battle which ensued.

The besieged made valorous resistance for the space of three days, when, M. Perrier having brought up his artillery, they hoisted a flag of truce. After fruitless negotiations, which consumed many hours, the French commenced and kept up a furious cannonade on the fort, until a sudden tempest interrupted their fire. The Natchez availed themselves of the storm and darkness, to retreat into the neighboring swamps, but the Indian allies were sent in pursuit of them, while the French stormed the intrenchments. The former succeeded in capturing 427 of the Natchez; and with these prisoners, the French general, having razed the outworks of the fort, and dismissed his allies, returned in triumph to New-Orleans. The prisoners, among whom were the "Great Sun," and other chiefs, were soon afterwards sent to St. Domingo, and sold as slaves.

But this formidable tribe, though routed, were not yet conquered. One half of their original number yet remained free and dispersed in various quarters. Two hundred of them, having united near Nachitoches, then commanded by St. Denys, an officer of talent and experience, resolved on attacking and exterminating the whites at this post. But St. Denys adopted timely measures of defense, and having secured the aid of several friendly tribes, succeeded, after a hard-fought battle, in repulsing them. Following up this advantage, he pursued them to a neighboring fort, to which they had retreated, and gallantly assaulted them, killed 92 braves, and routed and dispersed the remainder. This was the closing scene of the "Natchez War;" and the scattered remnant of this once powerful and warlike tribe incorporated themselves with the Chickasaw and other tribes hostile to the French. Into those tribes they infused their own ferocity and hatred, as will be perceived hereafter, and succeeded in rekindling the fires which the French vainly supposed had been quenched in the blood of the Natchez.*

The colony of Louisiana, though victorious, was much enfeebled by the frequent drafts which the war had created on their wealth and population, and rejoiced in the return of

* Some of the Natchez were seen at the city of Natchez in 1752—fifty years after the Natchez massacre.

peace. The war had diminished their intercourse and trade with the Indian posts, and thus withdrawn one main source of their prosperity. But one permanent benefit resulted from this, inasmuch as it induced the "Western Company," which had hitherto monopolized this profitable trade, to surrender their charter—and gave the King of France an opportunity, of which he immediately availed himself, of conferring on all his subjects equal privileges, as to commerce, within the province of Louisiana.

Under the new organization of the government, M. Perrier was commandant-general; Loubois, who distinguished himself at Fort Rosalie, was made lieutenant for Louisiana; and D'Artaguet, who had acquired reputation in the Black River expedition, was made lieutenant for the Illinois country.

The population of the whole colony now exceeded 5,000 souls, of which 2,000 were slaves. The settlements were rapidly extending along the fertile shores of the Mississippi, Red, Arkansas, Ouachita, Illinois and Wabash rivers. Above New Orleans the coast was lined with cottages, and large plantations had been established at Manchac, Baton Rouge, Point Coupée, and other remote points; and at Natchez, settlements had extended along St. Catharine's and Second Creek.

Thus situated, in 1733 the colony of Louisiana was ready for a new career of prosperity—free from the restrictions of commerce, which had hitherto retarded their advancement—with a civil government well organized, and religious instruction amply supplied by the Vicar of New-Orleans, which then belonged to the diocese of Quebec.

But these gleams of prosperity were soon obscured by the "Chickasaw War." After having read the foregoing pages, it would naturally be concluded that the colonists would not again engage in war, without urgent necessity; but let it be remembered, that all wars between European emigrants and the aborigines of America have resulted from the perfidy, violence and oppression of the former, who seem to have adopted the decision of Cyrus, as related by Xenophon, that the big boy, who had a very small coat, had a right to compel the little boy, who had a very large one, to exchange with him.

The Indians very naturally considered this regard to the mere "fitness of things" as being by no means a correct rule of justice. If the numbers of the white men in the old world required additional domain, the red man's occupation as a hunter required extensive wilds remote from civilization. The interests, as well as the habits, of the two races, were therefore equally antagonistic. Every additional mile settled by the white man, was equivalent to a spoliation of ten miles of the Indian's hunting grounds.

For a long time the Chickasaw tribe had

been hostile to the French, and, as has been already related, had incorporated with their nation the refugees of the Natchez tribe, which act was itself a defiance of the French. They had frequently, at former periods, instigated small tribes to incursions upon the white settlements; and, influenced by English emissaries, had entirely excluded French traders from their borders. They also committed frequent hostilities upon the *voyageurs* between Mobile and the Illinois settlements, until the year 1729. About this time, they commenced urging the league and conspiracy, which eventuated in the Natchez massacre. After the defeat of the Natchez tribe, the refugees, who joined the Chickasaws, succeeded in persuading the latter to open hostilities against the French, and renewed the depredations, which, for a time, had been suspended, upon the French commerce. In consequence of these acts, the river trade was virtually suspended, and the colonies kept in continual alarm.

Under these circumstances, in 1734, Bienville returned from France, bearing a fresh commission from the King, as Governor and Commandant-General of Louisiana. His name had once been terrible to the savages, and he doubted not it would now frighten them into subjection. But, on demanding the surrender of the Natchez refugees, he received only a bold refusal. He instantly determined to chastise the insolence of the savages. With this view, he commenced levying troops upon the upper and lower Mississippi, and at Mobile, and formed an alliance with the Choctaws, who agreed to meet him with a large body of warriors, at Fort Tombigbee, on the river of that name. D'Artaguet, commandant at Fort Chartres, was ordered to march his whole disposable force to the Chickasaw nation, across the country, from Chickasaw Bluff, to which point he was to descend the Mississippi from Illinois, and to join the grand army under Bienville, who had resolved to ascend the Tombigbee river to its upper fork, with stores of artillery, and thence to march to the head waters of the Tallahatchie, at which point he expected to find D'Artaguet. The 10th of May, 1736, was the day fixed for the meeting of the two divisions of the army.

Bienville reached Fort Tombigbee on the 14th of April, 1736, and was there immediately joined by 600 Choctaw warriors, and six days afterwards by 600 more; making 1,200 auxiliaries.

Unavoidable delays prevented Bienville from leaving Fort Tombigbee till the 4th day of May, only six days before that fixed for the junction of the grand army with D'Artaguet's division. To reach the designated point of junction required twenty days—thus making the arrival of one of the divisions without the other almost certain, and exposing each to the danger of being cut off from the other, and destroyed separately.

They at length reached the point of the river, about twenty-seven miles from the nearest Chickasaw town, and debarking, erected a stockade for the protection of the sick, and of the stores and artillery. This done, Bienville marched in quest of the enemy, and on the 25th of May encamped in view of their stronghold. The next day the Choctaws attempted to surprise the enemy, but were repulsed. At noon the French advanced, and in two desperate assaults, were repulsed by the deadly fire from the fort. The battle raged for four hours, during which many of the French were killed and wounded. Bienville, seeing the British flag waving over the ramparts, and despairing of success without artillery, drew off his forces in excellent order, leaving four officers and thirty-two men dead, and sixty wounded, on the spot where they fell.

Next morning the bodies of the French, killed and wounded, were discovered already quartered and impaled on the stockades of the fort.

At a league's distance from the enemy, Bienville now intrenched himself, overwhelmed with chagrin; and having received no tidings respecting D'Artaguettes division, he resolved to abandon his enterprise, and return to New-Orleans. On the 29th May, he broke up his camp, and next day reached the point, at the head of the Tombigbee, where he had deposited his stores; and on the 31st, having dismissed his Choctaw warriors, he threw his cannon into the river,* and, floating down the river with his army, reached Forte Conde in safety. About the last of June he returned to New-Orleans, shorn of his glory, and covered with shame.

Alas! were this but all! But unhappily the brave D'Artaguettes, accompanied by the red warriors of the north, from the shores of Lake Michigan and the Wabash, had descended the Mississippi to the Chickasaw bluff; and traversing the country east, had reached unobserved the Chickasaw country, and on the evening before the 10th of May encamped near the place of rendezvous. Here, in sight of the enemy, with his lieutenants, Vincennes and Voisin, and the Jesuit, Senat, he sought for intelligence respecting Bienville. But on the 20th of May, his Indian allies, eager for the fray, and impatient of restraint, forced him to lead them on to the attack.

The Chickasaws retreated before his well-conducted assault from the first fort and town, to a second town, from which they also retreated to a third town, in assaulting which

D'Artaguettes received two wounds which disabled him, and he fell. Dismayed by this misfortune, the red men of Illinois precipitately fled. Voisin, though only sixteen years old, conducted the retreat, forcing his men to carry with them such of the wounded as could bear removal. D'Artaguettes remained where he fell, weltering in his blood, and his faithful friend Senat, and his lieutenant Vincennes, voluntarily remained to receive the last sigh of the wounded, or share their captivity.

D'Artaguettes and his companions were treated kindly by the Indians. Their wounds were dressed, and they were assiduously nursed by their captors, who were influenced by the hope of obtaining a great ransom from Bienville, who was known to be then advancing to their country. But the retreat of Bienville having destroyed this hope, the Chickasaws resolved to sacrifice their hapless captives to their savage revenge. They were taken to a neighboring field, and there, with the exception of one, who was left to relate the tragedy to his countrymen, the prisoners were tortured before slow fires till death ended their agonies. At this time, Bienville, ignorant of D'Artaguettes unhappy fate, and doubtless chiding him for delay, was ingloriously flying from the strife, for which he had been so impatient.

Not till his arrival at New-Orleans did Bienville learn the fate of D'Artaguettes and his comrades. Must not his suspicions of D'Artaguettes fidelity, if he entertained any, have been converted into self-reproaches, for having, by his own want of energy, been instrumental in bringing about such a deplorable catastrophe?

To retrieve his late disgrace, Bienville determined on an expedition from the north, with a grand army, by the route which D'Artaguettes had pursued against the Chickasaws, which, on being submitted to the minister, was approved. The spring of 1739 was the time appointed for this invasion, and directions were given, and preparations made accordingly. In the mean time, the Chickasaws had sent runners to their English friends, with numerous presents, consisting of the spoils of victory, to inform them of their triumph, and solicit an alliance with them.

About the last of May, 1739, Bienville, with his army drawn from Mobile and the settlements contiguous to the lower Mississippi, embarked in boats and barges at New-Orleans, and slowly ascended the Mississippi river to the mouth of the St. Francis, at which point he was joined by La Buissoniere with the Illinois division. Bienvilles whole army now amounted to 1 200 whites, and nearly 2,500 Indians, making 3,700 fighting men. Crossing the river, the army erected a fort (called Assumption) as a depot. It was now the middle of August, and sickness began to ravage the army fearfully. Winter came, and disease

* Several years since, an Indian tradition was verified by the discovery, at the very spot of Bienvilles debarkation, of the cannon and lead, which were thrown overboard by the unfortunate commander. An old man, named McGilvery, had frequently stated that those silent witnesses of ancient tradition lay buried there, but without credence, till accident led to their discovery.

disappeared only to make room for famine. The invasion, therefore, was delayed till the arrival of supplies from New-Orleans. Thus the march was delayed till March, 1740, when not more than two hundred effective men could be mustered into line besides the Indians. With these M. Celeron was sent against the enemy, with instructions to treat for peace. The Chickasaws, supposing them to be the whole French army, upon their approach sued for peace, and M. Celeron immediately entered into a treaty of amity and peace with them. A deputation of Chickasaw chiefs and warriors accompanied him to "Assumption," where Bienville ratified the treaty which M. Celeron had stipulated. The fort was dismantled; the French army re-crossed the river; and Bienville, having there discharged his northern allies, again floated ingloriously back to New-Orleans, sunk lower than before in military reputation. Here closed his career. He had been an able commander, and had gained laurels, but age had disqualified him for the arduous task of tracking and conquering in their native forests the warlike savages, who had, several centuries before, boldly resisted the mail-clad warriors of old Spain under the chivalrous De Soto, and who were now aided by the wealth and the counsel of their English allies.

In the following spring Bienville was superseded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who was appointed Governor and Commandant-General of Louisiana. Bienville had for nearly forty years controlled the affairs of the colony, but now retired under a cloud of censure, and the disapprobation of his hitherto confiding sovereign.

About this time cotton was introduced into Louisiana, but was cultivated in small quantities.

Notwithstanding the military reverses of Louisiana, the settlements had extended along the lower Mississippi, and population and wealth increased. The tropical fruits, and varieties of the potato, had been introduced—the last affording sustenance to the colonists, and the former supplying them with luxuries, while they also adorned their homes with perennial verdure, unknown in less genial climes.

For ten years Louisiana remained free from Indian hostilities; but in 1752, the English had introduced vast quantities of British goods and commodities of English trade among the Choctaws and Chickasaws, within the territory claimed by France, and had established trading posts, and protected them by regular fortifications, built by the Indians under the instructions of the British traders. These traders omitted no opportunity of rendering the Indians hostile to the French, and endeavoring to unite all the tribes against the latter. To protect the south against the Chickasaws, Vaudreuil determined to invade the heart of

the country with a large force, amounting to 700 regulars and militia, and a large body of Choctaws, and other Indian allies, from the borders of the Tombigbee and Alabama rivers. With this army, having repaired Fort Tombigbee, the governor proceeded by the same route which Bienville had pursued in his first expedition, in 1736, into the Chickasaw country.

Having no artillery, and not being able to draw the Chickasaws out of their fortifications, Vaudreuil contented himself with ravaging their fields, and burning their corn and deserted villages. This done, he established a strong garrison at Fort Tombigbee, and returned to New-Orleans. About this period the population of the French colony received a fresh accession in a large number of poor, but virtuous girls, transported from France at the royal expense, and endowed by royal bounty with a small tract of land—a cow and calf—a cock and five hens—a gun and ammunition—an axe and a hoe, and a supply of garden seeds. Each of these girls, with her dower, was given by Vaudreuil in marriage to some one of the soldiers, who had received an honorable discharge. This importation continued annually till the year 1751; and from this source have sprung many worthy families in Louisiana, and, doubtless, in Mississippi too.*

In 1755, the war between France and England had reduced the French king to the necessity of forming a treaty, by which the latter ceded to England all that portion of Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi river, except the island of New-Orleans. In 1763, France, by a secret treaty, ceded to Spain all that portion of Louisiana lying west of the Mississippi river, and the island of New-Orleans, lying east of that river, south of bayou Manchac, and the port and river Mobile. The established boundary between Great Britain's and France's possessions acquired by Spain, was the middle line of the Mississippi river down to the Manchac; thence along said bayou and Amité river to Lake Maurepas; thence through Maurepas, Pontchartrain and Borgue, to the sea.

In the mean time Spain had ceded to England all Florida, then embracing all the coast east of Perdido river and bay, to the St. Mary's river on the Atlantic coast.

In 1763, Florida was divided by the English king's decree into East and West Florida. By this decree, West Florida embraced the country east of the Mississippi river, and north of bayou Iberville, up to the 31st parallel of north latitude, and eastwardly to the Chattahoochee river.

But in 1732, in order to obtain a footing

*A similar importation was made into Virginia, while a colony, and the girls were sold at auction for tobacco, which seems at that early period to have been considered a *quip pro quo*.

westward of the Mississippi, and north from the Gulf of Mexico, George II. had planned a colony, under Gen. James Oglethorpe, to be called the Province of Georgia—to embrace the unoccupied country south and west of the Atlantic, to the Mississippi river. In 1733, an English colony was planted at Savannah, with the view of carrying out this design. This was the origin of the present state of Georgia.

As by the decree of the king, the 31st degree of north latitude had been established as the boundary of West Florida, of course all of the country north of that line and east of the Mississippi would, under Oglethorpe's charter, belong to the colony of Georgia.

It is stated by Monette, that the Court of St. James, having learned that by fixing the 31st degree of north latitude as the boundary of Florida, they had left out important settlements on the east side of the Mississippi river, and north of that line, issued a second decree, extending the northern boundary of West Florida as far as the mouth of the Yazoo river. But it appears from better authority,* that there was only a commission issued, authorizing the Governor of West Florida to make this extension, without any evidence that it was ever done by any formal declaration.

As long as both Florida and Georgia belonged to Great Britain, this uncertainty of boundary could not be of any practical importance, or give rise to any conflict of jurisdiction; but after the revolt of the American colonies, including Georgia, the actual boundary of West Florida on the north became of great importance to individuals, who had received grants of land north of the 31st degree, from the Governor of West Florida, who had no right to make such grants beyond the limits of West Florida. By the articles of cession from Georgia to the United States, and by the action of a Board of Commissioners established by Congress, many of these grants have been saved, or confirmed; but on the other hand, many have been lost for want of such confirmation by the government of the United States, and for other reasons.†

This uncertainty of boundary also led, at a future period, to misunderstandings between the United States and Spain, as will be hereafter explained in this narrative.

TREATY OF 1763—THE ACADIANS—SCHEMES OF DISUNION IN THE WEST.—After the cession by France to Great Britain, the inhumanity of the English government to the French inhabitants of a portion of the territory ceded to her by France drove them destitute from their homes, and many of them found their way down the Mississippi to New-

Orleans, where they were kindly provided with the means of settling upon the coast west of the Mississippi, and they still constitute a distinct class of the population. Many of them, doubtless, settled at and near Natchez. Their expulsion from their homes was one of the causes by which the population and wealth of the French colony were augmented.

In the year 1770, a spirit of adventure prevailed in the English colonies, which led numerous emigrants to the West. The Mississippi river did not limit their explorations. The King of England had held out inducements for emigration to Florida, and a water communication of 2,000 miles afforded a comparatively easy access to it, from Virginia and North Carolina. The point of destination was the Walnut Hills, (now Vicksburg,) Natchez, Bayou Sara, and Baton Rouge. Before the summer of 1773 had ended, four hundred families from the Atlantic sea-board had advanced to the Monongahela and Ohio rivers, and descended in boats to the Natchez country.

Early in February, 1764, the old French posts, including Natchez, had been garrisoned with British troops. It was now presumable that the whites would be safe from the Indians. But, at a bend of the river at Fort Adams, four hundred men, under Major Loftus, in keel-boats, ascending to the Illinois posts, of which he had been appointed commandant, received a destructive discharge of fire-arms and arrows from the Tunica Indians, who were concealed on both sides of the river. The whole flotilla, after feeble resistance, suffered themselves to be borne back by the current, beyond the reach of the enemy. Many were killed, including Major Loftus, and many wounded. A village now stands where Fort Adams stood, and bears the same name. It was formerly known as Loftus's Heights, in commemoration of this tragical event.

When it was ascertained that the English jurisdiction had been extended over all the settlements east of the Mississippi up to the Walnut Hills, the French, then numerous, expressed great dissatisfaction, and some even removed to the west side of the river, south of Manchac, in order that they might again be within French jurisdiction. But on receiving assurances that their religion, lives and property would be protected, the greater part remained.

After the extension of the British authority in 1765, and until the revolt of the American colonies, England encouraged emigration to the upland region, extending from the Yazoo river to Baton Rouge, by liberal grants of land. In 1768, numerous emigrants from Georgia, the Carolinas, and New-Jersey, settled in the regions drained by the Homochitto and the Bayou Pierre, within fifteen miles

* See 12 Wheaton, 527.

† See 9 Wheaton, 676; 12 Wheaton, 527; and 13 Fmedes & Marshall's (Mississippi) Reports, 168.

from the banks of the Mississippi river. Not long afterwards a body of Scotch Highlanders arrived, and colonized the branches of the Homochitto, about thirty miles east of Natchez. This colony was subsequently augmented by new emigrants, and bore the name of New-Scotland.

In 1773, the greatest number of emigrants arrived; after this period, the revolutionary war checked emigration till the year 1777, except that, after the declaration of independence, many of the loyal subjects of Great Britain, disliking the appellation of "British Tories," are said to have retired from the new states, and to have emigrated to the region between the Yazoo and Baton Rouge; the inhabitants of which took no part in the hostilities against England, but remained faithful subjects to the crown.

During this period, England encouraged monopolies of trade by her subjects, and the introduction of African slaves, in large numbers. From Fort Bute, (built in 1764, on the north bank of Bayou Manchac, near its junction with the Mississippi,) she supplied the settlements of Louisiana with many English commodities, and with slaves—the introduction of which had been prohibited by Spain. To prevent this illicit trade with Spanish subjects, the Spanish governor had a fort constructed on the south bank of the Manchac, opposite to Fort Bute.

But the period was close at hand when Great Britain was destined to lose all the possessions which she had for so many years been contending for. During the revolutionary war troops were sent from Virginia to the Illinois posts, and a bloody and protracted frontier war resulted in the loss of her north-western possessions, including the post of Kaskaskia. During this frontier war, the federal government was supplied frequently from New-Orleans with provisions and munitions of war, transported in barges up the Mississippi as far as Fort Pitt, under the command of American officers. The friendly disposition of the Spanish authorities in possession of the west side of the Mississippi river greatly facilitated this mode of transportation. Thus, during the years 1777, 1778, and 1779, the American posts on the Ohio and upper Mississippi rivers were supplied regularly with military stores, and even artillery. It was, however, a hazardous enterprise; and although the inhabitants of the British possessions east of the Mississippi river had not participated in the war, yet it was deemed necessary by Captain Willing, under whose command these enterprises were conducted, to ascertain whether the Natchez settlers would continue neutrals, so far as not to interrupt the transportation of supplies from New-Orleans to the Ohio posts. He accordingly landed with fifty men, in 1778, at Natchez, and took the sense of a public meeting, convened for the occasion, and

entered into a convention of neutrality with them. He was informed, however, that several individuals would not be governed by this convention. These he resolved to place in military custody. He therefore had them conveyed, by night, from their houses, with their slaves and other personalty, to his vessel, and detained them till they gave a pledge not to violate the convention of neutrality. They were then set at liberty, with their property, except one individual, a pensioner of the British king, whom, on account of his energy and attachment to the interests of the British crown, he conveyed to the city of New Orleans. There he gave him the liberty of the city, upon his parole, till his return to Natchez. Disregarding his parole, he returned to Natchez, resolved on vengeance. Not many weeks afterwards, on the return of one of Captain Willing's boats from New-Orleans, it was decoyed to the shore, at Ellis's Cliffs, and was there attacked by twenty-five ambushed men, who fired a sudden volley upon his crew, which killed five men and wounded several others. The boat immediately made for the shore, and the crew surrendered. The boat was commanded by Captain Reuben Harrison, and the concealed party by Colonel Hutchins, aided by Captains Hooper and Bingham. This occurred in 1778. On his return from New-Orleans, Captain Willing landed at Natchez, and levied a heavy contribution upon his vindictive enemy, for the benefit of the American army.

This outrage on the Americans accelerated a determination of the Spanish authorities, previously formed, in view of an expected rupture between Great Britain and Spain, to subjugate that part of Louisiana east of the Mississippi river, which had been ceded by France to Great Britain; and the Spanish governor planned a vigorous campaign, to commence as soon as war between England and Spain should be declared. All those within this region who had emigrated from the eastern colonies prior to the revolution were anxious to see the British authorities excluded from the country, and many of these were willing to aid personally, and by their influence, the Spanish governor, in reducing the British posts in the south, east of the Mississippi. The governor did not long want an opportunity of executing his plan.

In 1779, Spain, as an ally of France, declared war against England, and Don Bernard de Galvez, colonel of the Spanish armies, and governor of Louisiana, a man of genius and ambition, having received early intimation of the fact, immediately concerted measures with such energy, that on the first of September he was before Fort Bute with 1,400 men. After a brave resistance, for five days, the fort was carried by storm, and demolished.

Reinforced by several hundred militia, including many Americans, he marched to Baton

Rouge, then garrisoned with 400 regular troops and 100 militia, and abundantly supplied with arms, ordnance, and all kinds of military stores. On the 21st of September, after a brisk cannonade of several hours, the commandant capitulated, by surrendering to the King of Spain not only the post of Baton Rouge, but all that portion of the region then known as West Florida, including the forts at Natchez, Amite, and Thompson's Creek. Thus Great Britain lost the remnant of her possessions in the valley of the Mississippi.

Galvez, pushing on his conquests, succeeded, during the year 1780, in subjugating the whole province of West Florida.

Subsequently, East Florida yielded to the arms of Spain; and by the treaty of 1783, England confirmed to his Catholic Majesty the possession of both East and West Florida.

During the operations of Galvez against Pensacola, the English colonists in the Natchez district, having learned that a powerful British armament was off the coast of Florida, for the recovery of his Majesty's possessions, attempted to overpower the Spanish garrison at Fort Panmure, at Natchez, and reinstate British authority over that portion of the province.

Having secured the aid of a large number of Choctaw warriors, they raised the British flag on an eminence above the town of Natchez, in full view of the fort, and commenced their operations for its capture. During the night they planted their cannon near the fort, but a heavy fire, the next morning, compelled them to retire. During a day and night, a moderate cannonade was kept up between the besiegers and the fort; at length the garrison, having been persuaded that the fort had been undermined with a train, which was to be ignited on the following day, capitulated, on condition of being permitted peaceably to retire, and march to Baton Rouge. But in a short time intelligence was received that a Spanish, instead of a British fleet, had arrived with a reinforcement for Galvez. This filled the insurgents with consternation; and mindful of the fate of O'Reilly's victims ten years before, they sought safety in flight. Many perished with fatigue and exposure, and others fell into the hands of the Spanish authorities, and were treated as rebels.

On the 29th of July, 1781, the civil and military commandant of the fort at Natchez commenced measures for the punishment of insurgents. Arrests and confiscations commenced. During September and October, the wealth of twenty fugitive rebels had been seized for confiscation. Before the middle of November, seven of the leaders, who were prisoners at New-Orleans, were convicted and sentenced to death, but were afterwards reprieved by the governor-general.

Thus ended the first revolt of the Anglo-Americans against the Spanish authorities.

The second one, thirty years afterwards, was more fortunate, as will be hereafter related.

In 1783, by a treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, the southern boundary of the latter was established at the 31st parallel of north latitude.

By the same treaty, Great Britain confirmed to Spain all the Floridas, south of the 31st degree of north latitude.

Peace having been thus concluded between the belligerent powers contending for possession of the Mississippi valley, emigrants from France, the *Mexico-Spanish Colonies*, the West Indies, and the United States, commenced pouring into Louisiana.

At the same time the King of France caused a large number of exiled Acadians to be brought into the colony, to join their countrymen, who, thirty years before, had fled from Acadia, to escape British persecution, and settled in Louisiana. Agriculture and commerce, which war had so long suspended, once more roused the colonists to that peaceful emulation which alone confers true and permanent prosperity and happiness on the human race.

In 1785, the official census showed a population exceeding 33,000 in Louisiana, including the Natchez settlements; of this number lower Louisiana contained 28,000, of which 5,000 belonged to New-Orleans.

In 1785, Galvez removed his head-quarters to Cuba, of which he had been appointed Captain-General, and to the government of which Louisiana had been attached, until the regular appointment of Galvez's successor.

About this period, the Catholic clergy, jealous of the influence of the western people of the United States, attempted to introduce the Inquisition into Louisiana. But Miro, judge of residence, caused the zealous ecclesiastic, who had been intrusted with this enterprise, to be seized while asleep, and safely conveyed on board a vessel, in which he was transported to Spain.

The King of Spain now signified his desire that the British settlers (who, by the treaty of 1783, were required within eighteen months to quit the territory) should be permitted to remain, and enjoy all the privileges of Spanish subjects; and, to induce the Irish to remain, the judge of residence caused the Natchez district to be supplied with Irish Catholic priests, who arrived early in the year 1786.

In 1786, Miro received his commission as successor of Galvez. He must have found the colony full of turbulent spirits, inasmuch as his first edicts prohibited gambling, duelling, and the wearing of concealed weapons. Under his administration the colony flourished. Population multiplied, commerce increased, and the trade with the settlements on the Ohio and its tributaries had become extensive and valuable.

It has been already observed, that owing

to some doubts respecting the boundaries between the Spanish domain and Georgia, difficulties had arisen. Georgia had now extended her settlements west, and come into contact with the Spanish settlements north of the 31° of north latitude; Georgia claimed all north of that degree to the mouth of the Yazoo river, under Oglethorpe's charter, and Spain claimed all which had been, at any time, actually subject to French dominion.* This whole region, containing a population of 10,000 souls, was now in possession of Spain. Commissioners had gone from Georgia to New-Orleans in 1785, to demand a surrender of this territory, and an acknowledgment of the line of division as fixed by the treaty of 1783. But the subject had been referred to the general government. Georgia had, by a legislative act, on the 7th of February, 1785, erected the county of Bourbon, near the Mississippi river, giving to citizens of the United States, residing there, preference over any foreigner to lands within this territory. This act, after the whole subject had been referred to the federal government, was repealed.

A new source of controversy was now arising, which was destined to deprive Spain of all the possessions which she had wrested from England. This was the natural right claimed by the people of the North-western Territory to navigate the Mississippi river to New-Orleans and the Balize, free from any tax or other molestation or hindrance. The trade between the inhabitants of the North-western Territory and Louisiana had become very important; and Spain, desirous of making it a source of revenue to herself, established ports, and exacted harbor duties and other charges incidental to commerce. The western traders considered these charges un-

just and oppressive, and only paid them because compelled by military force. Many even resisted every attempt made to enforce payment, and were, consequently, seized, fined, and imprisoned, and subjected to great expense, loss, and delay. In some cases, cargoes were confiscated, and the owners driven destitute back to their homes. During the years 1785 and 1787, these occurrences roused such a feeling of animosity and thirst of vengeance among all the western people, from the banks of the Monongahela to those of the Cumberland and Tennessee, that there was needed only some daring military spirit to bring about an invasion of New-Orleans, in the event of the general government failing to obtain by negotiation the privileges indispensable to the prosperity of the western country.

In 1787, a separation from the Atlantic states, and the erection of an independent government, with the view of wresting Louisiana from Spain, was seriously contemplated, if not actually planned. Under these circumstances, General James Wilkinson, a merchant of Kentucky, obtained from the Spanish authorities a license to introduce western produce into New-Orleans, free of duty, on the condition that he would use his influence in conciliating the western people, and encourage their immigration to the Spanish colonies, by relaxing the system of imposts, as to all who should settle within their limits, east of the Mississippi river. For a time the Spanish minister, hoping to derive some profit to himself, connived at this plan; but being foiled in his expectations, suddenly ordered a strict enforcement of the impost laws.

At the request of Governor Miro, Wilkinson prepared a memorial to the crown, respecting the relations of Spain with the inhabitants of the North-western Territory, which was transmitted to Madrid. This document was composed with much address.* The views set forth in it were adopted by his Majesty as the basis of the future administration of affairs in Louisiana.

It is probable that his Majesty was influenced by the intimation contained in this memorial, that an alliance might possibly be formed between his Spanish subjects, in the valley of the Mississippi, and the republican settlements of the West.

There was at this period great danger, either of an invasion of Louisiana by the people of the North-west, or of an alliance between the two, and the formation of a separate government. The apparent tardiness of the general government in negotiating with Spain respecting a privilege, so indispensable to the western people, as the right of navigating the Mississippi, had alienated the attachment of the latter; and a rumor that the American minister had consented to

* The curious reader will find the opinion of the court, delivered by Judge Clayton, in the case of Montgomery and others *vs.* Ives and others, reported in 13th vol. of S. & M.'s Miss. Reports, full of interesting information on this subject, which will fully repay the labor of its perusal. Judge Sharkey, who, though he concurred in the opinion of the court, thought "there never had been an extension of the northern boundary of West Florida above the 31st deg. of north latitude," supported this position by the following very concise and forcible argument: "The colonies became then independent, with defined boundaries. If that memorable event put an end to the authority of Great Britain over the territory above the 31st deg. of north lat., it must have done so because that territory was within the limits of some one of the revolting colonies. The declaration of independence did not extend over any territory not within some one of the colonies, nor was there any acquisition of territory by conquest, not lying within their boundaries. If the territory above the 31st deg. of north latitude was part of the colony of Georgia, the authority of Great Britain over it ceased when Georgia became independent. If, on the other hand, it was part of West Florida, the authority of Great Britain did not cease, as Florida was not one of the revolting colonies. The treaty did not cede territory to the colonies, but only acknowledged their independence as states, with known boundaries."

* See 1st Monette's Valley of Mississippi, p. 473.

postpone the assertion of this right for twenty years, produced an indignation among them, which the Spanish king hastened to avail himself of, by sending emissaries to Kentucky, to enlist the prominent men of that and the adjoining states in the treasonable scheme of throwing off the federal authority, and forming an alliance with Spain.

But these machinations were happily frustrated, as well by the change of policy in the administration of Spanish affairs at New-Orleans, as by the declaration of the general government of its intention to insist upon the free navigation of the Mississippi, according to the treaties of 1763 and 1783, to both of which Spain had been a party.

MOVEMENTS OF ELLICOTT, WILKINSON, AND GAYOSO—ORGANIZATION OF MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY.—The Spanish king ordered liberal grants of land to be offered to all emigrants from the territories now comprising Kentucky and Tennessee, to the Spanish provinces. Under this liberal system, numerous settlements were made by Americans in Upper Louisiana, as well as in the province east of the Mississippi river, and below the mouth of the Yazoo. The Spanish governor, in the mean time, was instructed to use all means of effecting a political union between the Spanish provinces and the western people of the United States. This policy continued two years, and thus delayed all danger, during that period, of an invasion of Louisiana by the north-western settlers; but, at the expiration of that time, Guardoqui, the Spanish minister, suddenly reënnacted the revenue laws, and seizures and confiscations, fines and imprisonment, were recommenced with such rigor, as again to rouse the resentment of the western people, and render an immediate invasion of the Spanish provinces a popular measure.

An extensive conflagration occurred at this moment at New-Orleans, and the distress and want consequent upon it compelled the governor to release all prisoners, restore their property, and rescind all commercial restrictions, in order to induce the western traders to supply the city with provisions. At the same time donations of land were made to all emigrants; and many Americans, lured by this generosity, settled in the Natchez district and elsewhere within the Spanish territory.

The census of 1788 showed an aggregate population, in Louisiana and West Florida, of 42,611 souls, being an increase of 10,000 in three years. This included the importation of Acadians and Spaniards, before mentioned; the remainder were Americans. Of the whole population there were—free whites, 19,445; free colored persons, 1,701; slaves, 21,465.

In September, 1788, it became absolutely necessary for the federal government to require from Spain a full concession of the right, claimed by the western people, to the free navigation of the Mississippi. Accordingly,

Congress resolved that "the free navigation of the Mississippi is a clear and essential right of the United States, and that the same ought to be considered and supported as such." The American ministers were charged specially to negotiate for the surrender of West Florida, near the Mississippi, and the whole eastern bank of the river to the sea, *provided* the free use of the river through Louisiana could not be otherwise obtained. But the Spanish ministers showed little inclination to relinquish any portion of this territory, and not only delayed all negotiation, but instigated the Creek and other Indian tribes to a violation of their treaties with the United States, and to acts of violence, with the view of preventing any future settlements within the South-western Territory. Spanish posts and garrisons occupied the country east of the Mississippi, as high up as Memphis, and the Spanish authorities had organized the militia of Louisiana, with the view of defending every position assumed by Spain against the United States. At the same time, large American forces were concentrated on the Ohio, and the Spanish governor had every reason to fear that an army, flushed with victory in the north-west, would descend upon the first spring flood of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and invade Louisiana. The President of the United States had himself authorized and encouraged preparations for such a conflict. At this juncture, Spain became embarrassed by her European wars, and dreading hostilities against Louisiana, intimated a disposition to settle the points in controversy. General Washington immediately dispatched Thomas Pinckney, as minister plenipotentiary to Madrid, and on the 20th day of October, 1795, a treaty was signed, adjusting all subjects of dispute. By this treaty, the 31st parallel of north latitude was recognized as the northern boundary of the Spanish possessions, and Spain agreed, within six months, to withdraw her troops and garrisons from the territory north of that boundary. It was further stipulated, that the people of the United States should use the port of New Orleans as a place of deposit for produce and merchandise, for the space of *three years*, and export the same free of all duty. This treaty was duly ratified by the Senate of the United States, and the President commenced preparations to carry its stipulations into effect, such as surveying the boundary line, enforcing neutrality among the Indians, &c.

This treaty had the effect of arresting a scheme which the citizens of Georgia had conceived, of expelling all the Spaniards from the territory east of the Mississippi river, and north of the 31st parallel of latitude, and also led to the repeal of an act of the Legislature of Georgia, incorporating the Mississippi Company, and granting millions of acres of land within the disputed territory. It will be here-

after perceived that this whole territory was afterwards ceded by Georgia to the United States, April 24th, 1802.

The treaty of Madrid provided for the appointment by Spain of a commissioner to meet one to be appointed by the United States, within six months after the ratification of the treaty, to ascertain and fix the northern boundary of the Spanish province, that is, the 31st parallel of latitude. The President of the United States, in due time, appointed Col. Andrew Ellicott as the American commissioner, and Don Manuel Gayoso de Sernos was also appointed commissioner of Spain, under the orders of Baron de Carondelet, governor-general of Louisiana. Gayoso was then governor of the Natchez district.

In September, 1796, Col. Ellicott left Philadelphia for Natchez, and obtaining at Pittsburgh thirty woodsmen armed with rifles, descended the Ohio in a barge; but owing to low water and ice, he did not reach Natchez till the 24th day of February, 1797. Before this time he had been overtaken by an additional military escort of thirty men, but at the request of Gayoso, left the whole escort of sixty men at the Bayou Pierre. After an interview between Col. Ellicott and Gayoso, the latter reluctantly consented to fix the 19th day of March as the day on which both commissioners should repair to Bayou Tunica, with the view of ascertaining and defining the boundary.

Col. Ellicott hoisted the American flag on an eminence, near Fort Panmure, within the present limits of the city of Natchez, and ascertained by observation that his position was about 39 miles north of the 31st deg. of north latitude. The governor-general, Carondelet, was, in the mean time, duly notified of his arrival, as, by the terms of Gayoso's appointment, Carondelet was to be present, and direct the Spanish commissioners in ascertaining and defining the boundary. But Carondelet evaded the appointment on the plea of important business at New-Orleans, and tried to induce Col. Ellicott to visit that city. The American commissioner declined the invitation, and ordered his military escort, under Lieutenant M'Leary, from the Bayou Pierre to Natchez, at which point they arrived on the 15th March, 1797. Having encamped near Col. Ellicott's flag, the commandant soon after formally demanded the surrender of Fort Panmure to the American troops. Gayoso, who had hitherto feigned preparations to abandon the fort, now suddenly returned all the stores and artillery into it *by night*, and placed it in a state of defense; he also, soon after, proceeded to strengthen the forts at Natchez and Walnut Hills, by reinforcements from New-Orleans. Upon a protest against these perfidious measures, by the American commissioner, Gayoso declared that they were prompted by apprehen-

sions of Indian hostilities, and of an invasion of Louisiana by the British troops from Canada. In order to convince Col. Ellicott of the truth of the first pretext, Gayoso caused swarms of drunken Indians to parade with drawn knives and threatening gestures before the American camp; and in order to conciliate them, Colonel E. was compelled to distribute rations and presents among them. For the last pretext, there seemed afterwards to have been some foundation, as there is no doubt an invasion of Louisiana was contemplated by Canadians, and influential men in the United States, among whom was a United States senator from Tennessee. But Col. Ellicott saw in these measures only a determination to postpone the surrender of the territory, under the hope that some circumstance might happen which would restore this valuable region to Spain. All hopes of inducing the western people to throw off their allegiance to the general government and unite with Spain, had not been abandoned. A Spanish agent was again sent to Kentucky to sound public men on this subject, and stir up disaffection to the United States in the West; and the death of General Wayne, by which General Wilkinson, who was supposed to be favorable to this design, had been advanced to the command of the Northwestern Territory, gave fresh encouragement to these hopes.

The American commissioner became much incensed, and an angry correspondence commenced between him and Gayoso. The people of the district, fearing that the Spaniards would not surrender the territory, shared in the excitement and indignation of the American commissioner. The latter maintained his position, anxiously expecting an advanced guard of American troops from Fort Massac; a detachment of forty men, descending from this point, under Lieutenant Percy Smith Pope, arrived at Walnut Hills early in April, 1797, and encamped near the Spanish fort at that point. On the 17th April, Col. Ellicott having learned his arrival, required him to advance to his relief without delay; and on the 24th April, Lieutenant Pope, with his detachment, arrived at Natchez, and was escorted to the American camp by Lieutenant M'Leary's company.

Gayoso strongly remonstrated against the presence of the American troops, and urged their removal to several points; but the American commissioner resolved to maintain his position, and Lieutenant Pope proceeded to the completion of the intrenchments of his camp. He also strengthened himself by voluntary enlistments, and by the apprehension of some deserters from the north-western army, who were found among the Spaniards.

In a few weeks it was ascertained that the Spaniards had sent emissaries to the neighboring tribes of Indians, with instructions to excite their resentment against the American

forces. This cause, together with the perfidy of the Spaniards in deferring the fulfilment of the treaty, greatly excited the people. There were now four thousand Americans residing north of the stipulated boundary, impatient for the departure of the Spanish authorities, and the establishment of the federal authority. Many were ready to capture Fort Panmure, and drive out the Spanish authorities by force. These citizens inhabited the region extending north from the boundary to Bayou Pierre, and thence east to the sources of this stream, and of Cole's Creek, St. Catharine, Homochitto, and Buffalo.

The governor-general endeavored to allay this excitement, by issuing a proclamation on the 24th of May, declaring that the country would be surrendered after the danger of British invasion had passed away. But this, instead of calming, inflamed the public mind to a still higher degree of excitement.

At length, Gayoso declared that he had received instructions from Carondelet to remove the artillery and military stores from all the forts north of the stipulated boundary. Thus open violence was prevented until the 9th day of June, when an American citizen, a Baptist preacher, was seized by the Spanish authorities, and placed in the stocks, within the fort. The people flew to arms, and compelled the Spanish commandant, and his principal officers and their families, to take refuge within the walls of the fort. Military companies were immediately organized—officers chosen to command them—and, in a few hours, the Spanish authority was virtually overthrown.

At the same time, Lieutenant Pope issued an address, calling on all the citizens to assert their rights, and pledging himself to protect them from every act of hostility.

A large concourse of people met at Beach's, on the Nashville road, on the 20th day of June; and after free discussion, appointed a "committee of public safety," consisting of seven prominent men, to conduct future negotiations with the Spanish authorities. The consent of this committee was declared to be necessary to the validity of every Spanish edict.

On the 18th of June, Gayoso desired and obtained an interview with the American commissioner, at Captain Minor's house, to which place he made his way from the fort, secretly, through cane-brakes and a corn field, to the back door, and thence to the parlor, in such a state of humiliation as deeply affected Colonel Ellicott. Here he met the committee—recognized their representative capacity—acceded to their demands of amnesty to the citizens who had revolted, and of their exemption from service in the Spanish militia, except in cases of riot or Indian hostilities. These concessions all tended greatly to allay the popular excitement.

Mistrusting the fidelity of one of the "com-

mittee,"* Colonel Ellicott persuaded the governor to dissolve it, and to authorize the election of a permanent one in its stead. Accordingly, a new committee of nine members was elected in July, by virtue of Spanish authority, to be "permanent" in its duration. This committee was the finishing stroke to Spanish authority and jurisdiction.

During the ensuing autumn, Col. Ellicott removed his camp to the present site of the town of Washington, seven miles N. E. of Natchez, and returned to Natchez on the 27th of September. On the 26th July preceding, Gayoso, having been appointed governor-general of Louisiana, departed for New-Orleans; but previously appointed Capt. Stephen Minor temporary commandant of Fort Panmure. Soon afterwards, Colonel Grandpré was appointed lieutenant-governor at Natchez, but at the request of the permanent committee, never appeared there, and Capt. Minor continued to exercise the duties of that office. Harmony having been thus restored, Lieutenant Pope had retired with his command to the more healthy position at Washington, as above related.

General Wilkinson having learned the delay of the Spanish authorities in evacuating the forts north of the boundary, dispatched Capt. Isaac Guion, a revolutionary officer of experience and sound sense, and enjoying the confidence of the President, with a detachment of troops, to assume the command at Natchez. He arrived in December, and assumed the command. At first he treated the Spanish authorities with respect, but discovering that, without any good reason, they were still inclined to delay the evacuation of the forts and the survey of the line of demarcation, he became impatient, and resolved to take the fort by assault. But on the 23d March, 1798, Fort Nogales, at Walnut Hills, was evacuated, and the troops descended thence to Natchez. Here they remained, studiously concealing the time of their departure; and Capt. Guion declared, that the first day of April should not witness the Spanish garrison within the fort.

On the 29th March, at midnight, the Spaniards sent their artillery and stores aboard their boats, and about four o'clock, on the morning of the 1st April, the troops marched from the fort to the river bank. Before daylight they had embarked, and had proceeded several miles on their voyage to New-Orleans. No farewell salute honored their stealthy departure. Col. Ellicott alone, suspecting their intention, rose early, and walking towards the

* The members of the first committee were, Joseph Bernard, Judge Peter B. Bruen, Daniel Clarke, Gabriel Benoist, Philander Smith, Isaac Gaillard, Roger Dixon, William Ratliff, and Frederick Kimball. Of these, F. Kimball was suspected. An active opponent of the measures of Colonel Ellicott was Colonel Anthony Hutchens.

fort, entered its open gates just after the rear guard had passed out of it, and from the parapet witnessed all their movements, till the whole flotilla was out of sight.

All cause for delaying the survey of the line of demarcation having been now removed, Gayoso appointed Capt. Stephen Minor and Sir William Dunbar commissioners of Spain, who, with Col. Ellicott, repaired to Bayou Tunica, six miles below Fort Adams; and on the 21st of May, 1798, having been joined by Governor Gayoso, they proceeded to mark the line as far as East Florida, the survey through which, owing to Indian disturbances, was not made until the following year.

In the mean time Congress had erected the territory, surrendered by Spain, into a territorial government, by the name of the "Mississippi Territory." Its boundaries were the Mississippi on the west, the 31st° of latitude on the south, a line drawn due east from the mouth of the Yazoo to Chattahoochee river on the north, and on the east by said Chattahoochee river.

Winthrop Sargent, former Secretary of the North-western Territory, under Governor St. Clair, was appointed the first governor of the Mississippi Territory. He arrived at Natchez on the 6th day of August, 1798, and on the 26th day of the same month, General Wilkinson arrived with the federal army.*

PROCLAMATION AND LETTERS OF WINTHROP SARGENT, FIRST GOVERNOR AND ORGANIZER OF THE TERRITORY.—The long disputed boundary between Spain and the United States having been, at length, amicably established, the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, who were unwilling to fraternize with republicans, quietly retired from the Natchez District. General Wilkinson, with the view of insuring future tranquillity, established a military post at Loftus's Heights, (afterwards named Fort Adams, in compliment to the President,) and other posts along the line eastward, with a small garrison in each. His own headquarters remained at Natchez, opposite to which a new Spanish fort was erected. A convention between Gayoso and General Wilkinson provided for the mutual extradition of deserters across the boundary, or across the river. A most amicable spirit prevailed between the civil and military authorities of the two provinces, in commemoration of which the Spanish fort opposite to Natchez received the name of "Fort Concord," from its commandant, Don José Vidal. The parish of Concordia and town of Vidalia owe their names to the fort and its courteous commandant.

* Monette says, that the governor was accompanied by the territorial judges. This, it will hereafter be perceived, in Governor Sargent's letters, is an error. The governor had not even a secretary, and wrote out with his own hand the archives of the territory.

Nevertheless, great jealousy was entertained by the Spanish government of American immigrants, especially to such as had served in the revolutionary war. Though, in the war, Spain had favored the Americans out of hatred to Great Britain, yet she had not then fully realized the possibility of her dominions coming in conflict with those of the republic; and, in truth, she was induced to conquer the Natchez District and the Floridas only with the expectation of holding perpetual possession of them, and rendering the Indian tribes a perpetual barrier between her American possessions and those of the United States. This policy was openly avowed by her at the treaty of 1783, between Great Britain, France, and the United States, and, as will be hereafter seen, was espoused by the French government, and only frustrated by the firmness and sagacity of the American ministers, Mr. Jay and Mr. Adams. This policy was now rendered impossible by the surrender of the Natchez District, and in the rapid influx of American population into it, occasioned by its transfer to the United States. She saw foreshadowed that destiny by which she was ultimately driven from the American continent. The most stringent regulations were adopted to discourage the immigration into her territory of any other than her own subjects. Every immigrant was required immediately to take an oath of allegiance to Spain, and to domiciliate in some old Spanish settlement, under the eye of a Spanish commandant. No foreigner, without money, slaves, or other valuable property, could receive a grant of land until he had lived, and been honestly employed, for the space of four years, within the colony. For want of equally salutary restrictions on the American side of the line, the worthy governor, Winthrop Sargent, (who was a firm supporter of the alien and sedition laws,) was greatly troubled by turbulent and irresponsible men, as his letters, hereafter to be exhibited to the reader, will abundantly show.

The ordinance of 1787—the provisions of which (except the clause interdicting slavery) had been extended by Congress to the Mississippi Territory—required the appointment of a governor, secretary, three judges, and other civil officers, and provided for a General Assembly, to consist of the governor, a council of five, and representatives of counties, and one delegate to Congress.

The General Assembly, in 1799, passed an act appointing justices with civil and criminal jurisdiction of limited extent, with the right of appeal to the parties affected by their judgments. (*Hutch. Code*, ch. 1 and 50.) The governor, by proclamation, divided the district into the counties of Adams and Pickering, so named in honor of the President and Secretary of State. The district extended about 100 miles north of the southern boundary, and about 25 miles east of the Mississippi river.

It comprised about 6,000 inhabitants, of whom more than 1,000 were slaves. The territory north of this, for 500 miles, was inhabited by Indians. The Natchez District having been surrendered to the United States as part of Georgia, the consent of that state had been previously obtained to the establishment of a territorial government, by Congress, over it. This consent was followed, several years afterwards, by an act of cession by Georgia to the United States (in 1802) of all her lands south of Tennessee, in consideration of \$1,250,000 of the first net proceeds of the ceded lands, the United States recognizing all grants of land made by Georgia to inhabitants thereof prior to 27th October, 1795. All the land so ceded was afterwards, by act of 1804, attached to the Mississippi Territory, which thus comprised the whole territory now composing Alabama and Mississippi, from the 31st to the 35th degree of north latitude.

The confidence in the federal government, exhibited by Georgia, in thus readily conceding to the former all jurisdiction over a country which she herself was incapable of protecting, presents a favorable contrast to the conduct of Texas, in reference to that portion of New-Mexico claimed by her.* The increasing power of the federal government was then a source of pride, and not of jealousy, to the old states, who had established it as a remedy for the evils of their previous weak and inefficient confederation. The reverence with which the federal authority was then regarded, is forcibly illustrated in the style of Governor Sargent's letters to the executive department. They are replete with courtesy, and profound sense of duty and obedience. Though they may exhibit too much of this quality, yet such a style is far preferable to that affectation of equality and parade of independence which will not admit even of that subordination which difference of official rank requires for its own preservation, but desires to merge all distinctions in the title of "citizen"—a title which, during the French Revolution, raised every human butcher to a level with the purest patriot.

To some extent, these French notions of equality obtruded themselves within American circles, and so far had the insolent appeals of Citizen Genet to the "Democracy" of the country betrayed men into forgetfulness of what they owed to the character of General Washington, and the dignity of the first magistrate, that, at a public dinner given by the "Democratic Society" at New-York, on the Fourth of July, the President was toasted as

"Citizen George Washington!"

without an additional word indicative of respect for his station, or gratitude for his ser-

* Of course we are entirely at "swords' points" with our friend Mr. Chilton in this matter.—[Ed.]

vices. It was even discovered that courtesy to the fair sex was incompatible with sound republicanism; and, although good democrats still married, the more scrupulous were careful that the public journals should designate the bride as "Citess," instead of "Miss." Such were the pains then taken to engraft these French extravagances on American manners.*

But there was no French familiarity (of the revolutionary sort) in the letters of old Winthrop Sargent. He entertained a profound respect for the President and his cabinet, and not only was not ashamed to express it himself, but made it the test of fidelity to government in others. The following letter is an exemplar of his respect for superiors:

"CINCINNATI, May 21, 1798.

"MY DEAR SIR:—I have just now received your favor of 4th instant. The confidence and good wishes of the President of the United States (personal respect and admiration even out of view) would be in a high degree grateful. I can know no greater happiness, with the sentiments that I possess for Mr. Adams, than is communicated by his honorary distinction of confidence; and next to my desire of aspiring to an elevated station in the mind of the President, I assure you, sir, is my wish of being thought well of by yourself.

"I am indeed, my dear sir, extremely sick, and perhaps too much debilitated to engage in those duties that might, even in better times, be to me arduous. However, my dear sir, you have expressed a wish that, if the appointment is made, I should accept it. This also I must suppose to be the desire of the President, and in consequence, I shall implicitly be governed by your instructions; if I can believe it amongst the probabilities that my state of health may possibly admit of my discharge of those duties which shall be assigned to me.

"Before the arrival of Governor St. Clair, I was making my arrangements for leaving the territory. . . . My situation was critical, and I had made up my mind upon a northern journey—a voyage to the sea-coast, as most congenial to my feelings. I have deposited the public records with a Captain

* Life and Writings of John Jay, vol. i. p. 319. (a.)

(a.) A plea might be put in for this democratic affectation, if we remember the passion for titles which had begun to develop itself in other quarters, which in "His Serene Highness," etc., etc., sought to gratify the prevailing taste. (See some interesting pages on this point in Hildreth's History of the Administration of Washington; also, Garland's Life of John Randolph.) The disrespect to the President, involved in the title of "Citizen," has, perhaps, been equalled since. Witness, a few years ago, the dinner of the New-York Merchants, at which "Her Majesty the Queen" was toasted with loud applause, and "His Excellency the President," (Mr. Tyler,) drunk in silence.—[EDITOR.]

Harrison,* a young gentleman of Virginia, of education, son to a former governor of that name, long in the family of General Wayne in a confidential character, and who for seven years has sustained a fair, indeed unblemished reputation as a military officer. A few weeks since he resigned, and from faith in the goodness and propriety of his principles and his ability, I had placed in him the confidence before expressed; and I am sure, sir, that he will not betray any trust with which government may honor him. Indeed, I think him a very deserving young man.

"In case of my appointment, will it not be proper I should be furnished with a military escort? I hope government may be pleased to consider that my expenses at taking possession of the new country must be considerable, and make some provision therefor. The movement, not having been calculated by me, has not by me been provided for. I leave home, and those little conveniences that have enabled me to live on my former salary; and I believe no man in the administration will be unwilling to confess that a considerable sum of money must be actually due to me for my services to this country.

"I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect and esteem, sir, your very humble servant, WINTHROP SARGENT.

"The Hon. Secretary of State."

In his next letter, the governor acknowledges receipt of his commission as Governor of the Mississippi Territory, and pledges himself most earnestly to "act with integrity, and to the best of his ability," but urges his bad health as a plea in advance of all omissions, &c. He also regrets being compelled to visit the territory without the *judges*, but expresses his intention immediately to depart. This letter is dated May 29th, 1798.

In a letter of the same date, he says:

"I do, indeed, accept your remarks in good faith, and you cannot confer on me a greater obligation than by continuing them. They may be honorable to myself and useful to the new government. The footing on which Governor Gayoso lived with the inhabitants of the Natchez,† it may not be exactly in my power to observe, from the difference between the American and Spanish appointments, and which must be as well or better known to you than to myself. It shall be my study to conciliate and attach all parties to the United States.

"The opposition to my appointment, and the news which had preceded the same, was

more than a little mortifying to me; as it was, however, only because I have been an eastern man, the effects thereof are done away with, and to declare myself honestly, (which, perhaps, I am too prone to,) I should have felt myself infinitely more honored in one single nomination to a dignified trust, than dishonored or mortified by half a dozen rejections, notwithstanding my high respect for many members of the Senate, and I every day thank God for this branch of our government. May I, sir, solicit you to present my acknowledgments to the President? His moments are too precious for my immediate address; and with all the respect and admiration that it is possible for me to feel for the most dignified character in the Union, I should, I believe, be always compelled to silence, because I would not hazard intrusion.

"I have the honor to be, my dear sir, &c.,

WINTHROP SARGENT."

In a postscript to the foregoing letter, he says:

"You have had enough to do with them to know they are a very troublesome and expensive people.

"Are the Spaniards to be courted, (with due respect to ourselves,) or kept at a distance? Will it not be advantageous that an early attention be given to the land claims upon the Mississippi? I am told Gayoso was extremely liberal in grants ere his departure."*

In a letter of June 4th, 1798, the governor wrote:

"It will be my special duty to conciliate the good-will of the white and red people, and I will endeavor to perform it. The *latter* are, in numbers, very frequently at Natchez; and I believe, expect to be fed by a patronizing country, as well as to receive some small presents."

On the 16th June, the governor wrote, just before starting to Natchez, as follows:

"I mention the state of my health to impress on you more strongly the necessity that the officers of the government should speedily repair to the territory. *The presence of the judges cannot be dispensed with.*

"From the best intelligence I have been able to procure, there prevails in the country of our destination a refractory and turbulent spirit, with parties headed by men of perverseness and cunning. They have run wild in the recess of government, and every moment's delay in adoption of rules and regulations, after the ordinance, &c., shall be promulgated amongst them, must be productive of growing evils and discontent.

"I am anxious to know who is the first judge, and that he should be on his way to

* Since that time, President W. H. Harrison. The governor displayed, in this instance, knowledge of human nature; all his confidence having been fully redeemed by his protégé in his subsequent life.

† The reader has already learned what the governor was, at the date of this letter, ignorant of.

* None of these grants were valid, except when allowed by United States Commissioners.

this country. I trust he will be a *law character* of strictest integrity, of converse with all the states national, and a man unconnected with land speculations, and that shall make the duties of his office the primary consideration.

"The Supreme Court, from whose judgment there can be no appeal, should no more lack legal information than integrity. . . .

"I most earnestly pray that a regular communication by post may be established between the general government and Natchez."

On the 2d July, 1798, the governor was at the rapids of the Ohio, (now Louisville,) on his way to Natchez; and on the 20th August, wrote to the Secretary of State of the United States, announcing his arrival, and inclosing a copy of his address to the inhabitants of the territory. In this letter, as in many successive ones, he still earnestly prays for the appointment of judges, the want of whom he declares to be a source of great uneasiness. He says:

"I pray God Mr. McGuire may soon arrive, or some *law character*. In a court from which there is no appeal, most certainly there should be law knowledge. Judge Bruin, a worthy and sensible man, is, beyond doubt, deficient, and Judge Tilton cannot have had more reading and experience. Under these circumstances, might it not be advisable to make some compensation to some gentlemen learned in the law, as an attorney for the United States and territory?"

"To one act I have been constrained since my arrival here. . . . Mr. Cox was at large within the territory, and an armed party at his command. Before my arrival his coming was talked of among some few disaffected persons here; and that he was to assume the government of the state of Georgia. He is now in close confinement, but with every indulgence that a state prisoner could expect, for I am not disposed to torture even a criminal.

"We have no printing office in this country. We are remote from all others; and under such circumstances I shall find it impracticable to diffuse a knowledge of the laws and other useful matter without the aid of government. A small travelling press, sufficient for half a sheet of post paper, which would give four pages, would be a blessing to the people of the territory, and I would myself contrive to manage it, if we may through your goodness be indulged.

"At this place the Choctaw Indians frequently visit, and are sometimes troublesome to the inhabitants, by killing their cattle, &c. It might be well to keep them in good humor by a little bread, beef and liquor, and some trifling presents, &c. . . . I cannot make advances myself, as my own expenses will be greater than I had an idea of: living is higher than I had expected, and even house-rent, I find, is estimated at \$300 a year."

We left Governor Sargent in great tribulation, owing to the inadequacy of the means afforded him by the general government, of efficiently administering the territorial government of Mississippi. At that time the remoteness of the territory from the seat of government rendered all communication between the two very difficult and infrequent. In his letters of September, 1798, the governor implored that Congress would establish facilities of intercourse between himself and the general government; and, in the following October, reiterates his complaints of the length of time since he heard from the Secretary of State; also, of his enormous expenses—to provide for which, he recommends the establishment of a revenue office at Natchez, where "foreign rum, sugar, and coffee were consumed in large quantities." He also recommended the appointment of an inspector of cotton, or a delegation of authority to himself, as "it might be made of some emolument to him, and would keep him in his disbursements, to which his pay was inadequate.*" He also prayed for the appointment of judges, saying that Judge Bruin was indefatigable and meritorious; "but, for want of another judge, we are wretched. The people, smarting from our delinquency, will become restless, and I tremble for the consequences. Reputation is at stake, and every moment hazard increases." He also entreated the Secretary of State to transmit to him the laws of the different states, a seal, and stationery.

Against all these inconveniences, the governor could oppose only his own indomitable will, aided by his past experience in the North-west. He determined to be governor, not only in name, but in fact. He would not, like

"Albany, with feeble hand,
Sway borrowed truncheon of command."

He had been an officer in the army, under circumstances when the force of arms supplied the place of law. Placed now in a similar situation—suddenly transferred to a country, the inhabitants of which were, in his own language, "composed of various characters, and among them the most abandoned of villains"—he resolved to wrest the law to his authority, and exercise every power, however despotic, which the public safety might require. In one of his letters, deploring the want of judges, he says: "In consequence thereof, I am sometimes constrained to measures, that imperious necessity only can justify. They will, no doubt, be noticed by the malcontents, of whom there are not a few;

* At a still later period the governor wrote: "If some compensation is not made me for past services, my pockets will soon be empty of every thing but honor; and honor, you, as well as Falstaff, do acknowledge, will no more discharge the expenses of this government than set a broken leg."

and amongst them some most unprincipled scoundrels, who manage with great art and address."

"Soured by the seeming inattention of the government, which, no doubt, is insidiously blazoned by Spanish emissaries we are losing the inhabitants, while discontent is every moment increasing among those who remain.

"It is not strange it should be so; for, destitute of municipal law or efficient magistrates, our state is truly deplorable, and, until the arrival of the judges, it cannot be otherwise. Diffused over our country are aliens of various characters, and among them the most abandoned villains, who have escaped from the chains and prisons of Spain, and been convicted of the blackest crimes. It would be wise policy to provide for extirpating such from our territory. We have no prisons, and the vilest offenders calculate, therefore, with some certainty, upon impunity. I have done every thing in my power, *more*, perhaps; but, I trust, *necessity* will plead my justification. All, however, is inadequate, and very just cause of complaint will remain till some complete system for our good regulation be adopted, which I most fervently supplicate, for the sake of the people, for the fair reputation and dignity of the United States, and for my own honor and peace."*

The foregoing sketch of the condition of the territory will incline the reader's mind to view with less censure the acts by which the governor endeavored to correct the evils by which he was surrounded, however despotic, at the present day, they would appear to be.

His first measure was the posting of all the soldiers at Loftus's Heights, "to save the men from debauchery, and for other reasons of national importance." This he recommended to General Wilkinson, who had recently arrived.

His next care was to provide a court-house and jail. In this scheme he proved unsuccessful. In a letter of September, 1798, he wrote: "At Natchez is a Roman Catholic church, which would make a convenient court-house; but having been consecrated, it would violate the feelings of *about a dozen families* of the holy Catholic religion, and be disagreeable to our neighbors, as it was built by the King of Spain."

"There is an appendage to the church, built by the King of Spain, which has been occupied by Captain Guion. The troops will leave, but reluctantly. I wish to appropriate this building to the purpose of a court-house."

* In a letter of the same date, the governor thus describes Natchez: "Natchez, from the perverseness of some of the people, the ebriety of the Indians and negroes on Sundays, has become a most abominable place. I must myself, in the absence of the judges, aim at some police, but it will be ineffectual without the aid of the garrison. Can you be good enough to command it?"

About this time the governor wrote to General Matthews, who "had come forward in behalf of a New-England company of land speculators," that all rights, derived from Georgia, to public lands, must be suspended till provided for by Congress; and in October, 1798, he issued a proclamation, forbidding all persons from surveying lands, marking trees, &c., on penalty of fine and imprisonment.

He recommended to government the issuing of orders, prohibiting aliens from traveling through the territory without passports. Subsequently, the governor issued a proclamation, directing "all persons, not actually citizens, inhabiting the territory, or some one of the United States, to report themselves within two hours after their arrival at any of the settled posts of the territory, to a conservator of the peace, under the penalty of imprisonment; and also prohibiting any person from entertaining or comforting any person neglecting to comply with this regulation." The same proclamation continued the power of justices to administer the oath of allegiance, &c., till the 30th November following. This was dated October 18th, 1798.

By a proclamation of the same date, he prohibited "giving or vending to Indians, within three miles of Natchez, any whiskey, rum, brandy, or other ardent spirits, till the 1st November following." It will presently appear that the latter proclamation was dictated by the apprehended approach of about two thousand Indians.

About this time, also, the governor ordered the arrest of John Callihan and William West, on suspicion of being associated with Zachariah Cox, who, (as appears in a former portion of this history,) had been imprisoned and had escaped; and in a letter to General Wilkinson, of November, 1798, he says, that he had ordered one — White to be arrested for "impudent observations." In a preceding letter to General W., he discussed the mode of recapturing Z. Cox, whom Governor Gayoso had refused to deliver up, and adds: "Could we rely on any of the soldiers in the fort, the affair would wear a good face, and promise us success." In November following, he offered a reward of \$300 for the apprehension of Cox, and also wrote to Mr. Welch, of the Indian Agency, informing him that Cox is to pass through the Indian nation, on his way to Tombigbee, and requesting his aid in arresting him. He also wrote a similar letter to Mitchell, the Indian Agent. Numerous were the schemes laid by the governor, during his administration, to recapture Cox, until the death of the offender, some time afterwards, deprived him of all chance of vindicating his own insulted dignity and the majesty of the law.

The greatest stretch of authority, which the governor was compelled to exercise, was the grant of power to William Dunbar, to grant

letters of administration of the estates of decedents, taking bond, with security, &c.; thus, by a single letter patent, creating an office, prescribing the laws for its administration, and appointing an officer to fill it. Royalty could have done no more!

About this time the governor entertained much apprehension of danger from a combination of the Indians and the aliens, whom he had previously denounced. In October, 1798, he wrote: "We shall not enroll in the militia more than eight hundred men. I almost despair of reconciling them to each other, or concentrating all their good-will to our government. Our frontier is exposed to invasion through the Spanish dominions, and also by the Indians, and sound policy should obtain for us some special indulgence."

In a letter to General W., same date, he says: "So soon as the enrolment (to which I expect much insidious opposition from base and designing men) shall have been effected, I propose to have, on paper at least, a select corps, equal to one half of the efficient force of the district, well armed and accounted and officered, to act on the shortest notice; with these I propose to take the field, and co-operate with your excellency."

These preparations may have had an eye to the apprehended war which the governor was expecting to occur between the United States and France, and were, probably, accelerated by a rumor, which had just reached him, of the approach of about two thousand Indians towards Natchez, with the avowed object of demanding from him provisions and ammunition, sufficient to enable them to carry on a war against the Cadeans, an Indian tribe inhabiting Louisiana. This demand, being contrary to the treaty between the United States and Spain, he prepared to resist, and prevent the invasion of the Cadeans. In a few days a part of the Indians arrived—consisting only of two hundred warriors—and assembled at Concord, opposite to Natchez. They stated that they had received every species of injury and insult from the Cadeans, had patiently endured all for a long time, in the hope, founded on the assurance of Governor Gayoso, that they should obtain satisfaction without resorting to war; that, disappointed in this, they had embodied themselves, to the number of two thousand warriors, and proposed to cross the Mississippi and attack the Cadeans; that they were without arms and ammunition, or provisions, and relied on the bounty of their father, the United States, to supply them.

The address of the governor, in reply, had the desired effect, and the red wave which threatened for a while to overwhelm his precarious bark of authority, receded quietly beneath the influence of his Canute-like, but more potent eloquence. The Indians retired to their wigwams, and so far from ever after-

wards exhibiting any unfriendly disposition to the Americans, became their devoted friends and useful allies at a future period, when their co-operation was of vital importance to the interests of those states and territories bordering on the Spanish dominions. This happy result was mainly attributable to Governor Sargent's mild and conciliatory conduct towards them during the whole course of his administration.

The governor's military measures having been thus consummated, he turned his thoughts to the improvement of the territory by the arts of peace. In a letter of October 17th, to the Secretary of State, he had shown his solicitude on this subject, in which he hoped "that the United States would not forget the interest of a whole government, which, feeble, and on the confines of the United States, with jarring interests among the people, required a parent's fostering care." In the same letter, he prays "for the adjustment of land claims, provision for seminaries of learning and for religious purposes, together with encouragement in judiciously settling the country." Again, in December following, he wrote: "The population is small, very inferior to the adjacent establishment in Louisiana, and this consideration, in our distant and defenseless state, upon any occasion of disgust with the general government, might incline them to seek a reunion with the old province. Equitable decision on their land claims would produce a preference of the United States; but remaining a mere handful of men, their apprehension from red as well as white neighbors might, nevertheless, induce a conduct nationally injurious. To correct this, I would recommend the establishment of a land office, and encourage settlement to a considerable extent; for with our present number, we are in continual anxiety from the Choctaw Indians."

Deferring an account of the further measures of the governor for our next number, we will close this by an extract of a letter which grew out of his foreign relations. In December, 1798, a correspondence occurred between the governor and M. Tilbiene, commandant of Fort Moro; and in reply to a requisition of the latter, for the extradition of a fugitive from the Spanish dominions, the governor wrote as follows:

"Perfectly disposed to aid the operation of justice, in benefit even to nations unconnected by amity with the United States, and persuaded that it is their intention to consider Spain in a very favorable point of view, I am anxious promptly to deliver over to your justice the fugitives therefrom, and could not, for a moment, hesitate to surrender any atrocious malefactor, escaping from your government, and found within this territory, had not an asylum been granted to a most abandoned offender against the United States, within the

province of Louisiana; his excellency, the governor-general, believing the treaty made no provision to authorize his giving him up at my request. Having, however, no reason to alter my opinion then expressed, (save the example of his excellency,) I will demonstrate my love of justice by arresting Palmer, if to be found within my jurisdiction."

MISSISSIPPI.—A SKETCH OF THE GENERAL CHARACTER, AS TO SOIL, CLIMATE, PRODUCTIONS, &C., EMIGRATION, PROSPECTS, &C. OF MISSISSIPPI.—To a Journal devoted to the interests of the Valley of the West, matter touching any portion of it, I trust, will be acceptable. To an observer of the present day, indeed, it is somewhat strange that this section of country did not earlier attract the examination of the enterprising to the many points of interest to be found in its bosom, as well as the research of literary labor in regard to its earlier history. Surely it is a theme, in all its bearings, worthy of the attention of our ablest and wisest. The philosophic Frenchman, De Tocqueville, writing of our country, says: "The Valley of the Mississippi is, upon the whole, the most magnificent dwelling-place prepared by God for man's abode." And, in speaking of the Atlantic states, he says again that "the centre of power still remains there, whilst, in the backward states, the true elements of the great people, to whom the future control of the continent belongs, are secretly springing up." Scarce fifteen years have elapsed since the above was penned by a sagacious foreigner, yet they have served far more than to fulfil his remarkable prediction. And here I might say much on this which would be alien to the purposes of this brief article. As to the truth of it, it sufficeth that there is no more pertinent evidence needed for the moment than the establishment and success of the *Commercial Review of the South and West*, located at the great seat of their trade and power, and devoted to the complex and mighty interests growing up in their midst. May it continue to prosper, and remain worthy of the important duties it has assumed!

Among the fair sisterhood of states so beautifully traced out on the bosom of the great Valley of the West, there is none more interesting than the state of Mississippi, bearing, as it does, the name of their common boast, the Father of the American waters. Though among the first of the Western States admitted into the Union, Mississippi seems only for a brief period to have attracted much of the general attention. During the prevalence of the great land speculations, which are a part of the history of the West, its southern portion came fully into market, and, some years later, similar scenes were re-enacted at the sale of that fine tract of country in the northern part of the state known as

the "Chickasaw Cession." After the disposition of the greater part of the public domain at these sales, interest seems to have subsided as to the state, and to have turned aside in the pursuit after the rich loam of Louisiana, the new regions of Arkansas, and the varied expanse of the young republic of Texas. Among the many causes which might be assigned for the comparative neglect into which the state seems then to have fallen, I will mention only one. It is a conceded point, I believe, that our western land sales were at the same time the cause as well as the *nucleus* of much reckless speculation in which *bona fide* settlers could not participate, and which was managed and governed by gambling traders from all quarters of the United States. The state banks of the time, managed as they then were, furnished the food in this headlong race after fortune. Without a further waste of words, we have here the cause and the course of some of the most remarkable events in the private financial history of our people in the West. No land sales presented a higher degree of excitement, or more gigantic schemes of speculation, than in Mississippi; no state plunged with a bolder leap into the corrupt banking system of the times, and no where did more disastrous consequences follow in the train of either. The monopoly of large bodies of the public lands in the hands of a few, to the exclusion of the great mass of the people, and the profits of gambling, instead of the regular returns of honest industry, were the legitimate results of the one and the other. In the crash of 1836, '7, '8, and '9, an almost universal bankruptcy ensued amongst us, and some of the finest portions of Mississippi became partially depopulated. Then, in the breaking up of our miserable banking system, many unhappy consequences followed, the baleful effects of which have pursued the state, kept down its natural growth and prosperity, and are yet seen and daily felt in our courts of justice and our halls of legislation. The effects of these causes (proceeding from whence they may, for I will not undertake to say *here*) are very obvious. They have greatly impeded our increase in population; turned away from us the goodly tide of eastern emigration, and thus crippled the revenue, resources, and power of the state. In speculative schemes, the agricultural interests have been grievously neglected, and, in its infancy, our rich virgin soil has been squandered and exhausted. I will not dwell upon the abasing effects of this race after gold on the intellectual growth and character. It is to be seen amongst us; and there are many, rarely and nobly gifted, who look with vain regret on labors expended in the race for speculation and money, which if properly directed would have made them useful to their country, an ornament of general society, an honor to their

state, and enabled them to have left to their children a lofty heritage of fame. Lastly, from peculiar causes, the confidence of our sister states in our general policy and system of laws was entirely destroyed. But a great change has taken place. The old régime of Mississippi has passed away, and better times, I hope, are ahead of us. Our lands are now in the hands of earnest cultivators. The banking system is no more, and but one diminutive member of the tribe is left to remind us of the days of the "olden time." The laws and legislation of the state have become permanent and settled. We have at last gone through the fiery ordeal, credit and confidence have been restored, and the present population of Mississippi is almost unindebted. Our state is once more attracting the share of public attention to which her many natural advantages so richly entitle her. To these it is my present intention briefly to call the notice of your readers.

The state is comparatively small. It yet presents a great variety of soil, and is divided into many different districts. The upper portion of the state is generally known as North Mississippi, though the region thus designated includes a portion only of the north. This section of the state came into market and cultivation some twelve or fifteen years ago. The surface of the ground is rather rolling, but generally it is very clean; has an open, champaign appearance, and is beautifully wooded with oak, hickory, &c., devoid of undergrowth. The uplands produce very abundantly for a year or two, when they are apt to be ruined by heavy rains, the substratum of the country being sandy. The valley lands, as they are termed, are much more durable, the soil being heavier and darker, and are highly productive; but they are liable to be, and are frequently, submerged, acres at a time, under billows of sand washed from the uplands during the heavy freshets. Cotton has hitherto been the chief product; but as the soil is becoming exhausted, and the country colder from being more open, its cultivation will probably be in some degree abandoned, and attention given to lighter crops. It is considered a healthy country. The water, what there is of it, is very good; yet it cannot be said to be well watered. There is a small creek, called Cold Water, in its borders, and the Tallahatchee river makes from it. But for the scarcity of water, I presume it would be a good stock country, and also proper for the raising of small grains. The chief outlet of this region is by wagons to Memphis, Tennessee, which town it may be said almost to have built. Before the Chickasaw Cession came into cultivation it was a muddy village, and since, in a few years, through its wagon, grocery, and cotton trade, it has sprung into the fair and stately city which now salutes the eye of the

traveller from the brow of the ancient Chickasaw Bluff.

The settling of this region is one among the many remarkable events in the history of the rise of the Western States. Fifteen years ago it was an Indian wilderness, and now it has reached and passed in its population other portions of the state of ten times its age; and this population, too, one of the finest in all the West. Great attention has been given to schools and education, and here has been located the "University of Mississippi," so amply endowed by the state, and now just going into operation under the auspices of some of the most able professors from the eastern colleges. There is no overgrown wealth among them, and yet no squalid poverty; the people being generally comfortable, substantial, and independent farmers. Considering its climate, soil, health, and general character of its inhabitants, I should think no more desirable or delightful residence could be found than among the hills and sunny valleys of the Chickasaw Cession.

Another section of North Mississippi is called the "Prairie" or "Tombigbee" country, commencing in the extreme county of Itawamba, covering the north-east part of the state, and sweeping far down on the Alabama line. The country is uniformly level; presents an almost unbroken flat with scarcely a tree, covered by rank grass, dotted sometimes with pools and marshes, and intersected by dull, sluggish branches. The soil is a dark, heavy loam, coal black, and of surprising strength and fertility. The dirt is different from that of lower Louisiana in this, that it is more of an original and less of a depository character; and also in being thick and highly adhesive, instead of light and *ashy*, as the former. It is also corrosive, and deeply impregnated with lime. The soil is a strong one, and certainly inexhaustible. The crop is, and ever will be, cotton, of which the yield is abundant when the rank grass of the prairie is overcome by cultivation, and the cotton is not ruined by the diseases incident to the strong nature of the soil. The black mud becomes excessively disagreeable in wet weather, and the rains are very heavy, and render transportation through the country, as well as its cultivation, very laborious. The yield of corn is luxuriant and abundant.

This region, though lying by the Chickasaw counties, finds its market at Mobile, by means of the Tombigbee river principally; a fine stream, and navigable for good boats seven months of the year. The head of its navigation is Aberdeen, a thriving town in Monroe county, sprung up in a few years, and already a place of very heavy trade; the third shipping point in the state, having cleared near forty thousand bags of cotton the past season. The border counties down the Alabama line change from the prairie and partake more of

the character of the Chickasaw Cession. It is a beautiful and healthy range of counties, finely watered, and for several years fast increasing in population and growing in wealth. Cotton grows well, and the lighter grains abundantly, which is wagoned to Gainsville, or some shipping point in Alabama on the Tombigbee river, and thence to Mobile.

A large district of the state is known as East Mississippi, which really includes the south-east and part of the southern portion. Though one of the oldest, it is one of the most thinly settled portions of the state. The people of East Mississippi boast, and with reason, of their good health, pure bracing air, and delightful water. The character of the land is mixed—some poor and some very rich—broken hills and fertile valleys. Cotton is produced, though to no great extent; corn and small grain abundantly; sometimes rice in small quantities. Fruits are plenty. This region is somewhat famous for cattle, in which a chief part of the possessions of many of its citizens consists; hence has often been applied to them the familiar sobriquet of the “cow counties.” The country is indeed highly *pastoral*, and possesses many of its pleasant characteristics. Without the soil or the market for the sole cultivation of the heavier southern staples, it rejoices in other advantages contributing perhaps more nearly to the general happiness of its people. Scattered thick here and there are to be found lands of the most fertile and generous cast; and there cannot be met with a more independent or hospitable community than among the East Mississippians. Among their fertile valleys and on their green hills is to be found “many a cozy nook and dingle, bushy dell and bousky burn fram side to side,” where are to be seen the bright eye and rosy cheek of health, and to be felt the warm heart and generous hand of a frank and manly people.

A small portion of their trading is done at Jackson, the *present* terminus of the Vicksburg railroad, a small portion down Pearl river to New-Orleans, and the greater part to the city of Mobile.

The portion of the state bordering on the sea-shore, with its bathing, fish, oysters, and pleasant summer retreats, is well known to the dust-covered denizens of New-Orleans. It is becoming a place of resort, as well for its own people as for the citizens, and bids fair soon to rival the famed gatherings of Newport and Cape May. Back from the sea-coast is generally a sandy, broken tract, covered by quantities of fine pine. The turpentine business is already attracting attention; application has already been made by individuals to the general government for grants of public lands there situated, in order to test the business and thereby enhance the value of the residue. A large factory has been opened, and others are preparing for the business.

The position and material favor such a trade, and in a few years it will no doubt become heavy and profitable, and furnish a fine investment for capital.

The south-west and country above it, though the oldest, is the portion of Mississippi least known to the writer. The soil is rich, and the population numerous, wealthy, and highly distinguished for intelligence. The course of trade of a portion is through Bayou Sara, on the West Feliciana railroad, and the whole to New-Orleans through some point on the Mississippi river. Among others, may be mentioned the ancient and time-honored city of Natchez.

I will now direct your attention to the only remaining section of Mississippi which I can notice. Commencing some fifty miles below the mouth of the Yazoo river, inclining to the interior for about one hundred miles in a line gently circling northward, up through the centre, then diverging to the north-west to a point below Memphis, including the counties of De Soto and Panola, is to be found as noble a sweep of country as any in the world. It is washed by the Mississippi from Memphis to Vicksburg, and is intersected by the Yazoo, its head waters and tributaries, throughout its greatest extent. The facilities for market are unequalled. The Yazoo river, running, as we have said, through nearly its whole extent, is an excellent stream, affording steam navigation sometimes as high as the south-west corner of Marshall county. The soil is of the most productive character, being, as it is called, *swamp land*. It possesses all the strength of the prairie lands, without their sticky, adhesive, and corrosive nature. This region of our state has come into cultivation at a comparatively recent period, it having been heretofore considered damp and unhealthy. This impression is fast losing ground, and the cotton planters, deserting the rolling uplands, are fast pouring in upon the “swamp.” Indeed, the impression of the sickness of the South generally has been rapidly losing ground for some years back, and that blessing is now sought with as much confidence on the “swamp lands” of the Yazoo and the Mississippi as among the hills and plains of Carolina and Virginia. Population of the very finest character is being attracted hither, and in a few years it must be the wealthiest and most flourishing part of Mississippi. When other portions of the state shall, in the lapse of time, become worn out and exhausted, (as they will, unless our mode of cultivation is greatly improved,) it will be the store-house, the granary, the Egypt of the surrounding country. One drawback on these lands, however, is their liability to overflow from freshets in the Mississippi river. This danger is diminishing every year, and as population increases, levees, good and substantial, will be built. An effort was made

at the last session of the Legislature to pass a levee bill, which failed, but which will be renewed with better success at the next session. Some years ago Congress donated to the state of Mississippi 500,000 acres of land, to be applied to purposes of internal improvement. Most of these lands are located within the district we are speaking of. Under an act of the Legislature they were advertised to be sold on the 1st of January last, by the Secretary of State, and Planter's Bank bonds and coupons to be received in payment therefor. There is a considerable quantity of government land here also vacant, and selling for the minimum price. Very heavy tracts of land are here also held by speculators, whose necessities and our tax laws are forcing to sell. The natural advantages of these lands are appreciating them in value every year, and the present is probably the most advantageous period to purchase which will ever occur again. I may also mention that there are considerable quantities of these lands owned by old commission houses and foreign banks, and no doubt could be purchased of them low.

The section last spoken of embraces the counties of Yazoo, Sunflower, Washington, Bolivar, Coahoma, Tunica, Tallahatchie, and a portion of De Soto, Panola, Yallobusha, Carroll, and Holmes, and is generally known as the region of the "River counties."

Mississippi can as yet boast of but few works of internal improvement. There has, however, for a few years past, sprung up a strong disposition to carry out something of the sort. The idea of connecting Memphis by a railroad, running through North Mississippi, with the Alabama, Georgia, and Carolina road, has been broached and advocated through your journal. The plan is feasible, and is every day engaging the attention of men who will accomplish their undertaking.

For several years we have had a railroad from Vicksburg to Jackson. This road has long been graded twelve miles east of Jackson to Brandon. By an act of the last Legislature, our two per cent. fund, donated to us by Congress for such purposes, was appropriated to extending and completing this line to Alabama. Commissioners were appointed for the purpose, who are now actively engaged in so doing. The road will soon be completed to Brandon, and if a small amount of foreign capital can be attracted to it, it will be completed so as to connect with the Atlantic at Charleston. The recent addition of Northern Mexico to our Union, the immense mineral wealth, and the convenience of its ports and harbors toward the rich trade and commerce of the Orient, render the question of a land connection between the Californias and the Atlantic a matter of pressing and glorious interest. It is, however, too import-

ant a theme to be discussed here. At an early day, if agreeable to you, I will take up the subject, and from an examination of a mass of papers heretofore before the United States Senate, lay before your readers a sketch of the different projects connected with the above.

There is one cause which at present I will mention as operating against the resources and population of Mississippi: it is the heavy amount of government lands remaining unsold within her borders. By the Report of the Commissioners of the General Land Office, they amounted, on the 30th June, 1845, to 10,409,034 acres. Of these, there had been in market *five* years, 1,018,114 acres; *ten* years, 451,390 acres; *fifteen* years, 2,974,097; *twenty* years, 934,131; *twenty-five* years, 894,424; *thirty* years, 2,924,172; and *over thirty* years, 1,222 706. These lands are all held at a minimum of \$1.25 per acre, at which price they can never be sold, and will remain a heavy incubus upon our prosperity. The subject calls loudly for the action of Congress, and was ably urged upon it by General Shields in the Report above named. Under the graduation system, of about 4,344,725 acres, in nine years was sold 3,469,320.92 acres; and the balance is and will be soon disposed of. Every consideration demands strict legislation, economy, comity to the states in whose borders these lands lie, and justice to the mighty wave of the frontier population, sweeping onward to the base of the Rocky Mountains and the shores of the Pacific, and extending the laws and institutions of our country across the continent. The removal of all difficulties in the way of the occupancy of our public lands has always been a favorite idea with me, and, in connection with it, I cannot here help alluding to a public man whose official career is now nearly run—one whose untiring industry and unvarying accuracy have made him famous, whilst his far-reaching sagacity and comprehensive ability have shed a mighty flood of light upon all the financial and industrial interests of his country. I allude to Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi; and I cannot better conclude this subject than by quoting his own language in reference to it. "Reduce," says he, "the price which the laborer must pay for the public domain; bring thus the means of purchase within his power; confine the sales to settlers and cultivators, in limited quantities; preserve thus hundreds of millions of acres for ages to come as homes for the poor and oppressed; reduce the taxes by reducing the tariff, and bring down the prices which the poor are thus compelled to pay for the comforts and necessities of life; and more will be done for the benefit of American labor than if millions were added to the profits of manufacturing capital."

There is much else which I could well

allude to in connection with my state, but I am warned to conclude. I can only say that, to my view, no state has fairer and brighter prospects before her in the future, if prudence shall rule the action of her people, and wisdom guide their counsels and conduct.

MISSISSIPPI—RESOURCES OF.—A paper on the other side of the ocean has been discussing the affairs of Mississippi with rather a free hand; but as the writer does great justice to the resources and wealth of our sister state, we will extract some part of his remarks:

"The territory included in the state of Mississippi enjoys a preëminence even among the most favored of the communities which recognize the federal government of Washington. It takes its name from the great river which drains into the Mexican Gulf the superfluous waters of the whole middle region of the North American continent; and for two hundred and sixty-five miles along the lower and the richest line of that river, Mississippi occupies its western bank. It is daily enriched, without any exertion of its own; for every circumstance and every accident which contributes to swell the population who dwell on the higher branches of the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Ohio rivers, increases the traffic on the low waters of that mighty confluence of streams. The state of Mississippi is the Holland of the central regions of North America. She is placed on the delta of the chief lines of water communication, through which alone the larger part of the external commerce of those regions can find a passage, and by which the greater portion of their imported commodities must be conveyed. The Dutch have become rich and illustrious, notwithstanding that their country is little more than a sand bank, and a mere speck on the map of Europe. But Mississippi occupies a surface equal to the whole of England and Wales. In point of fact, she is one of the largest states of the Union; and the natural resources of her soil have excited the admiration and amazement of every person who has examined them. These are the general outlines of the picture; and, when we turn our attention to the details, we arrive at equally striking results. Between 1830 and 1840, the population of Mississippi very much more than doubled itself; and when the census of the present year shall be completed, we entertain no doubt that, in point of numbers, the citizens of that state will be found to occupy a position so favorable, as to be in some degree disproportionate to their general standing in the federal commonwealth. Between the years 1840 and 1846, the revenue derived from the sale of her public lands increased nearly seven fold; and it must be borne in mind that, among the new western states, the rapidity with which the public domain is ab-

sorbed by fresh settlers, is one of the strongest proofs of substantial progress. Notwithstanding, however, this great increase in the demand for land, the state had still on hand, on the 30th of June, 1845, no less than 10,409,034 acres of surveyed and registered lands, awaiting the appearance of purchasers. And if we estimate the value of these at no more than the very moderate price of two and a half dollars per acre, (the rate assumed by the commissioners of the state,) it will appear that Mississippi possesses, in her unappropriated public domain alone, a fund equal to five and a half millions of pounds sterling, or more than five times the principal, and more than a hundred times the interest of the debt. But further, we have at this moment before us a copy of the official budget of Mississippi for the years 1846, '47 and '48; and what are the prominent facts which these documents disclose? Not, certainly, that the people of Mississippi are poor and helpless. In 1846, the number of taxable acres in the state was 15,232 389; and in 1848 the area of assessment has expanded to 16,019,488 acres; that is to say, in two years it has increased five per cent. The whole amount of public taxes annually collected within the state was under \$380,000, or £76,000; and the burthen of these was limited to an infinitesimal assessment, on most of the principal kinds of real and personal property. We find, for example, entries of the amount of duty levied on pleasure wagons, race, saddle, and harness horses, gold and silver plate, pianos, pistols, bowie knives, 'slaves under sixty years,' and 'free male negroes.'"

MARYLAND.—HISTORICAL EVENTS—GOVERNMENT — RESOURCES — IMPROVEMENTS — COMMERCE—CITY OF BALTIMORE, ETC.—The state of Maryland derives its name from Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I, by whom a charter was granted to George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore. The charter was issued on the 20th of June, 1632, and assigned to the grantee all the territory lying within certain prescribed limits, with extensive jurisdiction and powers of government over it. It was distinguished for its liberal and democratic character in an age which was proverbially illiberal and tyrannical. The law-making power was vested in the Lord Proprietary jointly with the people, or their representatives. The Proprietary could only act alone in cases of sudden emergency, when the people or their representatives could not be easily assembled. The right of exemption from taxation by the crown, except with their own consent, was clearly stipulated, together with many other *privileges*, as they were then called; but which, in this enlightened age, are justly considered the inalienable rights of man. The fires of Protestantism, which were lighted up by Luther and Calvin, were burn-

ing with undiminished intensity in England as well as on the continent; and the severity and cruelty of the laws of England towards the Catholics rendered it impossible for them to remain in their own country, and enjoy that greatest of earthly blessings, the liberty to worship our Maker according to the dictates of our own conscience. It is well known that religious persecution and the love of gold were the inciting causes to all the emigrations from the old world to the new. But the early settlers of Maryland had to encounter difficulties of the same kind as those which compelled them to fly their own country. Maryland having been included within the limits of the royal government of Virginia previous to the issuing of her charter, one William Claiborne obtained from the governor and council a license to trade with the Indians on the Chesapeake. Taking advantage of his position, he excited jealousies on the part of the Indians towards the Marylanders, by representing them as Spaniards and enemies. But he failed in his insidious attempts, and afterwards created an open rebellion, in which he was again thwarted, and compelled to fly first to Virginia, and then to England, where he was tried and convicted of treason.

The first General Assembly of the freemen of the colony was convened at the town of St. Mary's, in 1635. A considerable portion of the records of their proceedings was destroyed by fire, so that but little of them is known. The second Assembly was convened in 1638. In some respects the constitution of those early legislatures differed from those of the present day. The charter entitled every freeman to take a share in the making of those laws by which he was to be governed. As it was inconvenient to assemble at a given time and place persons who were few and far between, each one was allowed to vote by proxy, so that it sometimes happened that one individual cast a dozen votes. The Proprietary, however, was invested with the power of summoning by special writ those whose presence he particularly desired. At a later period, two burgesses were elected from every hundred individuals; but each individual had the right, if he thought proper to exercise it, to claim his seat in the legislature. This right was, however, taken away by the General Assembly itself; and the council, the delegates from the several hundreds, and those who were summoned by special writ, constituted this body. The Proprietary (or governor) could obtain the control of the Assembly by adding to it a few of his personal friends. They all sat at first in one house, but were afterwards divided into two, called the upper and lower, somewhat like those of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain; the council appointed by the Lord Proprietary forming the upper, and the delegates of the people the lower. It was during this session that the colonists began to pave

the way for the more just and equitable system which lies at the foundation of the present constitution of Maryland. The old heaven of aristocracy and monarchy which pervaded the government, began to receive a blow which, by frequent repetition, compelled the ancient system to yield to the wants of the age and the stern spirit of liberty, which were so heroically displayed during the eventful crisis of the great Revolution.

Lord Baltimore attempted to compel the colonists to accept the system of laws which he had digested, and to annul the acts of the legislature, because they were not framed by himself. The people were convinced that the Proprietary had no other than the veto power, and vindicated their rights by rejecting the whole system. The Lord Proprietary vetoed all of the bills that were passed, but afterwards abandoned it, preferring the welfare and prosperity of the colony to his own individual privileges, and sensible that the power of negating any bill of which he disapproved was quite sufficient to protect his rights and authority in the province.* But Maryland was destined to encounter other difficulties besides those of a civil character. Although religious freedom was expressly granted to them by the charter, no sooner had the contest between the king and parliament broken out in England, than the spirit of disaffection began to show itself in the colonies. The bigoted Puritans who were driven from Virginia on account of their intolerance, fomented the dissensions which began to prevail between the various Christian sects. Their strength increased with the success of the parliament, until finally they attempted the reduction of Maryland by additional reinforcements from England. Charles the First had been recently executed by the republican party. It was found at the next General Assembly that the partisans of the commonwealth were in the majority. Parliament had, in the mean time, passed an ordinance for the reduction of Maryland. Commissioners were appointed, who, with armed vessels and a regiment of soldiers, proceeded to wrest the government of the colony from the hands of the people, and required that they should conform to the laws of the commonwealth. After a determined resistance on the part of the Proprietary, his power was overthrown, but not until a bloody battle had been fought, and some of the most distinguished men of the colony had been killed. As soon as they took possession of the province, an Assembly was called, and it was prohibited that any Catholic or royalist should vote for or sit therein as a delegate. Their first act was to pass a law declaring that the members of the Catholic Church would not be protected in the province, and at the same time denouncing "prelacy,"

* Bozman.

as they denominated the Church of England. The Puritan rule lasted for about six years, when Cromwell died, and Charles II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors. The government of the Lord Proprietary was again renewed in Maryland, but it was destined to undergo many severe trials before it was enabled to continue the even tenor of its way. The same conspiracy that had overthrown the power of the Puritans, set about undermining that of the Lord Proprietary. At the session of 1659, the House of Delegates demanded that the governor and council should no longer sit as an upper house, and claimed for itself the rights of supreme judicial and legislative power. The governor, who had been appointed (in the absence of Lord Baltimore) with two of his council, took his seat in the lower house. "The upper house was then declared to be dissolved, and the governor, having resigned his commission from the Lord Proprietary into the hands of the Assembly, accepted from that body a new one in their own name, and by their own authority. To secure obedience to this new and almost republican government, an act was passed declaring it to be a felony to disturb the existing order of things, and the people were commanded by proclamation to acknowledge no authority except that which came immediately from the Assembly or from the king."

For about thirty years after these events, the government preserved a character of stability. The colony increased in inhabitants, productions and commerce, and enjoyed all those blessings which flow from a peaceful and prosperous rule. The historian apologizes for the dull and uninteresting epoch in which any event is deemed worthy of being recorded. Gibbon makes the same apology in treating of the reign of the Antonines. There were only a few sanguinary battles, a few terrible crimes or astounding calamities; civil wars were without bloodshed, and the colony devoted itself to the increase of its internal prosperity. A mint was established for coining shillings, and taxes, in the shape of tobacco, were imposed for the proper maintenance of the government. "The mode of payment of port duties is worthy of notice, as indicating the wants of the times. Every vessel having a flush deck fore and aft, coming to trade in the province, was compelled to pay one half pound of powder and three pounds of shot for every ton burthen. To insure the circulation of the new coinage, every householder was compelled to take from the mint ten shillings for each taxable person in his family, for which he was to pay in tobacco, at the rate of two pence per pound." When Philip Calvert assumed the government of the colony, in 1660, there were twelve thousand inhabitants. It increased to sixteen thousand in the next five years. In 1671 it amounted to twenty thou-

sand. They began about this time to enlarge the number of counties. There were only a few towns; St. Mary's and Annapolis were the only ones of any importance. A majority of the people were planters and farmers. They obtained their manufactured articles from the mother country. At the session of 1663, the Assembly were engaged in laying the foundation of a system of laws, many of which continue to exist to the present day. The growing wealth and importance of Maryland excited the avarice of Charles II. James II. ordered a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued, to show cause why the charter should not be forfeited. But Charles died, and James was deposed. William and Mary ascended the throne. Soon after this event, a conspiracy was formed to overturn the government, and to abolish the Catholic religion. The king sustained the acts of the revolution, and the province continued under the administration of the Convention of the people, who requested the king to take the government of the colony into his own hands. Sir Lionel Copley was sent over to take command of the province as governor. The Convention was dissolved, and a General Assembly was summoned to meet at the city of St. Mary's. Its acts of severity towards the Catholics and dissenters are blots upon the history of this period. The royal dominion in Maryland lasted for twenty-five years. Nothing is worthy of particular note, except that the crown had already begun to make encroachments upon the liberty of the people. The British Parliament desired to destroy the charter, and to effect the reduction of Maryland, as well as the other colonies of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania. They charged Pennsylvania with being a receptacle of runaway slaves, and the Jerseys with being the resort of pirates. In 1715 the reins of government were again surrendered to Lord Baltimore, and the Parliament again attempted to take away their charter; but the colonies were successful in remonstrating against the injustice of it. The struggle between the aristocracy and the democracy began to be more decided than ever. Although there was no actual breach between them, a war of paper bullets preceded that of lead. Petitions and protests, resolutions, addresses and proclamations ensued for several years, which resulted in the triumph of the democracy. In 1739 the Assembly resolved that the duties levied by the Proprietary were unjust and oppressive, and protested against certain usurpations and privileges claimed in the creation of new offices without the consent of the Assembly. The tonnage and tobacco duties were a standing subject of complaint and resistance between the people and the Proprietary, until the Stamp Act and Tea Duties "closed all controversies, and removed all griev-

ances." In 1744, a treaty was concluded between commissioners appointed by the governor and a powerful tribe of Indians called the Six Nations, by which three hundred pounds of current money was agreed to be paid to them, on condition that they would relinquish all claims to any territory within the limits of Maryland. The Assembly projected the building of towns and cities, but very few of them grew to any importance. The cities of Baltimore, Annapolis, and Frederick, are the only ones that are now known. The population of the province had begun to increase rapidly. In 1748, the number of inhabitants was estimated at 130,000 souls. It increased in five years after to 154,188. The mineral and agricultural resources of the soil began to be developed, and an establishment was made for the manufacture of linen and woollen stuffs for common use, and for the clothing of servants and slaves. Grants of land were made to those who would erect watermills and forges for the working of the copper mines. The making of wine was also attempted. Wheat and Indian corn were largely exported, but tobacco was the principal staple. Free schools were established and supported by general taxation. The currency was in great disorder. An issue of paper money was resorted to on the part of the government, but ultimately failed. There were also disputes with regard to her boundaries, which have never been settled to the satisfaction of the people of Maryland. There is nothing worthy of particular mention from this time until the revolution. There were frequent contests between the English and the French, who had conceived the idea of connecting Canada with Louisiana, by constructing a chain of forts along the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, which passed through a territory to which the English laid claim. As Virginia was principally interested in the controversy, the governor dispatched Washington to protest against the proceedings of the French commandant. What courage, zeal, and perseverance he displayed in the discharge of his duty, and what unfading glory he obtained not long after, form one of the brightest pages in the annals of our country, and is indelibly impressed on the mind of every American citizen.

The two principles of aristocracy and democracy which were contained in the original charter, began to be developed in broader and more decided characters. The right of taxation, which was claimed by the upper house, was denied by the representatives of the people, who claimed the exclusive privilege of framing bills for raising money. Meanwhile the colony was rapidly increasing in population, which spread themselves to the utmost limits of the province. The soil was rich, and intersected by navigable streams, and possess-

ing great mineral resources, which only required industry and independence to develop to the fullest extent. Maryland took an active part in opposing the stamp act, as well as the duty on tea. Her heroic conduct during the war of the Revolution is so well known, that it is unnecessary to dwell upon it. Suffice it to say, that no state was more patriotic, and that none rendered more distinguished services in obtaining our independence. After the Revolution was over, the finances of the country were in a very disordered condition. The treasury of the United States was empty. Congress was burdened with a debt of forty-two millions of dollars, and several of the states were considerably involved. Maryland was one of the first states that passed a law authorizing Congress to levy the required duties on exports and imports, to cover the interest of the public debt. With a view to enable her to recover from the effects of the late struggle, a company was formed for the purpose of constructing a canal from the Pennsylvania line along the Susquehanna to the tide water, and incorporated in 1784 under the name of the Proprietors of the Susquehanna Canal. The Potomac Company was soon after organized, to open a convenient route for travel and transportation between the Atlantic and the growing settlements of the West. Virginia and Maryland united in this enterprise, and General Washington was chosen the first President. The company was afterwards merged in the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company. A scheme was also proposed for effecting an inland communication between the Delaware and Chesapeake Bay. The city of Baltimore, about this time, received a new impulse, and the enterprise of its merchants began to display itself in its increasing commerce and population. In 1782 its population was 8,000 inhabitants; it now numbers about 167,000, and is the third city in the Union. The cause of science and learning were not neglected. A college was established at Chestertown, called Washington College, and another in connection with it at Annapolis, called "St. John's College." The great subject of political interest at this time was the formation of the Federal Constitution. The democratic party was inclined to strengthen the state authority at the expense of the general government, or more properly speaking, was not willing to surrender to the general government more power than was necessary to carry its provisions into operation. The federal party were for consolidating the government, in order to preserve security at home, and respect from abroad. Whether the Constitution will continue to endure the severe shocks it has already received, and which is now agitating the republic to its centre, remains to be seen. Nothing but a strict adherence to

its provisions, and a spirit of mutual forbearance, will preserve it as the palladium of our safety. *Esto perpetua.* In 1790, the District of Columbia was ceded by Maryland and Virginia to the United States, of which Washington was to be the seat of government. A contest had arisen in Maryland for the enlargement of the right of suffrage. It became the leading topic in state politics, and elections turned upon it. After long and angry discussions in the session of 1802, the confirmatory act was passed. That odious restriction upon the freedom of elections, the *viva voce* vote, was removed, and the ballot-box substituted in its place. The old judicial system was also abolished, and the present one adopted.

During the war of 1812, Maryland acted with her usual gallantry; and the battle of Bladensburg and North Point will be ever memorable in the annals of our country. After the war, she turned her attention to internal improvements. The public schools were to be supported by a permanent fund, which the banks agreed to pay, on the renewal of their respective charters. The system was afterwards superseded by the formation of the primary school organization in 1825,—the organization of which was considerably enlarged. We copy the following remarks from McSherre's History of Maryland, a work recently published, and of high authority:

"The immense mineral resources of Western Maryland, the rich mines of iron ore, and the inexhaustible supply of coal, which its mountains contained, made it a matter of peculiar importance to Maryland, that the designs of the Potomac Company should be completed, irrespective of the growing trade of the West. A water communication into the heart of the mineral region, affording the cheapest means of transportation of such heavy articles, was almost absolutely necessary to develop fully its immense wealth, and pour it into the markets of the Atlantic. But it was found, in progress of time, after repeated efforts, that the mode of navigation proposed by the Potomac Company was insufficient and unworthy of the great object in view—the securing the trade of the West; and another and nobler work was contemplated. It was proposed that the Potomac Company should surrender its privileges to a new corporation, to be formed for the purpose of making a canal along the river to its head, and thence to the waters of the Ohio. The Legislature of Maryland approved of the design, and a Convention was called at the city of Washington, of delegates to be chosen by the people of the different counties in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, to consider the best means for effecting so desirable an object. Delegates from fourteen counties in Virginia, one in Pennsylvania, and eight in Maryland, besides a full representation from each of the District

cities, attended on the 23d of November, 1823. It was resolved that a company should be formed to construct a navigable canal by Cumberland, to the coal banks, on the eastern side of the Alleghanies, and thence, as soon as practicable, to the highest point of navigation on the Ohio, or Monongahela; and, as it was contemplated to be finished by the joint efforts of the United States government, Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the subscriptions of private stockholders, it was proposed to designate it as "the Union Canal," but its present name, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, was finally adopted. During the sessions of the Convention, a communication was presented from two delegates from Ohio, proposing a further extension of the work, by a canal from the Ohio, through that state, to the great lakes on the north; which portion of the design was finally, by the state, unaided.

"In conformity with the recommendations of this body, an act was passed by Virginia, on the 27th of January, 1824, and subsequently confirmed by Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the United States, to incorporate the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company. Maryland, wisely looking to the interest of its commercial metropolis, claimed and obtained the right of constructing, through any portion of the District of Columbia, a lateral canal, to terminate at the city of Baltimore. It further insisted on the power, and maintained the expediency, of the general government's fostering this great national work, and aiding in its completion. It authorized the state treasurer, in its name, to subscribe five thousand shares of stock, at one hundred dollars per share, on certain conditions.

"The necessary legislation having been thus effected, a second Convention assembled at Washington, composed of numerous delegates from Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, who approved of the charter thus tendered to them. The books were opened by the commissioners appointed for that purpose; and the requisite amount of stock having been taken, the stockholders, in June, 1828, organized and formally accepted the charter. The United States subscribed for ten thousand shares of stock, and Congress authorized the District cities to become stockholders. They accordingly took an aggregate of fifteen thousand shares. The amount of the subscriptions of Virginia was only seven hundred and seventy-seven shares. These subscriptions, together with the stock taken by individuals, brought the sum total to thirty-six thousand and eighty-nine shares, being a capital of \$3,608,900. It had been sanguinely estimated, that the whole work could be completed to Cumberland on the scale at first contemplated—forty feet wide at top, twenty-eight feet at bottom, and four feet deep—for \$4,400,000. The dimensions, however, were after-

wards increased, at the suggestion of the United States government, to six feet in depth; and in width, ranging from sixty to fifty feet. The route was immediately selected, and the work commenced.

"While these measures were in progress, the people of Baltimore began to entertain fears that the work would interfere with their prosperity, and build up the District cities at their expense. They doubted the feasibility of constructing the lateral canal; and a railroad to the waters of the Ohio was determined upon. In February, 1827, a public meeting was called in the city, and a memorial preferred at once to the Legislature. It was asserted that the route of the railroad was the only practicable one—that is, shorter by one hundred and forty miles than that by the canal, and that it could be opened at an expense less by seven millions of dollars. In ten days after the application, a charter was granted by the Legislature.

"The railroad company were allowed to pass along on a line parallel with the canal to Harper's Ferry, at which point it crossed to the Virginia side. The state subscribed for five thousand shares of its stock, and authorized the city of Baltimore to subscribe for thirty thousand shares. Not long after, 'The Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad' was projected from Baltimore to York. A branch of the Baltimore and Ohio road was turned towards Washington, and a lateral road to Annapolis was connected with it. The failure of the canal, beyond Harper's Ferry, for want of funds to continue it, rendered it necessary for the Legislature to take the matter into consideration. In 1835, it provided for a subscription of three millions to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal—three millions to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad—half a million to the Maryland Cross-cut Canal to Baltimore—half a million to the Annapolis and Potomac Canal—and one million to the Eastern Shore Railroad. The amount of the state's interest in the canal in 1839 had swollen up to the sum of \$7,197,000. The Tide Water Canal Company, and the York and Wrightsville Road, was supported by state bonds, for which the company's tolls were pledged.

"Agricultural societies were formed throughout the counties—a state association was assembled—an excellent journal* established to advocate the cause of the noblest of all pursuits—the education of the soil. Men of enterprise turned their attention to the restoration of these barren wastes, and soon presented to the astonished eye of advocates of the ancient system, the 'old fields suddenly renovated by the power of lime and guano, and

composts judiciously applied, and blooming and producing with something like their pristine fertility. The spirit of improvement did not rest with these. The man of smaller means imitated their example, and profited by their experience. The barren wastes of the last generation are becoming smiling fields, groaning with yellow harvests, and rich meadows waving with sweet-scented grasses; the voices of a thriving rural population sound like music once more in the long-deserted ranges; and the last 'old field' of Maryland will soon yield to the onward progress of agricultural improvement."

Although Maryland is among the small states of the Union in point of territorial dimensions, her geographical position is one of the best. She is surrounded by rivers and bays which discharge the products of several states into her bosom. Her soil is rich and fertile in the growth of grain and tobacco; and, what is strange, the mineral resources of copper, iron, coal, and even gold, are to be found within her borders. It is well known that lands which abound in mineral ores are generally very barren.

The property of the state consists of the following items:

PRODUCTIVE PROPERTY OF MARYLAND.

Stocks of the Farmers' Bank of Maryland.....	\$190,000 00
" Bank of Baltimore.....	174,000 00
" Mechanics' Bank of Baltimore.....	46,500 00
" Union Bank of Maryland.....	31,800 00
" Hagerstown Bank.....	25,000 00
" Commercial and Farmers' Bank of Baltimore.....	21,666 66
" Farmers' and Merchants' Bank of Baltimore.....	12,000 00
" Marine Bank of Baltimore.....	1,000 00
" Franklin Bank of Baltimore.....	7,500 00
" Baltimore and Ohio R. R. Company.....	1,050,000 00
" Baltimore and Frederickton Turnpike Road Co.....	10,000 00
" Baltimore and Yorktown Turnpike Road Co.....	5,000 00
" Uni n Manufacturing Co.....	10,000 00
Bonds of the Susquehanna and Tide-water Canals.....	1,000,000 00
Loan to the Trustees of Charlotte Hall School.....	2,666 77
Due from sheriffs, clerks, collectors, inspectors, and auctioneers.....	662,813 68
Bonds of the Susquehanna and Tide-water Canal Companies.....	192,500 00
Total productive.....	\$3,451,477 11

UNPRODUCTIVE PROPERTY OF MARYLAND.

Bonds of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company.....	\$3,000,000 00
" Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad Company.....	1,884,045 29
Loan to the President and Directors of the Potomac Company.....	30,000 00
Interest thereon to 16th of May, 1825.....	14,280 00
Stock of the Potomac Company.....	120,444 44
" Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company.....	3,000,000 00
" Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company.....	5,000,000 00
" Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company.....	50,000 00

* The death of John S. Skinner, formerly editor of the "Sportsman's Magazine," is much lamented throughout the agricultural world. He was recently the editor of a journal called "The Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil." We learn that a monument is about to be erected to his memory.

Stock of the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad Company....	100,000 00
" Annapolis and Elk Ridge Railroad Company	299 378 46
" Eastern Shore Railroad Co.	86 862 00
" Nanticoke Bridge Company.	4,333 33
" Chesapeake Steam-Towing Company.....	25,000 00
Stock of the Elkton Bank of Maryland..	10,000 00
Bonds installed and not installed, exclusive of interest.....	10,759 33
Due from the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, for interest.....	3,274,318 57
Due from the Baltimore and Susquehanna R. R. Co., for interest.....	925,905 76
Penitentiary, for premium, principal and interest.....	59,096 64
Total unproductive.....	\$16,999,623 95
Grand total.....	20,442,071 06

PUBLIC DEBT OF MARYLAND.

Public debt on September 30th, 1849..	\$16,164,813 44
Deduct sterling bonds held by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Co..	\$3,200,000 00
Tobacco Loan.....	161,984 15
Interest bonds redeemed.	260,118 38
Sinking Fund.....	1,892,537 61
	<u>\$5,514,640 14</u>
Total public debt to be redeemed..	\$10,650,173 30

The population of Maryland, according to the census of 1850, the returns of which have been lately completed, shows the following results in comparison with that of 184 :

POPULATION OF MARYLAND.*

Counties.	—1850.—			—TOTAL POPULATION.—		
	White Population.	Free. Colored.	Slaves.	1850.	1840.	
Alleghany.....	21,752	307	724	22,873	15,740	
Anne Arundel.....	16,542	4,602	11,244	32,388	29,535	
Baltimore City.....	141,441	24,625	2,946	169,012	102,513	
Baltimore County.....	34,222	3,600	3,767	41,589	32,067	
Carroll.....	14,644		479	15,123	17,245	
Caroline.....	6,096	2,783	808	9,692	7,863	
Calvert.....	3,610	1,520	4,488	9,618	9,095	
Cecil.....	15,483	2,612	843	18,937	17,362	
Charles.....	5,665	913	9,584	16,162	16,012	
Dorchester.....	10,783	3,803	4,282	18,873	18,809	
Frederick.....	31,595	3,637	3,261	38,493	34,983	
Harford.....	14,414	2,785	2,166	19,365	16,901	
Kent.....	5,598	3,132	2,627	11,357	10,840	
Montgomery.....	9,435	1,311	5,114	15,860	14,659	
Prince George.....	8,702	1,138	11,510	21,550	19,483	
Queen Anne.....	7,040	3,174	4,271	14,485	12,525	
S. Mary's.....	6,280	1,590	5,811	13,681	13,244	
Somerset.....	13,417	3,453	5,588	22,458	19,504	
Talbot.....	7,087	2,590	4,134	13,811	12,103	
Washington.....	26,969	1,885	2,089	30,943	28,862	
Worcester.....	11,824	3,593	3,453	18,870	18,253	
Total.....	412,803	73,158	89,178	575,140	467,567	

The above table shows an increase in the population of the state during the past ten years, of 107,573. The increase in the whole state during the ten years between 1830 and 1840 was but 20,527, whilst the increase in Baltimore alone was 21,888; so that, in fact, the population of the state, leaving the commercial emporium out of the question, had decreased during that decade, 1,361. Deducting the increase in Baltimore from the whole increase, as shown by the present census, there is left, as the increase for the counties alone, 41,004.

The total free black population of the state, as shown above, is now 73,158; in 1840, it was 61,937—showing an increase of 11,221.

In 1840, the whole number of slaves in the state was 89,719, whilst there are now but 89,178—showing a decrease of 541.

The increase of population in Baltimore City is 66,499,—which is nearly two thirds of

the whole increase of the state. Baltimore County shows the next greatest increase, being 9,522; Alleghany next, 7,133; Frederick next, being 3,510; and Somerset next, 2,954. Carroll County, it will be seen, is the only county in the state that shows a decrease in its population, having fallen off 2,122 since the last census. This decrease has doubtless been caused by its neglect to avail itself of a direct railroad connection from the heart of the county with Baltimore City.

According to the last report of the Secretary of the Treasury upon the Banking System of the United States, the banking capital of Maryland was, in

1837.....	\$10,438,655	1845	\$8,852,332
1840.....	10,526,494	1847.....	7,999,004
1841.....	10,214,908	1848.....	8,541,836
1842.....	10,709,332	1849.....	8,557,732
1843.....	9,746,279	1850.....	8,704,711
1844.....	9,540,374		

* Baltimore Sun.

BANKS IN MARYLAND, 1851.*

Location	Name of Bank.	President	Cashier.	Capital.
Annapolis.....	Farmers' Bank of Maryland..	George Wells.....	Thomas Franklin.....	298,000
Cumberland.....	Cumberland Bank.....	David Shriver.....	Joseph Shriver.....	112,937
".....	Mineral Bank.....	Thomas J. McKaig.....	Joseph H. Tucker.....	169,137
Ellicott's Mills..	Patapsco Bank.....	Thomas B. Dorsey.....	B. U. Campbell.....	125,000
Easton.....	Farmers' Bank, (Branch).....	Theo. R. Lockerman.....	Richard Thomas.....	271,575
Frederick.....	".....	Richard Potts.....	Godfrey Koonitz.....	250,000
".....	Farmers' and Mechanics'.....	William Tyler.....	Thomas W. Morgan.....	125,430
".....	Frederick County Bank.....	Alexander B. Hanson.....	James H. Williams.....	150,000
Hagerstown.....	Hagerstown Bank.....	Alexander Neil.....	Elie Beatty.....	250,000
Port Deposit.....	Cecil Bank.....	Jonathan Tome.....	A. Anderson.....	50,000
Westminster.....	Bank of Westminster.....	Isaac Shriver.....	John Fisher.....	60,000
".....	Farmers' and Mechanics'.....	Jacob Mathias.....	Jacob Reese.....	50,000
Williamsport....	Washington County Bank.....	Daniel Weisel.....	John Van Lear, Jr.....	135,000

Country.....Total, 12 Banks.....Circulation, \$1,200,000..Specie, \$400,000. Capital, \$1,997,079

Baltimore street..	Bank of Baltimore.....	James H. McCulloh.....	C. C. Jamison.....	1,200,000
North street.....	Chesapeake Bank.....	John S. Gittings.....	James Lownds.....	311,473
Baltimore street	Citizens' Bank.....	Adam Denmead.....	Wm. L. Richardson.....	100,000
Howard street..	Commercial and Farmers'.....	Thomas Meredith.....	Trueman Cross.....	512,560
South street.....	Farmers' and Merchants'.....	J. Hanson Thomas.....	John Loney.....	393,560
".....	Farmers' and Planters'.....	William E. Mahew.....	Thomas B. Rutter.....	600,625
North street.....	Franklin Bank.....	John J. Donaldson.....	Aquila P. Giles.....	301,850
Gay street.....	Marine Bank.....	Jacob Bier.....	Philip Littig, Jr.....	310,000
North Calvert st.	Mechanics' Bank.....	John B. Morris.....	James W. Allnut.....	593,898
Gay street.....	Merchants' Bank.....	James Swan.....	Daniel Sprigg.....	1,500,000
North Charles st.	Union Bank of Maryland.....	John M. Gordon.....	Robert Mickle.....	196,350
Eutaw street....	Western Bank.....	Chauncey Brooks.....	James H. Carter.....	400,000

City.....Total, 12 Banks.....Circulation, \$2,060,000..Specie, \$3,127,000. Cap'l. \$7,140,316

Grand total.....\$9,137,395

According to the late report of the Manufacturers' Convention of Maryland, the number of cotton factories in the state the present year is 28.

FOREIGN TRADE OF MARYLAND.

Years.	Imports.	Years.	Exports.
1840.....	4,910,746	1840.....	5,768,768
1841.....	6,101,313	1841.....	4,947,166
1842.....	4,417,978	1842.....	4,904,766
1843.....	2,479,132	1843.....	2,820,814
1844.....	3,917,750	1844.....	5,133,169
1845.....	3,741,804	1845.....	5,221,977
1846.....	4,042,915	1846.....	6,979,055
1848.....	5,348,643	1848.....	7,129,782
1849.....	4,976,000	1849.....	8,000,660
1850.....	6,124,261	1850.....	6,583,481

POPULATION OF BALTIMORE.

Years.	Slaves.	Free Col'd.	White.	Total.
1790.....	1,255.....	323.....	11,925.....	13,503
1800.....	2,843.....	2,771.....	20,900.....	26,514
1810.....	4,672.....	5,671.....	36,212.....	46,555
1820.....	4,357.....	10,326.....	48,555.....	62,738
1830.....	4,120.....	14,790.....	51,710.....	70,620
1840.....	3,212.....	17,980.....	81,321.....	102,513
1850.....	2,946.....	24,625.....	141,441.....	169,012

In its increase in wealth, Baltimore has kept pace with the increase of its population. In 1808, the value of taxable property in the city was computed at \$2,522,780. The following is the official estimate of the value of the property, and the number of houses erected in the city for the last six years:

Years.	Real and personal prop.	No. houses erected.
1844.....	53,790,170.....	609
1845.....	53,750,496.....	1,508
1846.....	54,851,217.....	—
1847.....	72,079,322.....	2,006
1848.....	74,228,276.....	1,920
1849.....	78,252,588.....	1,894
1850.....	80,237,960.....	—

The city now contains upwards of an hundred churches, three universities, four colleges, and many beautiful and commodious public buildings. To notice these, however, further

than they affect the commercial or mercantile character of the city, is no part of the design of this article. The Merchants' Exchange, at the corner of Gay and Lombard streets, is a spacious building, 225 feet long by 141 feet wide, and contains, besides the usual reading-room, and the room for the meeting of the merchants, the custom-house, bank, telegraphic offices, a hotel, &c. The room in which the merchants' meetings are held is fifty-three feet square, has upon its east and west sides colonnades, the columns of which are of fine Italian marble, each a single block, and it is lighted by a dome 115 feet above the street.

The total value of goods shipped from Baltimore during the year ending June 30th, 1849, was \$8,000,600; of which \$7,786,695 were of articles of domestic produce, and \$213,965 of foreign articles. The exports were in 634 vessels, with a tonnage of 149,928 tons, and employing 6,335 men in their navigation. Of the above, 491 vessels were American, and 145 under the flags of eighteen different foreign nations.

The foreign imports into Baltimore during the same time were valued at \$4,976,731, of which \$4,613,219 were in American vessels. The foreign imports were received in 484 vessels, of the tonnage of 110,068, and manned by 4,581 men.

The total number of vessels owned and registered at Baltimore on the 30th of June, 1849, was 124,025.35 tons—53,624.75 tons being engaged in coasting, and 11,464.28 tons in steam navigation. In the same year there were built in Baltimore 9 ships and barks, 8 brigs, 41 schooners, 5 steamers, with the aggregate tonnage of 12,199.66 tons. (See Baltimore.)

MAINE.—ITS EARLY HISTORY.—PHYSICAL ASPECT—AGRICULTURAL AND MINERAL RESOURCES—COMMERCE—MANUFACTURES—GOVERNMENT—FINANCES—POPULATION—SCHOOLS, COLLEGES, &c., &c.—In the year 1603, a company of Bristol merchants fitted out an expedition of two small vessels, under the command of Martin Pring, for the purpose of exploring the shores of America north of Martha's Vineyard and Massachusetts Bay, and of opening a trade with the natives—some very flattering notices having been received of that portion of the New World from Bartholomew Gosnold, who had visited it the year before. Pring landed on the coast of Maine, in June, 1603, discovered some of its principal rivers, and returned to England. In 1606 he repeated the voyage, and made a more accurate survey of Maine than before. The whole country, from the mouth of the Hudson to New-Brunswick, was in the same year granted by James I., of England, to a body of "knights, gentlemen, and merchants," in England, called the Plymouth Company. This company sent out a colony of planters, under George Popham, who landed at the mouth of the Kennebec river on the 21st of August, 1607, and erected a few rude cabins, a store-house, and some slight fortifications. Forty-five only of the emigrants remained at the place, which they called St. George; the rest returned to England in the following December. The place where this colony, usually called the Sagadahoc colony, passed the winter, is now the town of Phippsburg. The winter was extremely severe, and the poor emigrants suffered from famine and hardships of every description. Their store-house was destroyed by fire, their commander died, and in the following year they abandoned the settlement, and returned to England.

The principal object of trading vessels to the American coasts, at that early period, was the collection of furs and skins, and of sassafras, then becoming fashionable in England, as a medicinal drug. Pring took home with him one of his vessels entirely freighted with sassafras, and the other with furs and skins.

The next settlers on the New-England coast were the Pilgrims, at Plymouth, in 1620, from whom settlers gradually extended to the coasts of Maine. Gorges and Mason, two Englishmen, had long been engaged in trafficking on these coasts. In 1621 Mason obtained the grant of a tract of country, extending from Salem to the mouth of the Merrimac; and in 1622 Mason and Gorges, together, obtained a grant of the whole tract from the Merrimac to the Kennebec, which they called *Laconia*. They sent out a colony of fishermen, who settled at the mouth of the Piscataqua, where Portsmouth now stands. Others, fishmongers from London, settled at Dover, eight miles up the river. These settlements, in what is now New-Hampshire, are

among the oldest in the United States; but they did not prosper, and were only fishing stations. Settlements of stragglers continued to be made eastward along the coast. In 1625 there was a settlement at what is now York, and another at the mouth of the Saco. In 1632 the people of Plymouth established a trading-house on the Penobscot, and one at Machias, at the entrance of the Bay of Fundy, both of which places were plundered by the French in 1633, who claimed the whole country east of Pemaquid Point. In 1635 the French sent an armed vessel to the trading house at Penobscot, and took possession of it, paying the traders for their goods in bills on France. The traders were sent home to Plymouth. An attempt was made to regain the place, but without success; and the French held it many years.

In 1635, the Council of New-England surrendered their patent, and their territories fell to eight different proprietors. Gorges was one of them; and to his territories, lying between the Kennebec and Piscataqua, he gave the name of *New-Somerset*. He sent out his nephew, William Gorges, as his deputy, to establish a government over the settlements. A general court was held at Saco. In 1639, Gorges, who for thirty years had been engaged in colonization projects, and who had lost by them some \$98,000, obtained a royal charter for his American provinces, and changed their name to Maine, in honor, it is conjectured, of the Queen of England, who had some feudal relation with the French province of that name. It had, however, been long the custom of the planters and fishermen of the whole New-England coast, to designate it as "the Main," to distinguish the main land from the islands.

Gorges, who appears to have had somewhat pompous and inflated notions of things, attempted to erect over his fishmonger subjects a stately government, consisting of a lieutenant, chancellor, marshal, admiral, (though he had no navy,) and other high officers, who, together with eight deputies chosen by the people, were to constitute the general court, or legislative council. The little hamlet of Agamenticus he chartered as a city, and changed its name to *Georgiana*, in honor of himself.

When the civil war commenced in England, Sir Fernando Gorges adhered to the king, and his enemies succeeded in getting wrested from him all his territory north and east of the Saco. Gorges died in 1647, and in 1652 his little province was annexed to Massachusetts, and *Georgiana* changed to York.

The heirs of Gorges contended with Massachusetts for Maine until the year 1677, when they sold all their right and title to it for the sum of £1,200. The province, as claimed by Massachusetts, under this purchase, did not extend east of the Kennebec. The French

claimed all east of that as part of Acadie; and New-York, then governed by Andros, claimed all between the Kennebec and Penobscot. Andros built a fort at Pemaquid, and purchased peace of the Indians, who had nearly depopulated the white settlements, by agreeing to pay them an annual tribute of corn—a peck for each English family.

From 1670 to 1712, the English settlements in Maine suffered much from the incursions of the Indians and French. Some of the towns were completely destroyed, and large numbers of people massacred. The government of Massachusetts offered a reward of \$132 for every grown Indian taken prisoner. By the treaty of Utrecht, in 1712, France yielded to England all her claims to Acadie, and thus the Indian massacres in New-England ceased. Of all the flourishing settlements on the coast of Maine, however, only three were left, the others having been destroyed.

Maine being incorporated with Massachusetts, its history is merged in that of the latter, and we hear nothing more of it until after the Revolutionary War. In 1785 its population was so increased that a convention of the people was held at Portland, to consider the expediency of erecting themselves into an independent state.

Portland was first settled in 1632, and purchased by Gorges in 1637. In 1675 it was destroyed in the Indian war, and again in 1690 by the same enemy. It was rebuilt in 1715, and in twenty years afterwards its trade in lumber was extensive, so that it supplied the British navy with masts and spars, which were chiefly exported in foreign vessels. At the commencement of the Revolution, Portland had a population of 1,900, and a port tonnage of 2,555. It had 230 houses, and a Congregational and Episcopal church. In 1775 it was bombarded by the British, and 136 houses, including the principal public buildings, were destroyed. The place was at that time called Falmouth, which was changed to Portland in 1786. It is now the largest town in Maine.

It was not until 1802 that another effort was made by the people of Maine to become a separate state. In 1788 the people opposed the ratification of the federal constitution, chiefly on the ground that it might prove an obstacle to their favorite project of becoming an independent state, which was not effected until 1820.

The boundaries of Maine, as fixed by the late treaty, are the result of a controversy with Great Britain of a quarter of a century's standing, and one which came near involving the two countries in a war. By the treaty, the St. Croix, and a line running due north from the monument at its source to the St. John's river, form the boundary on the east. On the north, the line follows the St. John's and St. Francis rivers to lake Pohenagamook.

On the west, the line follows the high lands from that lake in a south-west direction to the north-east corner of New-Hampshire, which state forms part of the western boundary. The Atlantic is on the south.

Maine is the largest of the New-England States, having an area of 30,000 square miles, or more than four times the area of Massachusetts. Maine is diversified, of an uneven surface, but not generally mountainous. Near the sea the land is mostly level. Farther inland, it becomes hilly, and finally mountainous. Mount Katahdin, the highest elevation, is 5,300 feet high. In the interior there are a number of small lakes, noted for their scenery. Maine has a sea-coast of over 230 miles, indented by numerous bays, and protected by numerous islands. It has more good harbors than any other state in the Union. The land on the sea-coast, for from ten to twenty miles inland, is not very fertile, but improves in quality as one leaves the coast. In the north-west and south-east parts, the soil is light and indifferent. Between the Penobscot and Kennebec there are lands equal in fertility to any in the Union.

The climate of Maine is subject to great extremes of heat and cold, ranging from 100° of Fahrenheit's thermometer, in summer, down to 27° below zero in winter. It is, however, generally healthy. The season of vegetation does not continue in vigor more than three and a half months in the year, its greatest length being from the 21st of April to the 16th of October.

Maine has a number of fine rivers. The Penobscot, 250 miles long, is navigable for large ships to Bangor, 52 miles from the ocean. The Kennebec, 250 miles long, is navigable for large ships 12 miles, to Bath, and for vessels of 100 tons, 42 miles, to Augusta. The Saco is navigable only six miles. The entrance and exit from the rivers of Maine are very much facilitated by the high tides which prevail there. At Bangor, 52 miles from the sea, the tide rises seventeen or eighteen feet.

It is computed, that at least one tenth of the surface of Maine is covered with water, so numerous are the lakes and ponds in the interior. Lake Moosehead, the largest, is 50 miles long, and 10 or 12 broad. Penobscot Bay is 30 miles long and 18 wide. Casco is 20 miles long.

Maine is noted for its fisheries, lumber, and ship-building. Its other products are grass, flax, and all the different kinds of grain; but the season is often too short for Indian corn. The wild lands produce vast quantities of timber and lumber, which may be regarded as the staple production, the annual amount exported being from 10 to \$15,000,000. The state is well adapted to grazing and wool growing, the amount of wool being several millions of dollars annually. Lime, marble,

and ice are exported in vast quantities. Ships are manufactured for a foreign market, and the fisheries furnish employment for thousands of the citizens.

The most commercial places in the state are Portland, Bangor, Bath, Hallowell, Augusta, Thomaston, famous for its lime, Belfast, Wiscasset, Wells, Gardiner, Brunswick, Camden, Castine, Eastport, and Topsham, noted for its ship-building.

Government.—The government of Maine consists of a Governor, Senate, and House of Representatives. The governor is elected annually by the people, and has a salary of \$1,500. A council of seven persons to advise the governor, is elected annually by the joint ballot of the legislature. The members of the Senate and House of Representatives—the former consisting of thirty-one, and the latter of one hundred and fifty-one members—are elected by the people, annually. All male citizens of the United States, 21 years of age, (except paupers,) who have been in the state three months previous to an election, are voters, by written ballot.

Judiciary.—This is vested in a supreme judicial court, and such other courts as the legislature may, from time to time, establish. The Supreme Court has four judges, with a salary of \$1,800. The state is divided into three districts, with a judge over each—salary, \$1,200. In each of the 13 counties there is a Probate Court, with salaries varying from \$150 to \$620.

Finances.—Maine has a total debt of \$600,500, paying an interest of \$36,000. From the last report of the state treasurer, we have the following:

Amount of receipts from May 1, 1851, to April 30, 1851.....	\$426,196 30
Balance of cash in treasury May 1, 1850	125,924 07
	<hr/> \$552,120 37
Amount of expenditures from May 1, 1850, to April 30, 1851, inclusive ..	507,450 30
Leaving a balance in treasury May 1, 1851, of	\$44,670 07

Some of the heaviest items of expenditure in 1850–51 were as follows: Pay of the legislature, \$47,976; salaries, \$24,557; roll of accounts, \$15,238; cost of criminal prosecutions, \$26,887; school fund, \$31,610; state roads and bridges, \$6,750; deaf, dumb, and blind, \$5,126; state reform school, \$3,000; insane hospital, \$602; teachers' institutes, \$2,600.

The resources of the state, consisting principally of direct taxes and income from the land-office, are estimated at \$688,692, for 1851. During the same year the chief resources of income were as follows: Direct taxes, \$207,575; land-office, \$137,341; permanent school fund, \$2,707; school fund, No.

18, \$28,440; duties on commissions, \$1,850; bank dividends, \$800; U. S. stock and premium, \$21,850; interest on U. S. loan, \$600.

Population.—The progress of the population of Maine, since 1790, has been as follows:

		Increase per cent.
1790	96,540	—
1800	151,719	57.2
1810	228,705	50.7
1820	298,335	30.4
1830	399,955	34.0
1840	501,793	24.9
1850	583,088*	16.6

The present population consists of 103,787 families, containing 296,635 white males, and 235,128 white females. The free colored population is 1,325. The number of dwelling-houses in the state is 95,797. Its number of representatives in Congress is six, having lost one by the apportionment of the last census. As each representative must represent 93,702 persons, Maine has a residuary fraction of 21,020 persons.

The two most populous cities in Maine are Portland and Bangor, the population of the former being 26,819, and of the latter, 14,441.

Common Schools.—In 1828, the state set apart 20 townships of public land as a basis for a school fund. These lands have yielded thus far \$104,363, which is permanent school fund. In 1850, there were set apart 24 half townships more. The banks are also required to give to the school fund, semi-annually, one half of one per cent. on their capital stock. This tax, in 1850, amounted to \$27,230; which, added to the interest arising from the school fund, amounting to \$6,216, makes \$33,492, the sum divided among the towns of the state, in 1850, for school purposes. The inhabitants of every town are also taxed 40 cents each for the support of schools. In 1850, this tax amounted to \$264,351.

The number of common schools in the state, in 1850, was 6,627, with 230,274 pupils. The average monthly wages of male teachers is \$16.66; of female \$5.92. There are school libraries in nine towns. There are 92 chartered academies in the state. Teachers' institutes also have been in successful operation for several years; 1,732 teachers attended them in 1850.

Colleges.—Bowdoin College, at Brunswick, named in honor of its principal benefactor, the Hon. James Bowdoin, was founded in 1794. Its president is Leonard Woods, jr., D.D. It has 14 professors, 1,051 alumni, and 121 students, at the present time. Its library contains 22,900 volumes. Waterville College was founded in 1820, by the Baptists, at Waterville. David N. Sheldon, D.D., is its president. It has five professors and 76 stu-

* This gives 19 inhabitants to the square mile.

dents. There is also the Bangor Theological Seminary, at Bangor, founded in 1816; the Wesleyan Seminary, at Readfield, founded in 1822. Maine has also the Maine Medical School, at Brunswick, founded in 1820; it has five professors and 51 students.

There were in Maine, in 1840, 3,241 persons, over 20 years of age, who could neither read nor write.

Internal Improvements.—The Cumberland and Oxford Canal, connecting Portland with Sabago pond, and, by locks in the Songo river, with Brandy and Long ponds, forms a navigation of 50½ miles. It is 34 feet wide, contains 26 locks, and cost \$250,000.

Railroads.—The Androscoggin and Kennebec Railroad is 55 miles long, and cost \$1,621,878. The Bangor and Piscataquis is 11½ miles long. The Calais and Baring, 6 miles long. The Portland, Saco, and Portsmouth is 52 miles long. The great Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad, extending from Portland to the Canada line, which it strikes at the town of Canada, in Vermont, where it connects with the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad, extending from Montreal eastward, is 156 miles long. Railroad cars now run through from Montreal to Portland. It has a branch 13 miles long.

The Kennebec, Bath, and Portland Railroad connects Portland with Augusta, the capital of the state. It is 60 miles long. There is also the York and Cumberland, from Portland to Great Falls, New-Hampshire, which is about 50 miles long.

On the 1st of January, 1852, Maine had 315 miles of railroad complete and in use, and 127 miles in progress of completion; making in all, 442 miles.

Manufactures.—From the returns of the last census, we have the following statistics on the manufacture of cotton, woollen, and iron, in the state of Maine, up to 1850:

	Capital invested.	Hands employed	Value of Products
Cotton goods,	\$3,329,700..	3,739..	\$2,596,356
Woollen goods,...	467,600..	624..	753,300
Pig Iron,	214,000..	71..	36,616
Iron Castings,....	150,100..	244..	265,000

The number of spindles employed in the manufacture of cotton, in 1850, was 142,700; but during that year 112,500 were stopped.

The quantity of lumber of all kinds manufactured in Maine, in 1850, was 203,754,201 feet; in 1851 it was 202,005,830 feet, which, at the average price of \$10 per thousand feet, would amount to \$2,020,058.

Maine is noted for its ship-building. In 1850 it built 127 ships, 75 brigs, 115 schooners, 3 sloops, and 6 steamers;—in all, 326 vessels, having a tonnage of 91,211. No other state in the Union built half as many, except New-York, which built 224 vessels, of a tonnage of 58,342.

Salt is manufactured in large quantities in

Maine; also, paper, leather, hats, caps, bonnets, articles of saddlery, pottery ware, bricks, lime, machinery, hardware, cutlery, cordage, carriages and wagons, furniture, &c. The amount of capital employed in manufactures is not probably less than \$10,500,000.

Commerce.—Maine exported, in the year ending July 1, 1850, domestic products to the amount of \$1,536,818, and foreign to the amount of \$29,094. Her total imports, for the same year, amounted to \$856,411.

Banks.—Maine has thirty-seven banks, with a capital of \$3,586,100 for all of them. Their entire circulation is \$2,994,905. Their total liabilities amount to \$8,251,260. These are met by the following resources:

Loans.....	\$6,450,460
Bank balances.....	813,232
Specie on hand.....	630,296
Real estate	102,570
Bills of Maine banks	150,016
Bills of other banks	104,686

Total resources \$8,251,260

Such is the condition of banking in Maine, as furnished by the last annual abstract, published by the Secretary of State in May, 1851. The average dividends of these banks is about four per cent.

More complete statistics of Maine cannot be given, until the returns of the last United States census are known.

MISSOURI.—ITS HISTORY.—STATE GOVERNMENT, COURTS, ETC.—BOUNDARIES, AND SURFACE AND SOIL OF THE COUNTRY.—NATURAL PRODUCTIONS AND CLIMATE.—PRINCIPAL RIVERS.—CHIEF TOWNS.—MINERAL RESOURCES OF THE STATE.—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.—POPULATION.—EDUCATION, ETC., ETC.

HISTORY.—Hernando de Soto may be said to be the first European that beheld the river Mississippi, called by him, on its discovery, (April, 1541,) "Rio Grande." Crossing this stream, probably some thirty miles below Helena, in the state of Arkansas, he traversed, at the head of his adventurous band, a goodly portion of the territory beyond. He is thought by some, but without sufficient reason, to have come, during this march, into the limits of the present state of Missouri. The Mississippi was first explored in 1673, by Marquette and Joliet, two French missionaries, and more fully by La Salle, also a native of France, in 1682. By him all the region situate between the so-called "Illinois country" and the Gulf of Mexico was formally declared an appendage of the French crown, and called Louisiana, in honor of the reigning monarch. From this time, settlements began to be made by the French within the Mississippi valley, advancing respectively from the northern and southern extremities towards

the interior. Canada had long (from 1608) been inhabited by colonists from France; but not till the beginning of the 18th century was the region bordering on the gulf alike distinguished. Natchez was settled in 1700; New-Orleans was founded in 1718; and within a few years the whole valley was protected from Spanish invasion by a chain of forts extending from the lakes to the Mexican gulf. Among these, was built in 1719, Fort Orleans, near the mouth of the Osage, not far from the present capital of Missouri. The "Illinois country," above mentioned, was discovered and explored by Joliet and Marquette, and was colonized before Louisiana. The first settlement was made at Kaskaskia, in 1684; the next, at Cahokia, in 1699; and Vincennes, in 1735.

In legal proceedings, the region now known as the state of Missouri was included by the French and Spanish in the Illinois country; but popularly and historically it was denominated "Upper Louisiana." The state of Arkansas was included within the same division. Situated in the central part of the valley, the progress of settlement in Missouri at first was not rapid. Its lead mines were worked as early as 1720. In 1755, the oldest town in the state, St. Genevieve, was founded; St. Louis, in 1764; and afterwards a number of towns in quick succession. During all this time, there was granted only one tract of land within the limits of the state. Meanwhile (1763) the jurisdiction of the valley passed from France to Spain and England: Spain obtaining all the territory west of the Mississippi; England all east of that river. To England, too, was assigned, as the reward of conquest, made permanent by the treaty of 1763, the entire province of Canada. France, after a violent contest, had been despoiled of all her territorial possessions in North America. During the struggle, a number of Canadian French, expecting but dreading the English yoke, emigrated by the way of the lakes, and going southward, located in Illinois, and Upper and Lower Louisiana. Hence the first important impulse to the colonization of Missouri. The population of Spanish Louisiana at the time of its public transfer, not without serious opposition on the part of the settlers, (1769,) was estimated at 13,540 persons, of whom 5,556 were whites, the remainder negro slaves. Of the whites, over 2,000 were able to bear arms. Of the whole population, the city of New-Orleans alone contained 3,190 souls, domiciliated in 468 houses. A river trade had sprung up between the northern and southern portions of the province; and the exports of the province amounted, the year before, to \$250,000.

The character of the new government was mild and conciliating. The laws of Spain were promulgated as the law of the land. The highest tribunal in Lower Louisiana was that

of the governor; in Upper Louisiana, that of the lieutenant governor. The commandants of the various posts in the province were the inferior tribunals. Lands were granted liberally to colonists, on the payment of a trifling *douceur* to the proper commandant; and every encouragement was given to those wishing to effect a settlement. Numerous emigrants from Spain flocked into the province. In 1775, St. Louis, originally a depot for the fur trade, had increased in population to 800. Its houses numbered 120, many of them built of stone. St. Genevieve contained 460 inhabitants, and about 100 houses. Just then the American revolution broke out, and Spain, siding with the English colonists, entered into hostilities against England. In Lower Louisiana and in West Florida, the arms of Spain were successful. Meantime St. Louis was besieged and attacked (1780) by a body of British troops and Indians, 1,540 strong, from Michilimackinac and the southern extremity of Lake Michigan. Col. Clark, then at Kaskaskia, being called on for assistance, arrived in time to give succor, when the grand assault was being made upon the town, (May 6;) for, attacked by the "Longknives," as the Indians called the Americans, they fled from the scene, and returned in chagrin to their homes. During the siege, which lasted a week, about sixty persons were killed in the town and vicinity. Thirty more, who had been captured by the Indians, were rescued by the gallant Clark. The force under his command was not quite 500 men. The general peace of 1783 put an end to hostilities. Spain retained her previous possessions, and received in addition the whole of Florida south of the 31st parallel of latitude. Great Britain resigned East Louisiana, called also Illinois, to the United States, retaining only Canada.

Emigration into Spanish Louisiana began once more on the restoration of peace, and trade and agriculture commenced again to flourish. The hardy settlers of the western part of the United States now built their cabins in numerous places on the west side of the Mississippi. As might have been expected, difficulties soon arose between Spain and the United States. The former power became jealous of the increasing greatness of the latter. A dispute relative to the western boundary of Georgia and the navigation of the Mississippi was settled by a treaty, (Oct. 20, 1795,) by which the Spanish king granted to the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi, and agreed to the 31st parallel of latitude as the northern boundary of the Floridas. Territory north of that line, occupied by Spain at the signing of the treaty, was not surrendered, however, until 1798, (March 28,) the rival powers having approached meanwhile the very brink of war. The promised free navigation of the Mississippi was unexpectedly obstructed, a place of

commercial deposit refused, and disabilities thrown in the way of Americans desiring to settle in Louisiana. War would certainly have ensued, for Spain was jealous of American prosperity; and the American spirit of enterprise, resolved on passing any and every territorial bound, was not always intent on preserving the strictest regard to the rights, real or assumed, of its less adventurous neighbors. Invasion, however, was prevented by the cession of Louisiana to France, (March 21, 1801,) and its disposal by that power to the United States, (April 30, 1803.)

In the European troubles consequent upon the French revolution of 1789, Spain had become involved in the general war, and her king was compelled to bow before the irresistible might of Napoleon, then First Consul of France, and surrender to that conqueror the province of Louisiana. Distrusting his power to retain it, engaged as he was in a contest with Europe, and pressed for money, Napoleon sold the province to the United States for \$15,000,000. It was formally delivered to the United States Dec. 20, 1803, at New-Orleans; the outposts not being all resigned until the ensuing spring. At this time the province contained 49,500 inhabitants, of whom 6,028 were living in Upper Louisiana. The products of its agriculture, in 1802, were chiefly cotton and sugar; of the former, 20,000 bales, of the latter, 5,000 hogshheads. The commerce of New-Orleans had become extensive; its exports, coming from the province and the Western states and territories, and consisting chiefly of flour, pork, salt, beef, tobacco, cotton, sugar, molasses, peltries, naval stores and lumber, amounted to 40,000 tons. The commerce of Upper Louisiana was flourishing. A prosperous trade was being carried on between St. Louis and New-Orleans, and with the settlements on the Ohio, Cumberland and Tennessee rivers. The annual crop was about 88,000 minots (264,000 bushels) of wheat, 84,000 of Indian corn, and 28,627 lbs. of tobacco. The mines produced 1,700 quintals (cwts.) of lead; the salines, about 1,000 bbls. of salt. The fur trade brought in about \$70,000. Louisiana, henceforth, formed part of the United States, itself "an empire," bought, to use the words of Bonaparte, "for a mere trifle."

The whole purchase was speedily divided into the "Territory of Orleans" (since 1812 the State of Louisiana) and the "District of Louisiana," erected in 1805 into a territorial government, administered by a governor and territorial judges, under the title of "Territory of Louisiana." The seat of the government was St. Louis; its districts, St. Charles, St. Louis, St. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, New-Madrid, and Arkansas. In 1812, the name was changed to "Missouri Territory." The province extended from latitude 33° to 41° north, and the territorial government became representative.

William Clarke was the first governor. The assembly consisted of a Legislative Council of Nine, appointed by the President, and a House of Representatives, one member for every 500 free white males, elected by the people. The limits of Missouri Territory on the west, not far off where the cession was made by France, were gradually extended by treaties with the Indians, as the influx of immigrants required. People from the Western States began to move in from the time of the purchase. In 1810 the population numbered 21,000, of whom all but 1,500, belonging to Arkansas, were settled within the present limits of Missouri. Upon the organization of the regular territorial government, numerous American pioneers flocked in from Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, etc., especially at the close of the war with England, (1815;) overrunning, so to speak, the French settlements. American habits, usages, laws and institutions soon became prevalent. The old French settlers were quickly merged and almost lost among the later and more active population. Chiefly in the cities, where even now the Catholic religion is full of life and vigor, did they continue to exert for a time a leading influence; their habits, even in these, however, becoming more and more assimilated to those of the Anglo-Americans, until at length the whole became a homogeneous people.

Immigration was so rapid, that in 1817 the territory contained 60,000 souls. St. Louis counted at that time 5,000 inhabitants, against 1,000 in 1804. It had already become the emporium of the upper Mississippi. In 1817, application was made by the Assembly to Congress for authority to frame a state constitution preliminary to admission into the Federal Union. A fierce and stormy debate arose at once on the subject in Congress. A powerful party demanded that the new states should exclude slavery by their constitutions. The discussion raged for two years, threatening to tear the Union asunder. At length, however, the debate was stopped by the passage of the compromise resolutions of Mr. Clay, by which it was agreed that the institution of slavery should be recognized in Missouri, but in no other new state north of latitude 36° 30'. The state constitution, slightly modified since its adoption, was framed by a convention of forty delegates, which met at St. Louis June 12, 1820, and adopted on the 19th of July following. The new state was found, by a census taken the same year, to contain a population of 66,586, of whom 10,222 were slaves.

From this time until the present, there has flowed a constant tide of immigration into Missouri from the Southern, Western, and Northern States, and from Europe. Before the close of 1833, there had come to the state as many as 30,000 frugal and industrious emigrants from Germany alone. Agriculture, commerce, manufactures, etc., have kept pace

with the population. In 1836, the 65 counties of the state contained in all, 244,208 inhabitants.

STATE GOVERNMENT.—According to the constitution, the governor is chosen by the people, for the term of four years. He must be 35 years old, a native of the United States, and a resident of the state for four years. He nominates the judicial and some other civil officers, pardons and reprieves; but his veto upon a legislative act is set aside by a majority of each house in the general assembly. The lieutenant-governor, chosen as the governor, is also president of the Senate. The general assembly, or legislature, is composed of two branches, the Senate and the House of Representatives. Senators (not fewer than 14 nor more than 33) must be 30 years old, citizens of the state for four years, tax payers, and are chosen for a term of four years. Representatives, (not above 100,) chosen every two years, must be 24 years old, inhabitants of the state two years, and of the county one, and must have paid a tax. Judges are appointed by the Senate on the nomination of the governor, and hold office during good behavior, or until 65 years of age. Soon, no doubt, they will be appointed by popular election. Every free white male citizen of the United States, 21 years old, a resident in the state for one year, and at the place of voting three months, is a qualified elector. The Supreme Court is composed of three judges,

and has only appellate jurisdiction. The circuit courts, held twice a year in each county, have exclusive criminal jurisdiction, hearing all cases, unless otherwise directed by law, not cognizable by a justice of the peace. County courts have jurisdiction over matters probate, and local county affairs. Appeal is made to the circuit courts. Amendments to the constitution can be made by a vote of two thirds of the general assembly. Only one bank, with not more than five branches, and a capital of not more \$5,000,000, one half reserved to the state, can be established. Slaves have the same protection of life as whites, and in criminal cases are tried by a jury, and provided with counsel by the court. A revision and digest of the laws is to be made every ten years. The general assembly meets biennially, on the last Monday in December, in Jefferson City.

The following is a list of the Governors of Missouri from its territorial organization, in 1804, to the present time:—Territorial—Amos Stoddard, (1804–5;) James Wilkinson, (1805–7;) Meriwether Lewis, (1807–13;) William Clarke, (1813–20.) State—Alexander McNair, (1820–24;) Frederick Bates, (elected in 1824;) John Miller, (1828;) Daniel Dunklin, (1832;) Lilburn Boggs, (1836;) Thomas Reynolds, (1840;) John C. Edwards, (1844;) Austin A. King, (1848.)

The officers of the state government for the year 1851, are these:

		Term ends,	Salary.
Austin A. King,	Richmond,	Governor,	1852. \$2,000 [and a furnished house.]
Thomas L. Price,	Jefferson City,	Lieutenant-Governor,	1852. \$450 [a-day while presiding.]
Ephraim B. Ewing,	Richmond,	Sec. of State, and Sup. of Public Schools,	1853. \$1,300
Wilson Brown,	Cape Girardeau,	Auditor of Accounts,	1853. 1,600
Peter G. Glover,		Treasurer,	1,350
William A. Robards,	Boone County,	Attorney-General,	1853. 750
A. P. Richardson,	Bay County,	Registrar of Lands,	1853. 1,250
Gustavus A. Parsons,	Jefferson City,	Adjutant-General,	100
George W. Miller,	"	Quartermaster-General,	100
Merryweather L. Clark,	St. Louis,	Surveyor-General,	1,500
James M. Hughes,	Liberty,	President State Bank,	
Henry Shurlds,	St. Louis,	Cashier, " "	2,000

The Supreme Court is composed of William B. Napton, Saline county, Presiding Judge, (with a salary of \$1,100;) John F. Ryland, Lafayette county, Associate Judge, (\$1,100;)

James H. Birch, Clinton county, Assistant Judge, (\$1,100.)

Of the fourteen circuit courts, the following are the officers and their salaries:

Judges.		Salary.	Attorneys.		Salary.
James W. Morrow,	1st Circuit,	\$1,000	William A. Robards,	\$750	and fees.
W. A. Hall,	2d "	"	Charles H. Hardin,	250	"
Carty Wells,	3d "	"	A. W. Lamb,	"	"
Addison Rees,	4th "	"	J. J. Lindley,	"	"
H. Young,	5th "	"	S. L. Sawyer,	"	"
George W. Dunn,	6th "	"	M. Oliver,	"	"
F. P. Wright,	7th "	"	W. P. Johnson,	"	"
Alexander Hamilton,	8th "	"	James R. Lackland,	"	"
John H. Stone,	9th "	"	M. D. Stevenson,	"	"
H. Hough,	10th "	"	Samuel A. Hill,	"	"
James A. Clark,	11th "	"	W. Halliburton,	"	"
Sol. L. Leonard,	12th "	"	Samuel Archer,	"	"
C. S. Yancy,	13th "	"	John T. Coffee,	"	"
Daniel M. Leet,	14th "	"	John R. Woodside,	"	"

Besides the circuit and county courts, the city of St. Louis has a Court of Common Pleas, with jurisdiction very like that of the circuit court; a Criminal Court, a District Court of Probate, and a Recorder's Court. Samuel Treat is Judge of the Common Pleas, (\$1,000;) James B. Colt, of the Criminal Court, (\$1,000;) P. G. Ferguson, of Probate, (fees;) Mr. Dougherty, Recorder, (\$1,200.)

The amount of the state debt is \$684,997 40; the interest on it, \$73,100. The branches of the State Bank (itself being in St. Louis) are located respectively in Fayette, Palmyra, Jackson, Springfield, and Lexington. Of the stock paid in to the bank and its branches, up to December 21, 1850, \$954,205 were owned by the state; \$254,926 by individuals; deposits, \$1,096,284; received in interest and exchange, \$273,829; circulation, \$2,552,500; bills discounted, \$1,947,075; specie on hand, \$1,198,268.

BOUNDARIES, AND SURFACE AND SOIL OF THE COUNTRY.—The state of Missouri lies, in general, between the parallels of $36^{\circ} 30'$ and $40^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, and 12° and $17^{\circ} 30'$ longitude west from Washington. More specifically, its eastern boundary is the Mississippi, beginning at latitude 36° , and running north to the mouth of the Des Moines, whence the line follows the latter river up to its rapids, ($40^{\circ} 30'$.) The northern boundary is the parallel of these rapids to the point where it cuts the Missouri. The western boundary follows the Missouri to the mouth of the Kansas, where it commences running due south, and so continues until it intersects the parallel of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$. The southern boundary line is the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$ as far as the St. Francis, whence it follows the course of that river to its mouth, and after that the parallel of latitude 36° to its point of intersection with the Mississippi. The state contains, within these boundaries, 67,880 square miles, or 43,123,200 acres.

In the southeastern part of the state the country, which was once capable of cultivation, became, after the earthquakes of 1811–12, marshy. This district contains, on estimate, 1,517,287 acres, and extends south from the neighborhood of Cape Girardeau into the northern part of Arkansas, a distance in Missouri alone of 108 miles, and westwardly as far as the river St. Francis. The land is well located as regards facilities of transport, and is said to be as fertile as any in the valley. The greater portion can be, and at some not very distant period will be, reclaimed by artificial means, and brought under cultivation. The probable cost of reclamation is estimated at \$1,000,000. The remaining parts of the state, though they include much bottom land, are not swampy. The river Missouri separates the whole into two parts, distinguished from each other by dissimilar geological and geographical features. South of that river,

the surface of the country is rolling as far west as the Osage, gradually rising into a hilly and mountainous district, forming the outskirts of the Ozark Mountains. Beyond the Osage, at some distance, commences a vast expanse of prairie land, which stretches away to the Rocky Mountains. The chief geological deposits of the region are solid strata of carboniferous and silurian limestone and sandstone, reposing on or around the unstratified primitive rocks. In the hilly and broken mineral region, which includes the greater part of the state south of the Missouri, having an area of about 17,000,000 acres, the soil, which of course lies above the geological deposits just mentioned, is formed of decomposed sandstone, syenite, and magnesian limestone. Soils constituted of the last two elements are fertile; but in many of the districts of the mineral region, their productiveness is impaired by the admixture of oxide of iron. Other districts, as the Bellevue Valley, and the valley of the Maramec, Gasconade, and Osage, are well fitted for cultivation, or for pasture. Around the head waters of the White, Eleven Points, Current, and Big Black, where the land is most mountainous, the soil is formed of decomposed semivitreous sandstone, and is in general unproductive, though it supports a magnificent growth of yellow pine, valuable for its lumber. The intervening valleys, however, are decidedly fertile, but small in extent. The lands situate more immediately south of the Missouri are partly sandy and partly calcareous. In general, where alumina or clay sufficiently abounds, we have here a fertile soil, adapted to the production of wheat, oats, barley, maize, hemp, tobacco, and the grasses.

That part of the state which lies north of the Missouri river is in no place mountainous, but either rolling or quite flat. It contains more inhabitants than the southern division; and being richer, is in a more advanced state of cultivation. Its geological substratum is chiefly carboniferous limestone. The coal measure of Illinois extends west of the Mississippi at St. Louis, and is probably commensurate with the northern division of the state, being limited on the south by the narrow strip of land above spoken of, lying south of the Missouri. The soils of this region are chiefly calcareous and arenaceous, the aluminous being limited in extent. The calcareous, or those abounding in lime, which are predominant, are fertile, particularly near the margins of the rivers. Of this character are the lands in the western part of the state, along the Missouri. The counties of Clay, Platt, and Buchanan cannot be readily surpassed in productiveness. The other western and interior counties are nearly equal in fertility to those specified. In the eastern part of the region, arenaceous or sandy soil predominates. These lands, which are compar-

atively barren, are found on the southern flank of the prairies which have their origin in north Missouri, and extend to the head waters of the Mississippi. In general, it may be said that the land of Missouri is productive. The mineral region of the south, unlike most others, is, on the whole, a fine agricultural district; but the want of a convenient market is a drawback to its agricultural advancement.

NATURAL PRODUCTIONS AND CLIMATE.—Except on the prairies, Missouri is well timbered. The river bottoms, in particular, are covered with a luxuriant growth of oak, elm, ash, hickory, cotton-wood, and black and white walnut. In the more barren districts are found white and pin-oak, and sometimes forests of yellow pine. Many of the trees and shrubs met with differ from those found in the same latitude in Ohio. The crab-apple, paw-paw, and persimmon, are abundant; as also the hazle and pecan. Three species of wild grape-vine are common throughout the country. The prairies are covered, in the proper season, with numerous varieties of flowers, and with a coarse, tall grass, which, either green or cured, is excellent fodder for cattle. Of the cultivated natural productions, wheat and Indian corn succeed the best. Rye, barley, oats, and the other productions of the middle and northern states, as buckwheat, hops, hay, &c., are successfully cultivated. Hemp has, of late years, been raised with considerable success; but, owing chiefly to haste and carelessness in its preparation, it has lost ground in the market, and does not command near so fair a price as that not naturally better, imported from abroad. Flax is also produced. Cotton can be raised in the south-eastern limits of the state. Tobacco is being raised in abundance, and will become, probably, one of the leading staples of Missouri. Apples, peaches, pears, apricots, nectarine and other fruit trees produce in profusion. Potatoes of both kinds succeed well; and so does the vine, which is successfully cultivated on the southern slopes of hills and eminences. The dryness of soil and atmosphere, characteristic of the state, is favorable to its development.

The wild animals of the region are those common to this part of the valley. The most formidable disappear with the advance of civilization. Wild fowls are abundant. The facilities for raising cattle, horses, and sheep, are superior to those of any other western state, Illinois excepted. Hogs are reared with more ease than in Ohio, and are beginning to be extensively raised for export. Poultry succeeds admirably.

The climate of Missouri is extremely variable. In winter, the cold is excessive; in summer, the heat. The thermometer falls below zero, and the Missouri and Mississippi are frozen over, so that heavy-loaded wagons can cross in safety for weeks at a time. The country being open and exposed to the sun's

rays, and the soil loose and sandy, and consequently retentive of heat, the summer is exceedingly warm. The atmosphere, however, is dry and pure, and cooling winds temper the heat of summer. Bilious and remittent fevers prevail in the bottom lands during warm weather. Other portions of the state are deemed healthy, and will probably become more so as settlements increase. Pulmonic, or lung complaints, terminating in consumption, in spite of the variableness of the weather, are rare; but pleurisy and lung fevers are not unfrequent in winter.

PRINCIPAL RIVERS.—Omitting the Mississippi as not flowing within the limits of the state, we may mention first, as most important among the rivers of Missouri, the stream from which it takes its name. This river rises in the Rocky Mountains, not far from the head waters of the Columbia, 3,096 miles from its mouth. The last four or five hundred miles of its course alone lie within the limits of the state; the rest flows through the Territory of Missouri. The trough through which the river flows is from two to four miles wide, and is bounded by rocky limestone hills, which rise to a height of from one to three hundred feet. Nearly all the bottoms of the Missouri are on its north side; and ordinarily, they are not subject to overflow. In this respect they differ widely from those of the Mississippi, which latter are, moreover, of greater width, and formed of soil less sandy and less easily percolated by water. The Missouri flows down an inclined plane, the upper strata of which are readily disintegrated and transported by the rapid flow of the main stream and its chief tributaries, the Yellowstone and the Platte. Its waters become thoroughly impregnated, as we find them at its mouth, with mineral and organic substances in solution or suspension, imparting to it that turbid character for which it is distinguished. The alluvial lands lying along the river are subject to being covered, during inundations, with drifting sands; they are, however, occupied by a luxuriant vegetation both of trees and herbs. These bottom lands are favorites with settlers, and they are capable of supporting a dense population. The river is navigable from its mouth to the falls, 2,000 miles from its mouth. Its valley has double the elevation of that of the Mississippi; and the average rapidity of the stream is as fast again as that of the other. In 1819 it was first navigated by a steamboat. The products of the Santa Fé and of the Indian fur trade find their way down this river. The former trade is valued at \$500,000 a year, the latter at \$300,000.

The next largest river of the state is the Osage, a tributary of the Missouri, coming in on its south side, 120 miles from its mouth. At its mouth the Osage is 400 yards wide; and is navigable for boats of a light draught for about 200 miles, at high water. About

the head waters of this stream are found the best cotton lands in the state. The Gasconade comes into the Missouri below the Osage, near the town of Hermann, and is important for the supplies of fine plank and timber which it furnishes to the country below. The Maramec is a beautiful river, running through the mineral region, and flowing into the Mississippi, 18 miles below St. Louis. Further south are the rivers St. Francis and the White, with their branches. North of the Missouri we find Salt river flowing into the Mississippi; and the Chariton and the Grand, which empty into the Missouri. Propositions have been made for improving the Osage, Grand, Salt, and Maramec; and it is expected that no long time will elapse before the desired improvements, at least in the Osage (cost, \$204,600) and the Grand, (\$19,787,) will be effected. Those proposed to be made in the former will, on estimate, save the people residing within the territory which it waters an annual aggregate of \$329,594. Other rivers than those mentioned are of minor importance.

CHIEF TOWNS.—The oldest town in the state is St. Genevieve, on the west bank of the Mississippi, about 60 miles below St. Louis. It is interesting chiefly for its early history, and for its future prospects. At present it is much decayed, though beginning again to flourish. The old village, (*Le Vieux Village*), now called the Big Field, (*Le Grand Champ*), and distant about three miles from the present town, was settled about the year 1755. The original settlers were cultivators of the soil, traders in furs, peltries and lead, and *voyageurs*. Of the old village, nothing now remains. The new town was settled, about 1785, the year of the great flood (*l'année des grands eaux*), by emigrants from Kaskaskia, in Illinois, and a portion of the inhabitants of the old town. About a year ago, the last survivor of the new town settlers, Jean Bapt. Valle, sen., died at an advanced age. The present town is located in the neighborhood of a rich mining and agricultural country, and must in time enjoy considerable commerce. When the contemplated railroad between it and the Iron Mountain shall have been finished, its prosperity will be insured. Marble and limestone abound in its vicinity. Its sand is the best in the United States for the manufacture of glass, and Boston and Pittsburg use it in large quantities in their manufactories. The village possesses, too, great advantages for manufacturing. Besides iron, there is deposited here for shipment all the lead, cobalt, and copper made in the neighboring counties of south-east Missouri.

New-Madrid, another of the first settled towns in Missouri, was founded by Jaques Clamorgan, a Scotchman, holding office under the Spanish government, in the year 1788 or 1789. Its founders and first inhabitants were men fond of adventure, intelligent, and most

of them possessed of comfortable means of living. They engaged in raising cotton, which, together with furs and peltries bought from the Indians, they exported. None of the old town is now in existence. Its fort, churches, cemeteries, and houses, have all been swept away by the encroachments of the Mississippi. In a few years no traces of the town so noted for its sufferings during the earthquakes of 1811-12 will be discoverable by the inquiring stranger. The present town was laid out back of the old, in 1820. The location is, or rather will be, good, in a commercial point of view. The chief drawback from the advancement of the town is the vast region of swamp, or submerged land, lying directly in its rear. That portion of the neighboring country which can be tilled, is rich and highly productive. When the proposed drainage of the surrounding district shall have been completed, therefore, New-Madrid will awake to new life and energy. Its annual exports reach in value about \$100,000.

The city of St. Louis, by far the largest in the state, and the largest west of the Mississippi, destined to be second only to New-Orleans in all the valley, was founded in 1664 by a company of merchants, who had an exclusive grant for carrying on commerce with the Indians on the Missouri. The city is situated on the Mississippi, on the first bluff, 20 miles below the mouth of the Missouri; and is admirably located for carrying on commerce. It has access to a vast region of country: on the north by the Mississippi and the Illinois, on the west by the Missouri, and on the south-east by the Ohio. The mighty Mississippi gives it an outlet to the ocean. Its trade surpasses that of any place on the river above New-Orleans. In 1810 its population was 1,600; in 1820, 4,598; in 1830, 6,694; in 1840, 16,496; in 1850, 77,465, of whom 2,616 were slaves. Capital invested in the city in 1850 amounted to \$3,853,351; persons employed, 7,929; annual product, \$13,908,577. Of the population, 40,414 were natives of foreign countries, of whom 23,774 were born in Germany. This emigrant population is one of the chief causes of the city's advance in wealth and prosperity. The bluff on which the city is built is composed of limestone, formed into two distinct banks: the first 20, the second 60 feet above high water. The city is thickly settled a mile and a half along the river, but extends in all six and a half miles by the curve of the river. Its breadth reaches back in all three miles; but the thickly settled part only three quarters of a mile. The houses are usually of neat construction, the most recent being built of brick, and some of stone quarried on the spot. The city contains 49 churches, valued at \$1,213,500. Of these, 12 are Roman Catholic; 12 Methodist; 8 Presbyterian; 5 Episcopal; 5 Lutheran; 2 Baptist; 2 Unitarian; 2 Evangelical; 1 Boat-

men's. There are, besides, two synagogues. There are within the city limits 44 common schools, with 2,847 pupils; 15 private schools, with 2,378 pupils; 9 Roman Catholic, with 1,356 pupils; a Catholic College with 250 pupils; and two Medical Colleges, with 14 professors and 262 students. The trade of St. Louis is, of course, extensive and increasing. Of the principal articles of trade, there were received at that point during the year 1850, 60,862 bales of hemp; 573,502 pigs of lead; 1,792,074 bushels of wheat; 325,070 barrels of flour; 101,562 barrels of pork; and 9,055 hogsheads of tobacco. The number of steamboat arrivals during the same year was 2,599. The amount of lumber received and manufactured into shingles, laths, and staves, was 29,676,099 feet.

Among the other towns in the state may be mentioned Jefferson City, on the Missouri, just above the mouth of the Osage, distinguished only as being the seat of government. Boonville, on the Missouri, above Jefferson City, in Cooper county, was settled by Daniel Boone, of Kentucky. Glasgow, in Howard, laid out in 1836, contains now 1,000 inhabitants, and is flourishing in its commerce. Lexington, in Lafayette, also on the Missouri, is a thriving place, situated in a rich region, and containing about 2,500 inhabitants. Weston, in Platte, on the same river, is a flourishing place. Independence, in Jackson, is the starting point of the Santa Fé trading caravan. St. Charles, near the mouth of the Missouri, is the most important town on that river. Potosi, in the mining district, is on the increase. Herculanum is the principal place of deposit for lead from the mines. Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi, below St. Genevieve, has a fine harbor, and is the port of a flourishing region in the rear. Louisiana, Clarkesville, and Hannibal are most important landing-places on the Mississippi, above St. Louis. Palmyra, lying back of Hannibal, was once a thriving village, but afterwards became much decayed. It is now again flourishing, containing about 2,000 inhabitants.

MINERAL RESOURCES.—The mineral region of Missouri occupies an area of from seventeen to eighteen millions of acres, an extent of country greater than New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Delaware united. It was described as early as 1718, on a French chart, as *un pays plein de mines*, a country full of mines. The elevation of the district above the sea varies from 600 to 1200 feet. Its temperature is not as variable as that of other parts of the state; its climate is salubrious, and it includes much valuable agricultural land. No one of the mining districts of Europe affords such facilities for support to its population; and yet the Hartz Mountains, with an area of 300,000 acres, sustain 60,000 inhabitants; the Erzgebirge of Saxony, with a million and a half of

acres, one half a million; Cornwall in England, with 760,000 acres, 200,000 inhabitants. Populated in the ratio of the Erzgebirge, the mineral region of Missouri would contain 6,000,000 of souls. Excepting gold and platinum, most of the important and useful metals and ores are known to exist in Missouri. The following minerals, metallic and non-metallic, arranged here according to their intrinsic value, have been found within its limits: lead, iron, copper, cobalt, silver, nickel, zinc and calamine, manganese and wadd, coal, rock-salt, barytes, sand and quartz, carbonate and sulphate of lime, alumine and potters' clay, fullers' earth, variegated marble and oolite, saltpetre, antimony, tin, tungstate of iron and lead, diamonds, chalcodony and feldspar. To these, others might be added.

The lead mines of this state have been wrought from the earliest period of its settlement; but since 1827 the production of the metal has scarcely increased, many miners having been drawn away by the reports respecting the mines of Galena, in Illinois. The lead is found as a sulphuret (called also *galena*) and as a carbonate, and no mine of it has yet been, or seems likely to be, exhausted. Zinc, in the form of calamine and blende, is found mixed with it in the upper mines; that is, in Potosi and its neighborhood. The lead contains six ounces of silver per ton. It is found in Cole, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, St. François, St. Louis, Washington, and several other counties. The mines of Perry and Valle are the most productive. The La Motte mines also yield abundance of this as well as other metals. It was at this mine that the workmen were taught, only a few years ago, how to reduce the carbonate, which they had hitherto cast aside as worthless. It yields 72 per cent. of pure metal. The metal from the upper mines commands a better price than that from the lower; but none of it is quite equal in market value to the lead of Illinois. The ores are all easily reduced; the carbonate by means of a blast furnace. The sulphuret of Potosi yields from 70 to 80 per cent.; that of La Motte, not over 66 per cent.

Iron, in the form of hematite, and the ochrey, the micaceous, and the red oxides, is found in the greatest abundance. In this respect, and in facilities for the manufacture and transportation of the article, Missouri cannot be equalled by any other state of the Union. The metal is found throughout the whole mineral region, and extends even into the coal formation, which occupies the rest of the state. Her celebrated mountains of micaceous oxide of iron, the Iron Mountain and the Pilot Knob, are almost inexhaustible. They are the eastern extreme of the Ozark Mountains, the range in the outskirts of which the mineral region is included, and are situated in St. François county, a few miles south-east of Potosi, and about forty miles from the town of St. Gene-

vieve. The two peaks are about six miles apart. The more northerly of the summits, the Iron Mountain, is a mile and a half long, one mile broad, and 444 feet high. The whole top of the mountain is a solid sheet of iron, and one sees nothing but iron lumps as far as the eye can reach. The ore yields 60 per cent. of pig metal, which is deemed, in the market of St. Louis, superior to that of Tennessee. Edge tools have been manufactured and forged from the crude ore. The Pilot Knob is larger than the Iron Mountain, being not less than 1,500 feet high, and extending, some say, a mile from the base to its summit. This, however, is an erroneous statement. Dr. Feuchtwanger estimates the quantity of pig iron imbedded in the mountains at 600,000,000 of tons, enough to supply the world for more than a century. The mines of Elba, of Sweden, or of Norway, do not contain the same amount of metallic iron ore. The operation of smelting the ore is now carried on with diligence at the mountains, and the pig iron is transported in wagons, at the cost of one quarter of a cent a pound, to St. Genevieve. The contemplated railroad between the two points will, when constructed, give a new impulse to the mining operations. It is only of late years that the iron mines of Missouri have been wrought; and even now the manufactories do not produce enough to supply the foundries of St. Louis, that city being obliged to import a large quantity of Scotch pig iron, an inferior article, for which as much again is paid as metal of the best quality can be produced for within the limits of the state.

Copper is, perhaps, destined to be the most valuable mineral production of Missouri. The ores of this metal are found throughout the mineral region, but chiefly to the south and west of the mine La Motte. The ore is of every variety, and usually very rich. It is found combined with iron, lead, and frequently manganese, cobalt and nickel. It is generally pyritous, but oxides and carbonates are frequently found. A very rich mine, called Buckeye, of argentiferous copper, combined with cobalt and nickel, was discovered a few years since, about five miles south of the mine La Motte. A shaft has been sunk in it to the depth of one hundred feet, discovering large veins rich in ores. The ores appear to be, in general, a cement uniting angular fragments of lime rocks, forming a breccia; and much of it is easily removed by the pickaxe alone. Three fourths of the ore yields more than 34 per cent. of metal. It is probable that the main lode of the deposit has not yet been reached. The ore as it comes up is worth \$75 a ton. As yet, regular systematic mining for copper has not begun in the state, except on a small scale in the vicinity of the two or three smelting establishments previously in operation. It is expected that copper mining will be carried in this state to depths rivalling

those of the celebrated mines of Wales and Germany. The mines are considered more valuable than those on Lake Superior. Indications of extensive and heavy lodes of the metal have been traced for miles, situate, a great part of the distance, in public land, liable to entry at \$1.25 an acre. The ore needs but little cleansing, and is often smelted in the condition in which it is thrown up from the mine.

Zinc ores, in the form of calamine and sulphuret, are often discovered in abundance in mining for lead. They are, as yet, deemed valueless, but will, no doubt, be turned to profitable use with the advance of metallurgic information.* *Manganese* ores are also very abundant, and must in time be sought for with avidity.† *Cobalt* has become an object of exploration. It is usually found associated with nickel, in the form of the sulphuret or the black oxide. An apparatus for the preparation of cobalt oxide has been fitted up at the mine La Motte, and it is estimated that the tract will produce from three to five thousand pounds of the article per annum. The fact of the existence of this ore, to any valuable extent, is only a very recent discovery.‡ *Nickel*, which, with cobalt, is the most valuable, intrinsically, of the metals, after silver, has not yet been extracted in any form to any considerable quantity.§

Silver is not found in this state in mines, nor, is it likely, will be. But all the ores of lead contain it; many of them in quantities that will justify its extraction by the well-known and simple process of crystallization, practised successfully on the Missouri lead by capitalists in England. Three hundred and fifty pounds of pure silver were obtained from 1,000,000 lbs. of lead; 100 lbs. of the latter containing one half an ounce of the former.

*In commerce zinc is often known under the name of *spelter*. Being a cheap and light metal, and one which, after having been superficially oxidized, long resists the further action of air and water, it has been much used of late years as a substitute for lead in lining water cisterns and covering houses. It is employed, also, in the operation of transferring printing, called *zincography*.

† Manganese, in the form of the *black oxide*, (a compound containing one part of the metal and two of oxygen,) is extensively made use of as a source of oxygen, and is particularly valuable on account of the use made of it in decomposing common salt for the production of chlorine. Some of the proto-salts of the metal are employed in calico printing to produce brown colors, and occasionally as deoxidizing agents.

‡ The *oxide of cobalt* is nearly black, but when existing as a hydrate, or when largely diluted by fusion with glass or borax, it produces its well-known blue color. This color being permanent at very high temperatures, this oxide is an invaluable article in the manufacture of porcelain and pottery, all the blue colors of which are derived from it. Fused with glass, it imparts a blue tint without impairing its transparency.

§ Since the commencement of the manufacture of German silver, (argentan,) nickel has become an article of considerable commercial importance. It is most usually found in combination with the ores of cobalt. Its separation is a complicated process.

Some of the lead ore of Missouri, analyzed by Dr. King, was found to contain an amount of silver equal in value to the lead. *Tin* has been found near Caledonia, but not in sufficient quantities, it would seem, to justify working. *Gold* has not been discovered in Missouri. It will probably never be found in placers, but may be in combination with other metals.

In minerals of the non-metallic kind, Missouri abounds. The carboniferous *limestone* formation, on which St. Louis is built, and which extends throughout the northern division of the state, forms a beautiful and compact building material. Some of the layers abound in a species of coral, the stone from which presents a fine appearance when polished. Other layers furnish an excellent lime; and it is thought by Dr. Prout that some are sufficiently aluminous to make a good hydraulic cement. *Sandstones* are abundant, but are of too loose a texture and too coarse-grained to be used as a building material, though some species would answer very well for flag-stones. The white sandstone of St. Genevieve makes superior glass. *Porphyries*, some of them having a red ground interspersed with crystals, and susceptible of a high polish, are numerous in southern Missouri. They are well fitted for architectural and ornamental uses. *Syenite* is also found, but it is too coarse and loose of texture to answer building purposes.

Marbles are found in different parts of the state. They are usually of a highly crystalline character, and traversed sometimes by veins of different colors, which impart to the marble a beautiful appearance. Several varieties are found in the vicinity of Pilot Knob Mountain. *Gypsum*, or sulphate of lime, from which plaster of Paris is made by heating the gypsum, has been discovered in Jackson county, extending in a regular layer some distance along the bank of the Missouri. It may prove very valuable in agriculture. *Saltpetre* is known to exist in caverns on the banks of the Maramec, Current and Gasconade. *Sulphate of baryta*, or heavy spar, is found in the lead diggings.

Coal exists in abundance in the northern part of the state. It is, in general, what is called bituminous coal. At Côte sans Dessein, however, it assumes the form of cannel coal, a variety which contains less bitumen and more carbon than the other. It has been discovered at several distinct points in Cole and Callaway counties, and as high as 40 miles upon the Osage. Some of its layers are of a great thickness. On distillation, this coal furnishes an excellent coke, and gives out gas of a fine illuminating power. It burns with a bright and copious flame, and leaves but little ashes. Being destitute of sulphur, it is well adapted to furnaces and manufacturing purposes.

Clays, useful for economical purposes, are

found in different parts of Missouri. The subsoil of the region around St. Louis, abounding as it does in oxide of iron and alumina, makes brick of a very handsome red tint and smooth texture. It is fitted, too, for the manufacture of pottery. Variegated clays are found in the same vicinity. Kaolin (the Chinese name for porcelain clay) and pipe clays, of which porcelain and earthenware may be made, have been discovered near Caledonia and near Cape Girardeau. Delftware is manufactured in St. Louis from clay obtained near Commerce, in Scott county.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.—Missouri is far in the rear of other newly settled states, as regards works of internal improvement. There were in the state, at the beginning of 1850, five Macadamized roads, commencing at the city of St. Louis, neither of which, however, were in use more than a few miles beyond the city limits; a railroad in progress of construction from Independence to the Missouri river, a distance of about three miles; and certain improvements had been made on the Osage river, at a cost of about \$18,570. Common roads and bridges excepted, these were all the public improvements made up to 1850, in the state. Charters for sundry railroads—one running from Palmyra to the Mississippi, one from Hannibal to St. Joseph's, one from Independence to White River, one from Alexandria to St. Francisville, in Clark county, and another from Lexington, Lafayette county, to the Mississippi—have been obtained from the legislature; but it is probable that no further steps will be taken for some time towards constructing at least the second, third, and fifth mentioned roads. The obtaining a charter has been the only noteworthy event in the history of most railroad enterprises in Missouri. We have learned by verbal communication, that a plank road is being constructed, in lieu of the proposed railroad from St. Genevieve to the Iron Mountain. The work is being carried on with zeal. Measures are being taken also for the construction of a plank road from Cape Girardeau to Jackson. The amount of \$30,000 has been subscribed for the purpose. The work has been commenced.

Manufacturing and mining are in advance of internal improvements. The amount invested in both would not, it is thought, have exceeded, in 1850, \$2,000,000. Few states possess more manufacturing facilities than Missouri, but as yet only a few factories are in operation. In 1840 there were in the state, according to the census, 9 woollen manufactories, 6 in Calloway and 3 in Pike, with 13 workmen, a capital of \$5,100, and goods produced to the value of \$13,750. There are no cotton or silk manufactories. Home-made cotton goods, of family wearing, amounted in value to \$1,149,544. Several bale rope and bagging factories were in operation on the Missouri, and two in St.

Louis.* The statistics of 1840 show that the lumber trade of that year produced \$70,355, and that there were sold 196,032 horses and mules, 433,875 neat cattle, 348,018 sheep, 1,271,161 swine, and poultry to the value of \$270,647. Since that time all these articles of trade have increased in yearly quantity, as also the agricultural products of the state. We have no means at present of ascertaining the precise increase.

POPULATION.—From 1848 to 1850 the state increased 93,936 souls, or nearly sixteen per cent. in population, notwithstanding the large emigration to California. The ratio of increase of the whites and that of the slave is nearly exactly the same. In the 100 counties of the state there resided, in 1848, 588,971 people; in 1850, 682,907, of whom 595,140 were free, and 87,769 slaves. Next to St. Louis county, which contained 105,064, Platte county, containing 16,929, had the greatest number of inhabitants.

EDUCATION.—The state supports common schools, which seem to be working well. It contains, beside these and private schools and academies, five colleges: the University of St. Louis, a Roman Catholic institution, located in

*The subjoined extract from the message of Gov. Edwards, for 1846, sets forth the principal supposed causes which retard the advancement, as well as those which tend to promote the establishment, of manufactures in Missouri:

"The establishment of manufactures is attended with its difficulties. To carry them on very successfully, large investments and a superior population are required. We are not without capital, but the high rate of interest, and the many supposed profitable investments for money which have heretofore existed, have prevented the appropriation of funds to the erection of manufacturing establishments. If the rate of interest were lower, capital would be profitably invested in manufactures to a considerable extent. The tariff, also, retards the establishment of manufactures in our state, whether it be a tariff for protection, or a tariff for revenue, for all tariffs for revenue are tariffs for protection to a greater or less extent; but a high tariff tends more to prevent the establishment of manufactures in our state than a low one, being a protection to the eastern manufacturer. The eastern manufacturer contends that he cannot succeed without protection against his foreign competitor. Our interior position, and our remoteness from the principal ports of entry, give the manufacturer in this country a protection which no tariff can immediately affect. If, then, the eastern manufacturer was but lightly protected, or not protected at all, he would find it profitable to remove his capital, and to invest it in manufactures in the west, where nature would always protect him against the foreign competitor. No country can manufacture cheaper than our state. We have all the necessary ingredients at the lowest prices. We have the real estate, the water power, the ore to make the iron to make the machinery, the manual labor, the provisions to support the hands, the raw material, the flax, hemp, and wool of our own production, and the cotton in exchange for our wheat, corn and tobacco, hogs, horses, cattle and mules; and these ingredients we have, taken together, cheaper than any other country on earth. Even our manual labor is at the lowest price. But, as before observed, to manufacture very successfully, a superior population is required. This we can soon have by fostering the common school, and developing the genius and mechanical ingenuity of the youth of our country."

St. Louis, and founded in 1829; St. Mary's College, at Barrens, also Catholic, founded in 1830; Marion College, at New Palmyra, founded in 1831; St. Charles College, Methodist, at St. Charles, founded in 1839; Fayette College, at Fayette, and Missouri University, at Columbia, founded in 1840. They could number in all, in 1840, about 500 students. The University of Missouri had, in 1850, 154 medical students, 6 seniors, 13 juniors, 10 sophomores, 21 freshmen, and 30 in the preparatory department. The President is Rev. James Shannon, A. M.; the professors are—W. W. Hudson, A. M., Math., Nat. Philos. and Astronomy; E. H. Leffingwell, A. M., Chem., Mineral, and Geology; R. F. Barrett, M. D., Physiol. and Mat. Medica; J. M. McDonell, M. D., Anat. and Surgery; J. S. Moore, M. D., Theory and Prac. of Medicine; R. S. Thomas, A. M., Metaph., Rhet. and Logic; G. H. Matthews, A. M., Anc. Languages; John B. Thompson, M. D., Pathol. and Clin. Medicine; R. A. Grant, A. M., tutor of Mathematics; W. C. Shields, A. B., tutor of Languages; J. S. Moore, M. D., Dean of Med. Faculty; I. J. Hodgen, M. D., Demonstr. of Anatomy; R. S. Thomas, A. M., Librarian.

In 1840 the Methodists had 51 travelling preachers in the state; the Baptists, 86 ministers and 146 churches; the Presbyterians, 17 ministers and 33 churches; the Roman Catholics, one bishop and 30 priests; the Episcopalians, three ministers. (See St. Louis.)

MISSOURI—MINERAL WEALTH.—Dr. Lewis Feuchtwanger gives us this summary:

The mineral wealth of Missouri has long been proverbial. The discovery of lead in 1715, and the production of 9,000,000 pounds in 1846, must naturally attach sufficient importance to this State. Latterly, also, iron has been made very conspicuous in it, especially since attention has been drawn to the iron mountains of southern Missouri, which, according to my approximate calculation, contain not less than 600,000,000 tons of iron in their bowels. A short time ago, (1847,) a report was made by Dr. King on the subject of erecting more furnaces on a new locality on the Mississippi river, called Birmingham, and he says that iron exists in that particular spot in great abundance. One ridge, which is called the *Iron Ridge*, contains an immense deposit of *hydrated brown oxide*, averaging from fifty to sixty per cent. cast iron, which shows itself for several acres over the summit of the ridge, and extending down its flanks on each side of the adjoining ravines, where the ore may be seen in thick masses.

As regards iron in the state of Missouri, it appears as plenty there as coal in Pennsylvania; and wherever it is situated, appears to lie in such huge masses, like the coal mines in Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania.

Next to iron is COPPER of great importance to the state of Missouri. Large tracts, con-

taining this valuable ore, have been discovered on Current river; and on Maramec river, and in the southern part of the state, very good veins of copper have been discovered, and wrought to some advantage. In Jefferson county, a very good prospect of copper mines may be seen.

COBALT is an ore of no less importance than the former. It occurs in the form of black oxide and sulphuret, and is found either in thin layers, in lead mines, accompanying the *drybone*, (*carbonate*), or in connection with manganese, which is found to contain the cobalt from five to fifty per cent.

ZINC, in the form of sulphuret and carbonate, or calamine, is found in great abundance in the lead mines, where it appears to form the lens, or shell of the veins of lead, it being found on the upper and lower crust of the rock. It is thrown away as useless by the miners, although there are imported into this country over \$200,000 worth annually.

SILVER.—It is ascertained that the average of silver contained in all the Missouri lead ores is from six to eight ounces to the ton; but it has never been attempted to separate the same before bringing the lead in market.

NICKEL.—This rare ore has been found to accompany the copper and cobalt, particularly in localities where the latter is found in a state of sulphuret and combined with the copper ore. One shipment of a mixture of the three metals, averaging in the greatest part the copper, and cobalt and nickel in smaller proportions, has been made a year ago from Mine la Motte, and I understand it has proved profitable.

MANGANESE abounds all over the southern part of the state of Missouri.

Among the non-metallic substances, **BARYTES** deserves a conspicuous place in this state; for it is found here in great abundance, and of a beautiful white color, suitable for admixture with white lead.

MASSACHUSETTS—HER PRODUCTIVE ENERGIES AND SPIRIT (1849).—During the past summer we had the satisfaction of visiting Massachusetts, and inspecting for ourselves the extraordinary enterprise and industry which has given it character among the first of ancient or modern states. All the documents were kindly put into our possession by the Hon. J. G. Palfrey, Secretary of State, from which the most complete notions may

be formed. Whatever displeasure as a southerner we may have expressed, and however often we may have expressed it, in relation to the unauthorized and illiberal course pursued by Massachusetts in reference to our institutions and our rights, we cannot but admire her in the position in which she is truly admirable, and proclaim her honor to the world. As a great sister of our confederacy, we are bound to respect her, despite even of her faults. The paper which we now present will be in this spirit of candor and fellowship, and it is our intention to present similar papers, having a like reference to each of the states of the Union. In this matter, as in others, we must solicit the aid of their citizens.

The state is supposed to have derived its name from one of its tribes of Indians. The stormy and troubled periods of its early history will be at once called to memory. Bancroft, one of her own sons, has done ample justice to this epoch—moderating, as much as could be, the asperities it so frequently presents.

There are fourteen incorporated counties in the state, their charters dating from 1643 to 1812. There are also an immense number of towns or districts, presided over by Selectmen, from 3 to 7 in number each.

The college and school system of Massachusetts is the most complete of our times. A Board of Education was established in 1837. Large annual volumes of Reports and Abstracts have been published regularly from that time. The Secretary of the Board, Horace Mann, has published, for several years, an Educational Journal. There are also Normal schools and Teachers' Institutes, for the preparation of instructors. The number of lyceums and public libraries in the state evidences the great educational spirit. There is an Athlæneum, an Academy of Arts and Sciences, a Society of Natural History, and three Musical Associations in Boston, also an American Oriental Society, an American Statistical Association, and a Historical Genealogical Society. There are three Historical Societies in the state: at Boston, at Dorchester, and at Salem; also an American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. The following table will show the number of agricultural societies, and the amounts they have received from the state's munificence:

AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES OF MASSACHUSETTS.

	Date of Incorporation.	Date of First Payment.	Total amt. received.
Massachusetts Society for promoting Agriculture	March 7, 1792.	Oct. 29, 1817.	\$18,300 00
Western Society of Middlesex Husbandmen	Feb. 28, 1803	Jan. 12, 1830.	14,340 80
Name changed to Society of Middlesex Husbandmen and Manufacturers	Jan. 24, 1820	Oct. 29, 1817.	13,736 50
Berkshire Agricultural Society*	Feb. 25, 1811.	Oct. 13, 1819.	16,900 00
Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden Agricultural Societies	Feb. 19, 1818.	Jan. 12, 1830.	16,300 00
Worcester Agricultural Society	Feb. 23, 1818.	Jan. 12, 1830.	13,140 40
Essex Agricultural Society	June 11, 1818.	Oct. 27, 1830.	12,884 49
Agricultural Society in the County of Plymouth	June 12, 1818.	Nov. 9, 1834.	7,346 32
Agricultural Society in the County of Plymouth	June 14, 1823.	Nov. 21, 1844.	1,200 00
Agricultural Society of the County of Hampden	March 5, 1844.	Feb. 11, 1845.	408 00
Barnstable County Agricultural Society	March 15, 1844.		115,816 61

There are two Horticultural Societies; the Fair of the one at Boston, in September last, we attended, and were surprised to witness the show of splendid fruits and flowers from such a region. There are two institutes for the insane. We cannot even refer to the various religious associations. Mr. Elliott, of Boston, estimates the charities of Boston for thirty years past at near \$3,000,000 in all, private and unseen benevolence being of course not included in the estimate. Among the numerous societies, we note one for the *prevention of pauperism*, one for *penitent females*, (we suppose of the town,) and one for the *aid of discharged convicts*. The *Non-Resistance Society* is characteristic, as is also the *Anti-Slavery*, with 25 auxiliary, and God knows how many *Abolition Societies*, which began, perhaps, as anti-slavery. There is a Society for the *Abolition of Capital Punishment*. Massachusetts abounds in Banking Institutions, as we shall see by and by. There

* The cattle show and fair of this Society, at Pittsfield, in 1814, was the first held in this country.

are 38 Institutions for Savings in the state. The Railroad Corporations would occupy a chapter of themselves.

The following table and extract is taken from Dr. Chickering's admirable work published last year:

POPULATION OF MASSACHUSETTS, BOSTON, ETC.									
MASSACHUSETTS					BOSTON.				
Years	Census	Increase in 10 years			Census	Increase in 10 years			Average increase per cent per an
		Amount	Per cent	Average increase per cent per an		Amount	Per cent	Average increase per cent per an	
1790	378,787	—	—	1.1003	18,320	6,617	36.11890	3.123	—
1800	422,845	44,058	11.63133	1.1003	24,937	6,617	36.11890	3.123	—
1810	472,040	49,195	11.63428	1.1003	33,787	8,850	35.48943	3.083	—
1820	523,277	51,247	10.85649	1.0339	43,298	9,511	28.15254	2.511	—
1830	610,408	87,131	16.64879	1.5519	61,392	18,094	41.78945	3.553	—
1840	737,700	127,292	20.85339	1.91213	93,383	31,991	52.10939	4.283	—
Increase in 50 years	—	358,913	94.75	—	—	75,063	400.73	—	—
Census, 1790	—	378,787	—	—	—	18,320	—	—	—
Census, 1840	737,700	—	—	—	—	93,383	—	—	—
385 COUNTRY TOWNS.					—				
Increase in 10 years					—				
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of 9.1811 per cent. in five years; of 19.2054 per cent. in ten years; and 42.0992 per cent. in twenty years. In thirty years the increase at the same rate would be 169,415, or 69,3920 per cent. At the average rate of 9.1811 per cent. increase in five years, the number would be 266,565 in 1770; 291,039 in 1775; 317,760 in 1780; 346,934 in 1785.

"The average increase of Massachusetts, in each period of ten years, from 1765 to 1790, was 19.2054 per cent.; and from 1790 to 1840, 14.2606 per cent.

"The average increase of Massachusetts, in each period of twenty years, from 1765 to 1790, was 42.0992 per cent.; and from 1790 to 1840, 30.5551 per cent.

"The average increase of Boston, in each period of ten years, from 1790 to 1840, was 38.506 per cent.; and of the rest of the state, only 12.3173 per cent.

"The increase of Massachusetts, from 1765 to 1840, was 493,551, or 202.1515 per cent.; of Boston, 77,863, or 501.6945 per cent.; and of the rest of the state, 415,688, or 181.8177 per cent.

"The average increase of Massachusetts, from 1765 to 1840, in each twenty-five years, was 44.5688 per cent.; in each twenty years, 34.2950 per cent.; in each ten years, 15.8857 per cent.; in each five years, 7.6503 per cent.; and in each year, 1.4853 per cent. This last is .1433 per cent. per annum greater than 1.3420 per cent., the rate from 1790 to 1840.

"It will appear from these statements, that the average increase of the population of Massachusetts was greater from 1765 to 1790 than it has been since. Had the rate continued the same, the number would have been 911,749 in 1840. Also, the increase of Boston was, on an average, much less during the first twenty-five years than that of the other parts of the state, and much *greater* during the last two periods of twenty-five years each, showing a tendency to centralization in Boston."

The number of paupers in Massachusetts is large: 15,261 were supported by the state in 1846; net amount expended in their support, \$301,707 08, the state supplying \$33,852 of it. In all her precision and system we regret that Massachusetts excludes in her statistics all reference to her black population. Can this be designedly? Surely this class of population is sufficiently large there to attract especial notice. Why is there, then, not a single syllable in all of her documents relative to them? This is not so in slave states. We are not content here without knowledge of the condition, prospects, and improvement of the blacks. Does not Massachusetts owe it to her sister states to show the results of her benevolent systems upon those who were formerly her slaves, and whom, as she tells us, she has been endeavoring to improve? *Let us know their condition now, and their*

advances. Let us see the results of your experiment. You are not silent in meddling with our affairs—excuse the want of courtesy betrayed in thus intermeddling in yours. *We want facts.*

Pass we now under review some of the volumes of Massachusetts State Documents.

1. *Statistics of her Industry*, published by the Secretary, 1845. These are not regarded complete by that officer, from the indisposition of manufacturers, &c., to give full information of their affairs.

PRODUCTS OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1845.

Articles.	Value.	Capital invested.	Hand ^s empl.
Anchors, Chain Cables, &c.....	\$538,966	\$377,685	422
Axes, Hatchets, and other edge tools...	94,441	48,225	94
Beef, &c., slaughtered	225,918	—	—
Beeswax.....	981	—	—
Berries.....	10,842	—	—
Blacking.....	10,422	—	35
Bleaching or Coloring	2,166,000	200,500	211
Blocks and Pumps...	127,249	—	204
Boats.....	82,943	—	164
Boots and Shoes.....	14,799,140	—	45,877
Boxes of all kinds...	215,105	—	235
Brass articles.....	331,890	167,600	145
Bricks.....	612,832	—	1,407
Britannia Ware.....	102,550	49,350	93
Broom Seed & Brush	86,111	—	—
Brooms.....	200,814	—	313
Brushes.....	153,900	68,875	220
Butter.....	1,116,709	—	—
Buttons, metal.....	56,080	51,500	60
Butts or Hinges.....	25,390	3,500	49
Calico.....	4,779,817	1,401,500	2,053
Candles Sperm, & Oil	3,613,796	2,451,917	306
Candles Tallow, and Soap.....	836,156	405,872	343
Cannon.....	82,000	120,000	48
Cards.....	323,845	171,500	147
Carpeting.....	834,322	488,000	1,034
Cars, Railroad carriages, and other vehicles.....	1,343,576	553,434	1,861
Chairs and Cabinet Ware.....	1,476,679	477,374	2,594
Cheese.....	398,174	—	—
Chemical Preparations.....	331,965	251,700	113
Chocolate.....	81,672	47,500	27
Clocks.....	54,975	10,350	40
Coal, Mineral, & Iron Ore.....	21,669	—	78
Combs.....	198,965	73,100	340
Cooperage.....	269,935	—	487
Copper.....	610,950	329,000	197
Cordage.....	906,321	543,930	647
Cotton goods of all kinds.....	12,193,449	17,739,000	20,710
Cutlery.....	148,175	68,725	197
Dyeing.....	98,700	—	114
Earthen and Stone Ware.....	52,025	15,500	72
Engines, Fire.....	37,800	—	42
Engines and Boilers, Steam.....	208,546	127,000	221
Firearms.....	260,819	789,848	357
Fishery, Mackerel and Cod.....	1,484,137	1,238,640	7,866
Fishery, Whale.....	10,371,167	11,085,910	11,378
Flax.....	665	—	—
Flour and other Grain	174,805	44,550	30
Fringe and Tassels...	54,300	11,700	106
Fruit.....	744,540	—	—
Gins, Cotton.....	45,444	75,000	48
Glass.....	758,300	700,200	630
Glue.....	387,575	283,675	253
Grain.....	2,328,229	—	—

Articles	Value	Capital invested	Hands empl
Hats and Caps.....	734,947	213,793	1,003
Hay.....	5,214,356	—	—
Hollow Ware and Castings, other than Pig Iron.....	1,280,141	713,270	1,267
Honey.....	13,206	—	—
Hops.....	32,251	—	—
Hosiery and Yarn.....	94,892	42,500	238
Instruments, Mathematical, &c.....	54,050	—	68
Iron, Pig.....	148,761	155,000	235
Iron Railing, Fences and Safes.....	129,300	53,000	87
Jewelry, includ. Chronometers, Watches, Gold & Silver Ware	305,623	126,225	293
Lasts.....	80,145	—	84
Latches and Door Handles.....	3,200	750	10
Lead Pipe, and Lead Manufactures.....	90,880	72,700	50
Lead, White, and Paints.....	356,200	253,500	106
Leather.....	3,836,637	1,900,545	2,043
Lime.....	43,629	—	80
Linen Thread.....	145,000	79,000	192
Linseed Oil.....	181,100	77,000	34
Locks.....	60,079	23,009	75
Lumber and Shingles.	921,106	—	2,506
Machinery.....	2,022,648	1,103,850	2,421
Maple Sugar.....	4,443	—	—
Marble.....	220,004	—	312
Milk.....	304,917	—	—
Millet.....	8,476	—	—
Musical Instruments.	548,625	293,100	427
Oil, Lard.....	219,990	91,000	37
Oil (see Candles and Fishery).....	—	—	—
Paper.....	1,750,273	1,144,537	1,369
Pens, Steel.....	15,000	5,000	12
Ploughs and other Agricultural Tools.	121,691	58,575	158
Potatoes.....	1,309,030	—	—
Poultry and Eggs....	25,891	—	—
Powder.....	165,500	120,000	49
Rolled and Slit Iron, and Nail.....	2,478,300	1,906,400	1,729
Saddles, Harnesses and Trunks.....	422,794	144,540	648
Salt.....	79,980	399,285	584
Sashes, Blinds and Doors.....	180,181	—	215
Scythes.....	113,935	96,590	171
Seeds.....	4,721	—	—
Shoe Pegs.....	18,206	—	—
Shovels, Spades, Forks and Hoes.....	275,212	123,950	259
Silk, Raw.....	952	—	—
Silk, Sewing.....	150,477	38,900	156
Snuff, Tobacco, and Cigars.....	324,639	—	572
Soap, (see Candles)..	—	—	—
Starch.....	119,940	37,500	39
Stone, Building.....	1,065,599	—	1,849
Straw Bonnets and Hats, Palm-leaf Hats and Braid.....	1,649,496	—	13,311
Sugar, Refined.....	940,000	410,000	108
Tacks and Brads.....	253,687	123,325	269
Teazles.....	3,308	—	—
Tin Ware.....	793,624	343,710	719
Tobacco raised.....	16,686	—	—
Tools, Mechanics'.....	161,899	—	256
Upholstery.....	354,261	124,700	275
Vegetables, other than Potatoes.....	515,082	—	—
Vessels.....	1,172,147	—	1,017
Whips.....	111,947	—	526
Wood (Fire), Bark and Charcoal.....	1,033,656	—	2,925
Wooden Ware.....	416,366	—	806
Wool.....	365,136	—	—

Articles	Value	Capital invested	Hands empl
Woolen Goods of all kinds.....	8,877,478	5,604,002	7,372
Worsted Goods.....	654,566	514,000	846
Stoves, Bread, Beer, Books and Stationery, Balances, Matches, Lamps, Pickles, Paper Hangings, Types, Umbrellas, &c.....	4,753,384	1,587,760	3,232
Total.....	114,478,443	59,145,767	152,766

2. *Railroad Reports.*—There are annual volumes published. From the one published in 1847 for 1846, we note twenty-eight corporations. The fatal accidents on all during the year are nine—seven not fatal; others supposed not given. Among the information given is that relative to stock of companies, cost of roads and buildings, characteristics of roads, results of the year, expenditures, income, motive power, dividends, &c. All of these evidence wide prosperity, and deserve to be studied in every part of the Union. In 1818 there was not a single mile of railway in New-England, save a short wooden track. The capital invested in railroads by Massachusetts men in 1846, was estimated at \$87,000,000; it must be now fast verging upon \$50,000,000.

3. *State Lunatic Asylum.*—Six hundred and thirty-seven insane persons have had the privilege of the institution during 1846.

OCCUPATIONS OF THOSE ADMITTED.

	1846, Previously.
Farmers admitted.....	30 272
Merchants ".....	12 98
Laborers ".....	31 178
Shoemakers ".....	2 89
Seamen ".....	13 80
Carpenters ".....	8 57
Manufacturers ".....	1 35
Teachers ".....	3 31
Students ".....	5 31
Blacksmiths ".....	2 22
Printers ".....	1 20
Tailors ".....	1 14
Clergymen ".....	2 12
Lawyers ".....	0 6
Physicians ".....	0 6
Females not accustomed to labor.....	0 177
Females accustomed to sedentary employment.....	4 240
Females accustomed to active employment.....	66 432
Many not classed, particularly females.	

4. *Common Schools.*—The Report of the Secretary of the Board, a considerable volume, contains the particulars in relation to all the school districts, &c. From the concluding pages we extract a passage:

"And the calamities which spring from ignorance, and a neglect of the social condition of the masses of the people, are no exception to this rule. Republics, one after another—a splendid yet mournful train—have emerged into being; they have risen to greatness, and surrounding nations have sought

protection beneath the shelter of their power; but they have perished through a want of intelligence and virtue in the masses of the people. They have been delivered over to anarchy and thence to despotism; and because they would not obey their own laws, they have been held in bondage by the laws of tyrants. One after another, they have been blotted from the page of existence, and the descendants of a renowned and noble ancestry have been made bond-men and bond-women; they have been dishonored and trampled upon, on the very soil still choral with the brave deeds of their forefathers. Has a sufficient number of these victim-nations been sacrificed, or must ours be added to the tragic list? If men had been wise, these sacrifices might have been mitigated, or brought to an end, centuries ago. If men are wise, they may be brought to an end now. But if men will not be wise, these mournful catastrophes must be repeated again and again, for centuries to come. Doubtless, at some time, they will come to an end. When the accumulation of evils shall be so enormous and overwhelming that humanity can no longer endure them, the adequate efforts for their termination will be made. The question for us is, has not the fulness of time now come? Are not the sufferings of past ages, are not the cries of expiring nations, whose echoes have not yet died away, a summons sufficiently loud to reach our ears, and to rouse us to apply a remedy for the present, an antidote for the future? We shall answer these questions, by the way in which we educate the rising generation. If we do not prepare children to become good citizens; if we do not develop their capacities; if we do not enrich their minds with knowledge, imbue their hearts with the love of truth and duty, and a reverence for all things sacred and holy, then our republic must go down to destruction, as others have gone before it; and mankind must sweep through another vast cycle of sin and suffering, before the dawn of a better era can arise upon the world. It is for our government, and for that public opinion, which, in a republic, governs the government, to choose between these alternatives of weal or woe."

The volume of extracts from School Re-

ports for 1844, contains 340 pages. That some idea may be formed of the immense labor expended upon it, the following extract is introduced:

"On the 1st of May last, therefore, I found myself in possession of the School Committees' Reports for two years. Each set of these was more voluminous than for any former year. Together, they were equal to fifty-five hundred closely written letter-paper pages. Every one of these I have carefully read. Taken as a whole, they are documents of extraordinary interest and value. From them, the present volume of the Abstracts, more select than any of its predecessors, has been compiled. I earnestly recommend its perusal to every friend of popular education in Massachusetts—especially to all school committee-men and teachers."

5. *Registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths.*—These are volumes published annually. We have four of them before us—the one of 1842 being the first published under the state law. These cannot be too highly commended when properly kept. They present at all times an index to the actual condition of a people. The system of Massachusetts is deserving of universal imitation in other states, and we hope to see something of the kind before long.

The volume for 1845 contains an admirable letter to the Secretary, by that able statistician, Lemuel Shattuck, Esq., of Boston. We make no apologies for presenting to our readers some of the striking results which it unfolds:

PRODUCTIVE CLASSES.

From this statement it appears that, while the whole United States had 52.35 per cent. of the population of the productive class, between 15 and 60, Massachusetts had 59.65 per cent., and England 56.70; showing this state to be better situated, in this respect, than either. In the aged class it appears, however, that England had 7.20 per cent., while this state had but 6.74—a result in favor of the longevity of that country. Some counties compare better than others or the whole state. Boston has 64.65 per cent.—the greatest proportion of the productive class; and only 2.93 per cent.—the least of the aged.

PROPORTION OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS, IN EUROPE.

STATES.	Period of Observation.	Annual number of Marriages, Births and Deaths, to 100 persons living, or per cent.			Number of persons living to one annual Marriage, Birth, and Death		
		Marriages, per cent.	Births, per cent.	Deaths, per cent.	Marriages, One in	Births, One in	Deaths, One in
England.....	1839-1842	.770	3.200	2.209	130	31	45
France.....	1840-1842	.825	2.837	2.397	121	35	42
Austria.....	1839-1841	.807	3.874	2.995	124	26	33
Prussia.....	1839-1841	.887	3.767	2.658	113	27	38
Russia.....	1842	1.013	4.284	3.590	99	23	28

MARRIAGES IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1845.—BELGIUM, 1841.

AGE.	Number of persons married in				To 10,000 married, there were in			
	Massachusetts.		Belgium.		Massachusetts.		Belgium.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Under 20.....	53	690	757	2,685	193	2,583	312	1,105
20 to 25.....	1,308	1,422	4,530	6,966	4,897	5,324	1,864	2,867
25 to 30.....	952	446	9,420	8,067	3,564	1,670	3,877	3,320
30 to 35.....	247	79	5,497	3,841	925	296	2,262	1,581
35 to 40.....	81	17	2,483	1,719	303	64	1,024	707
40 to 45.....	17	14	1,000	653	64	52	412	269
45 to 50.....	8	2	340	225	30	7	140	93
50 to 55.....	5	1	137	76	19	4	56	31
55 to 60.....	—	—	56	27	—	—	23	11
Over 60.....	—	—	72	38	—	—	30	16
	2,671	2,671	24,297	24,297	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000

The number of births in Massachusetts, in 1845, was 15,564; being 7,793 males, and 7,594 females.

In 1844 there was 1 twin birth to 123 births.
 " 1845 " 1 " to 129 "
 " 1844 " 1 triplet to 7,261 "
 " 1845 " 1 " to 15,444 "
 " 1844 " 1 quadruplet to 15,523 "
 " 1845 " no "

"The births registered in England are in proportion to the population one seventh part more numerous than in France, and one seventh part less than in Prussia. To 3,525 inhabitants, 100 births are annually registered in France, 118 in England, 133 in Prussia, 136 in Austria, 151 in Russia. The small number of births in France is not accounted for by any difference in the proportion of the persons married, who are, in fact, more numerous in France than in any other country from which I have been able to procure returns. It appears that 100 French wives had 14 children, 100 Prussian wives 21 children, yearly; or,

in other terms, 717 wives bore annually 100 children in France, 152 children in Prussia. If the births are divided by the annual marriages that took place seven years before, there were 3.33 births (in wedlock) to a marriage in France—4.05 to a marriage in Prussia, and 4.34 to a marriage in Austria; 4.26 to a marriage in England, and if a correction be made for first marriages, 4.79 to every two persons married. The total annual births in England, divided by the persons married seven years before, give on an average 5.12 children to every two persons married; and as many illegitimate children are the offspring of married persons before, during, or after marriage, the number of children to every two persons married in England must be between 4.79 and 5.12, or little short of five, about three of which attain the age of marriage to replace the two parents and those who have no off-spring; the surplus swelling the number of the existing inhabitants of the island, or flowing in of emigration."

TABLE OF LONGEVITY.

AGE SURVIVING.	Number surviving each specified age, calculated from the deaths.							
	In Massachusetts.				In Preston, England.			
	1842.	1843	1844.	1845.	Gentry.	Tradesmen	Operatives.	
At Birth.....	100	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	
1 year.....	88.43	86.51	83.74	82.38	90.8	79.6	68.2	
2 years.....	81.76	79.42	76.69	74.67	87.6	73.5	57.5	
5 ".....	72.64	70.71	69.46	65.26	82.4	61.8	44.6	
10 ".....	67.62	64.99	65.13	61.04	81.1	56.6	38.8	
20 ".....	60.56	58.63	58.21	53.93	76.3	51.6	31.5	
30 ".....	48.24	47.32	47.30	42.12	72.3	45.9	25.2	
40 ".....	40.40	39.01	38.78	33.73	63.4	37.5	20.4	
50 ".....	32.87	32.28	32.56	27.67	56.	28.1	15.6	
60 ".....	26.08	26.02	26.92	21.71	45.1	29.5	11.2	
70 ".....	18.35	18.29	19.09	15.26	25.4	13.3	6.1	
80 ".....	9.06	8.45	9.32	6.86	8.	4.5	2.1	
90 ".....	2.03	1.64	1.83	1.35	1.3	.8	.2	
100 ".....	.07	.08	.05	.07	—	—	—	

It appears from this table, that in Massachusetts 60.56 per cent. in 1842 survived the age of 20, and only 53.93 in 1845; while in Preston 76.3 per cent. of the "gentry," 51.6 per cent. of the "tradesmen," and only 31.5 per cent. of the "operatives," survived the same age. In Massachusetts, 26.08 in 1842, and only 21.71 in 1845, survived the age of

60, while in Preston 45.1 per cent. of the gentry, 20.5 per cent. of the tradesmen, and only 11.2 per cent. of the laborers survived that age. This shows that the people of Massachusetts do not enjoy so good health as the better classes in England, though better health than the laboring classes. The influence of circumstances and occupation on health and longevity, is strikingly illustrated by the statement concerning Preston. It appears that while 72.3 per cent. of the gentry survived 30 years, only 25.2 of the operatives, or laborers, survived the same age.

The following extracts are curious and interesting. They furnish the most powerful reasons for the preservation of life statistics, and the study of this important branch of knowledge:

"Man comes into existence a helpless being; arrives at maturity by the aid of others; exists in a state of maturity an indefinite period, and then decays and dies; 'the dust returns to the earth as it was.' This is the common lot of all. Life may extend to 70, 80, 90, or even 100 years: and it may terminate in a year, a month, or even in an hour. We know that we all must die; but the time of our death we do not know. It may come comparatively soon; it may not. We believe, however, that the time of our death, though unknown, is in some respects within our own control. We believe that disease and death come not from a mysterious, unconditional Providence, but are the result of the condition of our bodies, and the influences that are brought to bear upon them. Many of these influences we bring around us by our own voluntary choice. One person takes proper food, at proper times and in proper quantities; another indulges his appetite, and takes unwholesome food, at irregular intervals, and in injurious quantities. One person clothes himself so as to maintain a uniform temperature of the body at all times; another guards not against the changes in the temperature of the seasons, but allows himself to be alternately heated and chilled. One man selects a place of residence where the air he breathes is pure and invigorating; another, where the noxious impurities of the air carry disease and death to his vitals. One person keeps his skin in a healthy state by frequent bathing; another permits it to be coated over with impurities. One chooses an occupation which gives sufficient exercise, physical and mental, to keep all the energies of his body vigorous; another, one that requires too much labor for his phy-

sical nature, or has in itself unhealthy influences, or in his occupation over-exerts himself so as to impair his physical and mental capacity. One man exposes himself to the contagion of small-pox, knowing, at the same time, that it is dangerous, takes the disease and dies; another vaccinates himself, and thus protects and saves his life. One man ventures upon the ocean without sufficient knowledge to manage his craft, and thus exposes himself to accidental death; another is cautious, and ventures no farther than safety permits. The act of the one in each case is favorable, and prolongs life; the act of another is unfavorable, and abridges it. And will not every one say that all these acts and influences, for good or for evil, are more or less within the control of man?—that life may be saved and prolonged, and that the time of our death may, in some sense, be postponed? Numerous illustrations of this truth present themselves within the circle of our own knowledge. The late Rev. Dr. Ripley, of Concord, when settled, in 1778, had a feeble constitution; and one man voted against him because he thought it useless to settle a man whose probabilities of living were so small. He, however, by great care and attention to his health, acquired a pretty good constitution, and survived his 90th year. He probably added 50 years to a life, which another man, under similar circumstances, would not have enjoyed.

"The tendency of our people is to become a manufacturing people; and manufactures have been so far investigated, that the cost of every article—material, transportation, labor, wages, board, &c.—is clearly known. But what amount of life is sacrificed thereby we know not. We do not know, though we ought to know, whether there exists or whether there is any tendency to such a condition in any of our cities and towns, as would justify the remark of Mr. Chadwick, before quoted, making them 'characteristic of those crowded, filthy, badly-administered districts in England, where the average duration of life is short, the proportion of the young very great, and the adult generation transient.'

"The average age at death, as has been already said, is not to be taken as an exact index of comparison for the health of a place, unless we have the number, age, and condition of the living. It is, however, an interesting fact to be known, and we present, in the subjoined table, several calculations made from such data as are in our possession;

Period of Observation	Number of Years	Place and Circumstances	Number of Deaths	Average Age at Death
1779 to 1842	63	Concord	1,600	33.03
1812 to 1845	33	Plympton	494	41.00
1805 to 1836	32	Amherst, N. H.	815	32.00
1817 to 1843	27	Dorchester, Mass.	1,767	32.20
1842	1	Massachusetts Returns	6,986	34.77
1843	1	" "	7,798	33.82
1844	1	" "	7,649	33.74
1845	1	" "	8,338	30.26
1811 to 1820	10	City of Boston	8,020	27.25
1821 to 1830	10	"	10,731	25.83
1831 to 1840	10	"	16,314	23.72
1841	1	England	335,106	29.45
1841	1	Ireland	—	23.00
1841	1	London	—	27.00
1841	1	Liverpool	—	20.00
1814 to 1833	20	Geneva, Switzerland, males	5,219	38.44
1814 to 1833	20	" " females	5,688	42.68
1814 to 1833	20	" " both	10,907	40.67

"This statement affords another striking illustration of the influence of locality on longevity. Estimating, by the above average age at death, the value of life to be 100 per cent. enjoyed by the people of Plympton, then the people of Boston would, according to the age 1831-1840, enjoy but 55.41 per cent.; or, in another view, the people of Boston, on the average, live a less number of years by 44.59 per cent. than do the people of Plympton!

"But while we have all these surveys and maps pointing out the boundaries of our counties and towns, the localities of our mineral wealth, the best lands for farming and the production of domestic animals, and the existence of noxious and innoxious wild animals, we may ask where is the sanitary map which points out the healthy and unhealthy localities of the state, which will reveal to our people where and how human life can best be sustained and longest continued, and where and how human energy and productive power can be best brought to bear upon the culture and development of the sources of wealth in the state? Have we not said by such legislation that our cattle and our hogs are of more value than the lives of ourselves and our children? Have we not extended to the brute, whose worth is measured by dollars and cents, a species of legislation which has been withheld from man, who is of immeasurable value? When compared to investigations into the physical condition of man, all other investigations dwindle into insignificance.

"The population of Massachusetts may now be estimated at 800,000. From the returns of deaths received, I have estimated the whole number of deaths in the state last year to have been 14,000, which is nearly 1 in 57, or 1.75 per cent. of the population. Of these 14,000, there died at least 6,000 children and youth under 15 years of age. Estimating the average ages of the whole of these in the same proportion as those actually known, it will give for each about 4 years, or 24,000 years of life for all. This, at \$50 a year, amounts to \$1,200,000 as the cost of their maintenance. And all this sum was

lost to the state last year by premature deaths, before any return could be made for it. Can any one doubt that half, at least, might have been saved by proper knowledge and care?

"The proportionate number of deaths among the young has been increasing for several years past in this country, as our investigations prove; and we see no reason to believe it will be less, until more knowledge is diffused in regard to the laws of life and the liability to death, under different circumstances. This immense loss of the productive power of the state may be considered as an annual tax, which the people must pay every year, until they find out and use the means of prevention.

"It has been said that the strength and dignity of a nation consist not in its lauds, its houses, its wealth, but in its people. And I have already stated, that that people is most prosperous which contains the greatest proportionate number of the productive age. In the above calculation we have not taken into account the loss sustained by the death of those belonging to this age. This would greatly swell the amount of loss. We have stated that, by care and attention, the late Dr. Ripley probably added fifty years to his life. We are now considering time as money, labor as money, *life as money*, and not the real, moral value of that good man's services. Estimating, then, this time to be worth \$1 per day, or \$300 per annum, the fifty years of life were worth \$15,000, and that sum was saved by the prolongation of his life. The deaths in this state last year, as we have estimated, were 14,000. Of these, 5,000 probably died between 15 and 60 years of age. Let us suppose, that by proper knowledge of the laws of health, and a proper care in obeying these laws, five years might, on the average, have been added to each of their lives—and this seems not an extravagant supposition—then we should have saved, instead of losing, as we have done, 25,000 years of life, which, estimated to be worth, in this adult age, only \$150 a year, would have produced \$3,750,000! And this loss must be annual!

"There is still another view of this great subject. William Farr, Esq., one of the ablest writers on Vital Statistics of the age, stated in McCulloch's Statistical Account of the British Empire, that 'when one person in a hundred dies annually, two are constantly sick; although this exact relation is, perhaps, not preserved in infancy and old age, or where the rate of mortality deviates from the standard, it may be safely assumed as a near approximation to the truth.' This principle may be more simply expressed thus: the proportion of persons constantly sick in a population, is double the annual proportion per cent. which the deaths bear to the living in that population. According to the estimate already given, the proportion of deaths to the population in Massachusetts was one in fifty-seven, or 1.75 per cent. Double this percentage, and we have 3.5 as the proportion per cent.; and this proportion of \$00,000 is 28,000, the actual number constantly sick in this state.

"Sickness occasions a twofold loss; one for the time and labor of the sick, and the other for the nursing, medical attendance, medicine, and other expenses, which they require. The first may be estimated at \$50, and the second at \$150, or \$200 per annum for both, which, multiplied by 28,000, gives a total annual loss by sickness of \$5,600,000! It is supposed that half of this sickness is preventable, and that half of this enormous sum might be saved if the laws of health were properly understood and obeyed.

"We might save then—

By diminishing the mortality of infancy and childhood.....	\$600,000
By prolonging the lives of adults.	3,750,000
By preserving the general health and diminishing sickness.....	2,800,000
<hr/>	
Making, according to this view, an annual total saving of.....	\$7,150,000

"This amounts in ten years to \$71,500,000, or about *one quarter of all the property of the Commonwealth*, according to the valuation of 1840!"

6. The Banking System of Massachusetts is on the most enlarged scale. It would seem as if the people of that Commonwealth had the most unlimited confidence in this species of investment. The Legislature requires an annual statement of the condition of all these banks, and we have before us several of these annual publications. The number of Savings Institutions in 1846 was thirty-eight; their condition, &c., were as follows:*

The number of depositors in all thirty-eight banks was.....	62,893
Amount deposited in all thirty-eight banks.....	\$10,680,933 10
Public Funds.....	1,890,525 93
Loans on Public Funds.....	19,500 00
Bank Stock.....	1,909,620 72
Loans on Bank Stock.....	149,256 50
Deposits in Banks bearing interest.....	94,520 61
Railroad Stock.....	14,800 00
Loans on Railroad Stock....	232,538 75
Invested in Real Estate.....	90,884 22
Loans on Mortgage of Real Estate.....	3,757,262 80
Loans to County or Town....	818,041 96
Loans on Personal Security..	1,930,072 88
Cash on hand.....	150,728 26
Rate and amount of ordinary dividend for last year, $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.....	345,443 10
Average annual per cent. of dividends of last five years, $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.	
Annual expenses of Institutions.....	29,306 69

7. *Insurance Returns*.—We have three of these annual publications.

8. The *Agricultural Reports* we have already particularly referred to in previous pages of this number. We have several of them, which embrace a variety of the most interesting information.

9. We might properly conclude with the *Manufactures of Massachusetts*. None of the Reports are complete enough in this particular. It would be a source of great satisfaction to know the annual average profits now and hitherto in that species of industry throughout the state. We should learn the uses or abuses of the protective system, and determine how far it is necessary among us. We had the satisfaction of visiting Lowell a short time since, the most important manufacturing town in New-England, and which consumes about one sixth of all the cotton manufactured in this country. The history of this remarkable city, prepared by Mr. Miles, is worthy of study. It has grown in an amazing ratio. Scarcely more than twenty years have passed since the manufacturing system was opened there on a scale of any promise. We know its present stature. Mr. Miles states the semi annual dividends of the companies to be frequently ten per cent. for six months, or thus doubling the capital in five years! It may be gathered from this what a mint of wealth exists here, and the fortunes of Massachusetts manufacturers. Hence the secret of Boston's greatness.

* We are indebted for this summary to a handsome volume, the Massachusetts State Record, 1847, compiled by Nahum Capen, Esq., who kindly furnished

us a copy. It is made from the returns to the Secretary of State.

STATISTICS OF LOWELL.

Corporations.	Inco- porated.	Capital Stock.	Spindles.	Looms.	Fem. empl.	Males empl.	Kind of Goods made.
Merrimack Manufac. o..	1822	\$2,000,000	41,600	1,300	1,775	600	Prints & Sheet- ings Nos. 22 to 40
Hamilton Manufac. Co. .	1825	1,200,000	25,956	736	750	270	Prints, Flannels, & Sheet. 14 to 40
Appleton Company.	1823	600,000	11,776	400	340	65	Sheetings & Shirt- ings, No. 14.
Lowell Manufac. Co.....	1828	600,000	{ 3,400 Wool 7,142 Cot. }	{ 244 Cotton. 50 Power Carpet. 30 Hand Carpet. 45 Broadcloth. 375 Cassimere. }	{ 550 950 400 460 }	225	Carpets, Rugs, & Cotton Cloths.
Middlesex Manufac. Co..	1830	750,000	13,000	—	—	550	Broadcloth and Cassimere.
Suffolk Manufac. Co....	1830	600,000	13,936	404	400	90	Drillings, 14.
Tremont Mills.....	1830	600,000	12,960	479	460	100	Sheetings, No. 14. Shirtings, No. 14.
Lawrence Manufac. Co..	1830	1,500,000	44,032	1,260	1,200	200	Printing Cloths. Sheetings & Shirt- ings, 14 to 30.
Lowell Bleachery.....	1832	140,000	—	—	20	230	1,700,000 lbs. bleached per an.
Boott Cotton Mills.....	1835	1,200,000	34,374	966	870	160	Drillings, No. 14. Shirtings, No. 40.
Massachus. Cotton Mills..	1839	1,200,000	29,152	919	750	160	Printing Cloth, 40 Sheeting, No. 13.
Prescott Manufac. Co....	1844	600,000	16,128	548	450	90	Shirtings, No. 14. Drillings, No. 14.
Lowell Machine Shop....	1845	500,000	—	—	—	600	Sheetings & Shirt- ings, 12½ & 14.
Total.....	....	11,490,000	253,416	7,756	7,915	3,340	3,000 tons wrt & cast iron per an.

Average wages of females, clear of board, per week.	\$2 00
“ “ males, “ per day	80
Medium produce of a loom, No. 14 yarn, yards per day.....	45
“ “ No. 30 “ “	33
Average per spindle, yards per day.....	1½

“The Lowell Machine-shop, included among the above mills, can furnish machinery complete for a mill of 6,000 spindles in three months, and a mill can be built in the same time.

“An important undertaking, eventually to redound to the interest and wealth of the city, is the building of the *new canal*. It is destined to give to most of the mills on the lower level a more regular supply of water, and consequently benefit those on the upper level. It is to be of an average width of 100 feet, and a depth of 15 feet. It will require, in its construction, a rock excavation of 150,000 yards, an earth excavation of 110,000 yards, and a mass of masonry of 50,000 yards; the whole estimated at an expense of \$500,000.

“In the course of a few months two new cotton mills will be in operation. The one, built by the Merrimack Company, to contain

23,424 spindles, and 640 looms. The other, built by the Hamilton Company, will commence with 10,368 spindles, and 260 looms, but is of sufficient capacity to contain nearly 20,000 spindles, and 400 looms. The driving power for the latter will be a steam engine, of 160 horse power, which is being put in.

“Other manufactures are produced in the city than those specified above, of a value of \$800,000, employing a capital of \$310,750, and about 1,000 hands.”

Total manufacturing capital of Lowell, \$11,490,000. Total females employed, 7,915; total males, 3,340. Consumption in factories, about 50,000 tons of coal, 5,000 cords of wood, 100,000 gallons of oil, 1,000,000 pounds of starch, 765 barrels of flour. Population of Lowell, 1828, 3,532; 1846, 28,841. (See Boston.)

MOBILE—COMMERCE OF, 1850-1851.

Exports of Sawed Lumber from this Port since September 1st, 1850.

WHITHER EXPORTED.	This week.	Previously.	Total.	Last season.
Cuba	—	2104862	2104862	968471
Mexico	—	268573	268523	250924
Other ports	—	12420	12420	334718
Coastwise	230680	4199569	4430249	4739783
Total.....	230680	6585374	6816054	7293896

Exports of Staves from this Port since 1st September, 1850.

WHITHER EXPORTED.	This week.	Previously.	Total.	Last year.
Cuba	—	8000	8000	—
Mexico	—	—	—	—
Other ports	727	105099	105826	272019
Coastwise	36540	210413	246953	405924
Total	37267	323512	360779	677943

Comparative Exports of Staves from this Port for four years, to date.

WHITHER EXPORTED.	1850-51.	1849-50.	1848-49.	1847-48.
Cuba	8000	—	24500	21000
Mexico	—	—	—	—
Other ports	105826	272019	87070	328240
Coastwise	246953	405924	141820	212960
Total	360779	677943	253390	562200

Comparative Exports of Sawed Lumber from this Port for five years, to date.

WHITHER EXPORTED.	'50-'51.	'49-'50.	'48-'49.	'47-'48.	'46-'47.
Cuba	2104862	1968471	333290	1373548	329173
Mexico	268523	250924	264189	1094294	878479
Other ports	12420	334718	190308	414028	216636
Coastwise	4430249	4739783	4499286	4737323	4309846
Total	6816054	7293896	7619093	5734134	3597253

Exports of Timber, &c., from this Port since September 1st, 1850, to date.

ARTICLES.	Great Britain.	France.	Other ports.	Coastwise.	Total.
Timber, pieces	100	1473	302	—	1875
Spars	—	414	130	—	544
Masts	—	2	59	—	61
D'k Plank, feet	—	7560	88317	—	95877
Oars	—	1891	—	—	1891
Shingles	—	—	92000	203000	295000
Cedar, Logs	—	—	—	1315	1315
Laths	—	—	6000	—	6000

Statement of the Value of Imports and Duties at this Port for the third and fourth quarters of 1850, and the first and second quarters of 1851.

THIRD QUARTER, 1850.

Value of imports, dutiable	\$7,640
Value of imports, free	35,456

Total imports	\$43,096
Amount of duties collected, \$4,249 90.	

FOURTH QUARTER, 1850.

Value of imports, dutiable	76,069
Value of imports, free	84,360

Total imports	\$160,429
Amount of duties collected, \$25,043 20	

FIRST QUARTER, 1851.

Value of imports, dutiable	101,632
Value of imports, free	23,223

Total imports	\$124,255
Amount of duties collected, \$33,566 44.	

SECOND QUARTER, 1851.

Value of imports, dutiable	105,024
Value of imports, free	7,600

Total imports	\$112,624
Amount of duties col'd, \$33,417 40.	

Total amount of imports

\$440,404

Total amount of duties collected for the past year

\$96,276 94

Comparative Exports of Cotton from Port of Mobile, from September 1st to date, in the following years:

	Great Britain.	France.	Other Foreign Ports.	U. States.
1851 ..	250118	46005	26373	96029
1850 ..	162189	39973	11927	111452
1849 ..	290836	63290	44525	140993
1848 ..	228329	61812	29070	120350
1847 ..	131156	39293	19784	116674
1846 ..	208047	66821	26824	115164
1845 ..	269037	68789	52811	130701
1844 ..	204242	49611	15885	195714
1843 ..	285029	53645	26903	113768

Comparative Receipts, Exports, and Stocks of Cotton at the Port of Mobile, from 1st September to date, in the following years:

	Receipts.	Exports.	Stocks.
1851	433646	418525	27797
1850	332796	325541	12962
1849	517846	539642	5046
1848	438324	439561	23584
1847	323266	306907	24172
1846	421669	416856	7813
1845	517550	521338	438
1844	468717	465452	3920
1843	479744	479345	790

COTTON TRADE.

Comparative View of the Foreign Exports, Receipts, and Stocks of Cotton of the United States, at the latest dates, for the last Four Years :

YEARS.	1851.	1850.	1849.	1848.
To Great Britain...	1413733	1085235	1534331	1311274
France.....	295205	282397	367071	276940
Other Foreign Ports.....	268900	188929	320143	254145
Total bales...	1977838	1556561	2220545	1842359
Receipts.....	2330120	2071108	2706038	2317811
Stocks.....	96229	143833	114229	134352

MOBILE.—TOPOGRAPHY, SANATORY CONDITION AND VITAL STATISTICS OF MOBILE, ALA.—Mobile is situated on the west bank of the Mobile River, just before it empties itself into the Mobile Bay. The site is but slightly elevated above the level of the river, but sufficiently so for all purposes of convenient drainage. The soil is dry and sandy. Immediately opposite the city, on the east, is a large low island, covered with high grass and rushes, and known as the "Marsh." Immediately above the city, on the north, is a large swamp, extending along the banks of the river. Back of the city, on the north-west, west and south, the dry, sandy pine-hills commence, affording delightful and healthy retreats from the heat, sickness and annoyances of the city, during the summer; and thus have sprung up the pleasant villages of Toulminville, Spring Hill, Cottage Hill, Summer-ville and Fulton. South of the city, the shores of the bay are dotted for many miles with the residences of our citizens. These spots have been found usually exempt from the visitations of epidemic disease.

The city is not compactly built, except in the portions occupied by the commercial and business houses.

The streets generally are wide, and run mostly north and south, east and west. Much attention, of late years, has been paid to planting shade trees along the pavements, and the comfort, and probably the health of the city is much improved thereby.

The prevailing winds, during the winter months, are the north and north-east. From the middle of April, (at which time the warm spring weather commences,) the south winds, cool, refreshing, and laden with the moisture of the extensive waters of the gulf and bay, make the heat quite endurable.

No system of under-ground drainage has ever been attempted in Mobile. From the light and porous character of the soil, however, the streets soon dry after the heaviest fall of rain.

The city is supplied with good spring water through the City Water Works, from a stream some few miles distant. The climate of Mobile is warm and relaxing to the energies,

and during even the winter months is trying to the constitution from the many and sudden changes that occur. The spring and fall are delightful seasons. During the coldest weather in winter the ground is but seldom frozen.

Most rain, I think, falls in December and January, and June and July.

There are in Mobile two hospitals, large, commodious, and well-ventilated buildings, situated in the western part of the city,—the United States Marine Hospital, and the City Hospital. They are each capable of accommodating between two and three hundred patients. Their location is an admirable one, being situated on a dry, elevated spot, with but little near them to obstruct the breezes from the bay.

There are several institutions of a charitable character in the city, among which may be mentioned the Catholic and Protestant Orphan Asylums; the Benevolent Society, which, besides other objects of charity, has charge of the destitute widows of the city; and the Samaritan Society, which does an immense deal towards alleviating the suffering and distress of the indigent poor.

The want of a lunatic asylum and a work-house is sadly felt, and the urgent necessity for such institutions is becoming more and more apparent each year.

There are three cemeteries, which, from their location, can exert but little influence upon the public health.

The sanatory condition of the city has undoubtedly improved within the last few years. For many years Mobile enjoyed the unenviable reputation of being a very unhealthy place, and the devastating epidemics of 1819, '25, '29, '37, '39, and '43, in truth, gave a coloring to this accusation. Since the last-mentioned year there has been no severe visitation from the destroyer. We may account for this, in some measure, by the fact that the wet, muddy morasses, filled with rushes and stubble cane, which, until 1843, occupied nearly the entire northern portion of the city, have been filled in, and their places are now the sites of large cotton warehouses and presses; a better system of drainage has been resorted to in the principal streets; and, lastly, more exertion has been made by the municipal officers to carry into effect the prudent suggestions of the Board of Health.

There are but very few deaths that occur from any of the usual forms of endemic fever; in fact, the diseases of that character seem to have lost almost entirely the dread which a few years since they inspired. The greatest mortality for the last four or five years back, has been from enteric affections. The deaths from diarrhoea and dysentery have exceeded greatly the mortality from any other disease of an acute character. These diseases have

not been confined so entirely as formerly to the spring and summer months, but have occurred throughout the year, and, at all seasons, have been occasionally of a very unmanageable character. The following table will show the entire number of deaths in Mobile for the years 1845 to 1850, inclusive:

Years	Population.	Whites.	Blacks.	Deaths.
1845...	12,000	320	122	442
1846...	12,000	339	144	483
1847...	13,000	433	175	608
1848...	15,000	566	239	805
1849...	17,000	633	273	910
1850...	20,000	437	178	611

During this period the yellow fever prevailed but one season, the summer and autumn of 1847, and there were seventy-six deaths from the disease that year. In 1848 and 1849, the cholera and its kindred affections swelled the mortality somewhat. The scarlet fever, during the winter of 1848 and 1849, and the spring of 1849, prevailed to a great extent, and numbered among its victims many adults. The mortality from this disease in 1848 was seventy-five; in 1849 the mortality from the same cause was fifty. These remarks will explain the large apparent increase in the mortality in 1848 and 1849. In 1850 there was no epidemic of a fatal character. The dengue fever prevailed to a very great extent during September and October of this year, but there was no fatality attending it.

In 1845, with a population of 12,000, and a mortality of 442, the deaths were 36 5-6 in every thousand living; in 1850, with a population of 20,000, and a mortality of 611, the deaths were 30½ in every thousand living. These two years were both considered healthy years. There was no epidemic visitation either year of a fatal character: we may, therefore, infer from these facts, that the

sanatory condition of the city has improved during this time.

The average annual mortality of

London, population, 2,000,000,	is 44,700
Paris, " 1,000,000,	is 23,500
New-York, " 440,000,	is 23,400
Philada., " 400,000,	is 14,000
N. Orleans, " 125,000,	is 7,954
Mobile, " 20,000,	is 611

These figures would give a mortality for

London, of one in every 44 living.

Paris, " 42 "
New-York, " 19 "
Philadelphia, " 27 "
New-Orleans, " 15 "
Mobile, " 32 "

Thus showing that the percentage of deaths is actually less in Mobile than in any of the named American cities.

The annexed table will show the number of each class—whites and blacks, males and females—who have died in Mobile from 1845 to 1850, inclusive:

	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	Total.
Males...	279	324	396	536	580	396	2511
Females...	163	159	212	267	329	220	1350
Whites...	320	339	443	566	637	433	2728
Blacks...	122	144	175	239	273	173	1131
Total...	442	483	608	805	910	611	3859

One is struck immediately with the great disproportion exhibited by this table, between the mortality of the males and females. Very nearly the same disproportion probably exists in the relative population, and the greater degree of exposure and the various excesses committed by the males, will probably account for much of the excess.

MOBILE—STATISTICAL HISTORY OF.

MADE UP FROM OFFICIAL SOURCES, BY WM. D. HOLLEY, F. G. KIMBALL, AND J. H. HUNT, CITY ASSESSORS.

Years	Noof Polls	Value of Horses	Value of Carriages	Special Tax	No of Slaves	Value of Slaves.	Value of Merchandise.	Value of Real Estate	Total Valuation.
1814	76	.....	.....	.....	96	41,750	111,300	198,000	350,950
1815	94	.....	.....	.....	111	43,100	101,000	222,500	366,600
1816	93	.....	.....	.....	123	43,200	157,200	319,400	524,800
1817	101	.....	.....	.....	136	56,900	185,600	371,000	613,500
1818	97	.....	.....	.....	158	67, 80	203,000	398 000	668,180
1819	104	.....	.....	.....	169	71,410	276,100	417 000	764,510
1820	88	.....	.....	.....	174	73,300	208,000	493,300	874,600
1821	211	.....	.....	.....	161	59,390	383,300	403,200	846,390
1822	287	.....	.....	.....	191	85 3 0	231,300	419,550	736,150
1823	332	.....	.....	.....	367	119 300	308,950	969 350	1,477,600
1824	512	.....	.....	.....	382	106,575	168,800	832, 25	1,107,500
1825	334	.....	.....	.....	640	218 800	397,500	1,519 765	2,136,140
1826	407	.....	.....	.....	706	221, 90	535,980	1,535 640	2,392,658
1827	471	.....	.....	.....	717	215,750	411,956	1,408 327	2,036,033
1828	527	.....	.....	.....	723	232,240	559,678	1,483,168	2,175,087
1829	402	.....	.....	.....	1,095	326,790	500,688	1,891,760	2,719,148
1830	531	.....	.....	.....	1,041	311,555	431,750	2,162,770	2,896,070
1831	419	.....	.....	.....	887	274 185	540,449	1,294,810	2,109,444
1832	764	.....	.....	.....	1,535	530,155	975,028	2,623,110	4,118,293

Years	No of Polls	Value of Horses	Value of Carriages	Special Tax	No of Slaves	Value of Slaves	Value of Merchandise	Value of Real Estate	Total Valuation
1833	898	.....	.....	.....	1,856	694,805	1,042,400	3,377,649	5,014,864
1834	960	.....	.....	.....	2,565	1,000,350	1,143,725	4,611,950	6,756,025
1835	788	.....	.....	.....	2,411	1,447,000	1,524,160	6,414,425	9,083,135
1836	617	.....	.....	.....	3,041	1,871,100	2,739,050	18,050,080	22,660,230
1837	836	.....	.....	.....	3,459	2,721,300	2,975,250	27,482,961	33,062,191
1838	1,487	.....	.....	.....	3,920	1,461,200	2,253,285	20,407,435	24,121,920
1839	1,725	.....	.....	.....	2,135	1,225,050	3,156,350	21,098,915	24,489,315
1840	1,453	.....	.....	.....	2,407	1,078,020	1,820,770	13,441,783	16,389,623
1841	1,372	.....	.....	.....	3,467	1,568,900	2,297,600	17,601,950	21,468,450
1842	1,615	.....	.....	.....	3,555	1,667,375	2,477,820	16,138,643	20,283,838
1843	855	.....	.....	.....	3,552	1,471,750	1,676,550	14,773,470	17,921,770
1844	452	.....	.....	.....	3,963	1,705,845	2,329,976	14,053,056	18,098,877
1845	943	.....	.....	.....	3,867	1,428,620	2,442,615	12,622,085	16,503,325
1846	No poll tax	28,770	42,450	12,690	4,586	1,697,650	2,121,820	12,854,650	16,745,345
1847	Do.	15,925	27,590	10,748	3,868	1,323,480	1,760,745	8,638,250	11,776,730
1848	1,217	16,980	24,680	9,890	4,169	1,544,350	1,801,756	8,943,810	12,431,560
1849	1,607	6,185	7,240	9,570	3,888	1,600,850	1,728,350	9,300,930	12,629,700
1850	1,400	7,135	8,685	5,735	3,313	1,345,850	2,041,360	8,577,025	11,986,790
1851	1,554	87,100	54,740	9,225	5,203	2,493,845	3,336,565	11,698,045	17,070,295

MOLASSES TRADE OF UNITED STATES, 1851.

RECEIPTS OF FOREIGN IN UNITED STATES.

	Hhds.	Tcs.	Bbls.
Total receipts, from January 1 to December 31, 1851.....	257,688	18,630	25,268
Add stock at all the ports, January 1, 1851.....	12,800	310	250
Total supply.....	270,488	18,930	25,518
Deduct exports in 1851.....	2,315	408	299
Deduct stock, 1st January, 1852.....	11,200	327	252
Total consumption of foreign in 1851.....	256,923	18,195	25,027
—Or, about.....	33,238,278		gallons.
Add crop of Louisiana, Texas, Florida, &c., of 1850-51, (the most of which came to market in 1851, and assuming the stock of this description, 1st January of each year, to be equal).....	10,769,740		gallons.
Would make the whole consumption in 1851.....	43,948,018		gallons.
Consumption of foreign in 1850.....	24,506,949		"
Add crop of Louisiana, Texas, Florida, &c., 1849-50.....	12,212,300		"
Would make the whole consumption in 1850.....	37,019,249		"
Whole excess in 1851.....	6,928,779		"
Excess of foreign in 1851.....	8,431,329		"

It will be seen by the above statement, that the increase in the consumption of foreign in the country, in 1851, is equal to about 34 per cent. over the consumption of 1850. It will be remembered, however, that the crop of Louisiana, Texas, &c., in 1850-51, was 1,502,560 gallons short of the production of the previous season, which induced larger importations the past year; even New-Orleans having taken equal to 1,227,435 gallons of Cuba to supply the deficiency. The crop of Louisiana, &c., the present season, is estimated to be a full average one.

MEMPHIS, TENN.—Every day gives me additional evidence of the increasing prosperity of this already prosperous city; and although her commerce is great, yet upon that alone her public-spirited citizens do not intend to rely, for the notes of preparation are already heard in various quarters, and in addition to her commerce, manufactories will soon claim a part in adding to her wealth. Preparations are now making for the establishment of a very large boat-

yard, to be conducted on a scale as extensive as any in the west; and ere long, although we cannot afford the facilities at Nashville, Tennesseans will have the opportunity of supporting in Tennessee this important branch of industry. The gentleman who opens the yard is said to be one of the best boat-builders in the Union. As an evidence of its truth, some of the finest boats running on the Mississippi are his handiwork; among others, the magnificent Autocrat. In addition to this, an extensive flour mill, now nearly completed, is about to commence operations, and will make, it is said, sixty-two thousand barrels of flour annually; creating another large source of wealth to the community. These things speak most favorably for the public spirit of Memphis, and indeed I find on all sides evidence that her citizens are determined, by the liberal views they take of things, to make Memphis one of the first cities in the West—and the city already feels the beneficial result of these views. In 1840, I am told, Memphis had a population of from three to four thousand;

the census recently taken shows a population of twelve thousand; and although no prophet, I venture the prediction that 1860 will show a population more than double this number.

* * * *

Since writing the above, I learn that a large cotton manufactory has just been erected here, and will go into operation very shortly, giving employment to a large number of operatives. Why cannot we chronicle such an event in Nashville? Urge our citizens to wake up to the importance of these things, for if they sleep much longer, every city in this country will outstrip us, and upon ourselves must rest the fault.

MEMPHIS CONVENTION OF 1845.—We give the resolutions adopted, for useful reference:

1st.—*Resolved*, That the reports of the various committees, presented to the convention, be printed, together with such documents accompanying them, as the committee appointed to supervise the printing of the proceedings of the convention shall deem necessary.

2d.—*Resolved*, That safe communication between the Gulf of Mexico and the interior, afforded by the navigation of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers and their principal tributaries, is indispensable to the defense of the country in time of war, and essential also to its commerce.

3d.—*Resolved*, That the improvement and preservation of the navigation of those great rivers, are objects as strictly national as any other preparation for the defense of the country, and that such improvements are deemed by this convention impracticable by the states, or individual enterprise, and call for the appropriation of money for the same by the General Government.

4th.—*Resolved*, That the deepening of the mouth of the Mississippi, so as to pass ships of the largest class, cost what it may, is a work worthy of the nation, and would greatly promote the general prosperity.

5th.—*Resolved*, That if the policy of reinforcing our Navy with war steamers be adopted, the western waters are proper sources of supply, as they abound in iron, the best material for their construction, and in lead and copper, important materials for munitions of war; provisions also being cheap, and the skill requisite for their construction and navigation being ample in this region, which already possesses the largest steam commercial marine in the world.

6th.—*Resolved*, That the project of connecting the Mississippi river with the Lakes of the North, by a ship canal, and thus with the Atlantic Ocean, is a measure worthy of the enlightened consideration of Congress.

7th.—*Resolved*, That the intercourse between the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic

coast ought to be preserved unimpaired, and that ample military and naval defenses, and additional light-houses and beacons, should be established along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and at the most eligible points.

8th.—*Resolved*, That the Gulf and Lake coasts are greater in extent than the Atlantic seaboard; that the interests to be defended in one quarter are quite as important, and altogether as national, as those in the other; and that the expenditures required for the proper defenses of the Gulf and Lakes, will fall far short of what has been freely voted for the coast defenses of the Atlantic.

9th.—*Resolved*, That Congress should establish a National Armory and Foundry at some point on the western waters, at as early a period as practicable.

10th.—*Resolved*, That the Marine Hospitals on the western and southern waters, the construction of which has been commenced or authorized by Congress, ought to be prosecuted to completion with the least practicable delay.

11th.—*Resolved*, That the Mail service of the West and South requires great improvement in speed and regularity, particularly on the western rivers, and that measures ought to be taken for the prompt extension, by Government, of the Magnetic Telegraph, into or through the Valley of the Mississippi.

12th.—*Resolved*, That millions of acres of the public domain, lying on the Mississippi river and its tributaries, now worthless for purposes of cultivation, might be reclaimed by throwing up embankments, so as to prevent overflow; and that this convention recommend such measures as may be deemed expedient to accomplish that object, by grant of said lands, or an appropriation of money.

13th.—*Resolved*, That Railroads and communications from the Valley of the Mississippi to the South Atlantic ports, in giving greater facilities to trade, greater dispatch in travelling, and in developing new sources of wealth, are, in all their salutary influences on the commercial, social, and political relations, strongly urged upon the consideration and patriotism of the people of the West; and they are the more recommended as works within the power of private enterprise to construct, and as affording profitable investment of capital.

14th.—*Resolved*, That in order that the earliest opportunity may be afforded for private individuals and enterprise to direct their capital and energies to the completion of the important roads projected, the convention recommend to the delegations present to appoint committees charged with the duty of prompt and early applications to their respective Legislatures, for charters to

construct such roads as may pass through their states; and to ask such aid and patronage from said states as they, in their discretion, may deem proper and necessary, to aid in the construction of the works.

15th.—*Resolved*, That as many of the roads projected may pass through the public domain, this convention would respectfully urge upon the consideration of Congress, the equity of granting the right of way and alternate sections, in aid of the works so situated—such grant, in the opinion of this convention, being no more than a fair compensation paid by the proprietor for the enhanced value imparted to the sections of land retained by Government.

16th.—*Resolved*, That efficient steps should be taken by the General Government to move and prevent the recurrence of the obstacles in the Mississippi, opposite the city of St. Louis, so that the harbor there may at all times be accessible, as objects of public utility, and of a national character, and entirely beyond the ability of Missouri to accomplish.

17th.—*Resolved*, That it is expedient that Congress should make an appropriation of money, for the purpose of completing the Military Road from the west bank of the Mississippi (opposite Memphis) through the swamps, to the highlands in Arkansas, in the direction of the various military posts on the western frontier.

18th.—*Resolved*, That a Dry Dock and convenient arrangement for the repairs and refitting of Government vessels, should be established at some suitable point on the Gulf of Mexico.

19th.—*Resolved*, That the president appoint a committee of five members of this convention, to memorialize Congress on the various topics embraced in the foregoing resolutions.

20th.—*Resolved*, That the president also appoint a committee of five members of this convention, to address our common constituents on the same subjects.

MEMPHIS CONVENTION OF 1849.—

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.—*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this convention, that it is the duty of the General Government to provide, at an early period, for the construction of a national railroad from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean.

Resolved, That to facilitate the accomplishment of this object, in the opinion of this convention, it is the duty of the General Government to constitute an efficient and competent corps of engineers, to make complete explorations and surveys of all the routes that have been designated by public opinion, as proper for the line of this road.

Resolved, That after the proper surveys shall have been completed, that, in the

opinion of this convention, it is the duty of the General Government to locate the line of the road; and, in making the location, that route should be selected which is easiest of access, best calculated to subserve the purposes of national defense, most convenient to the people of, and (as far as practicable) central to, the United States, and upon which a railroad can be constructed on the cheapest and best terms.

Resolved, That, to carry into effect the object of the first resolution, in the opinion of this convention, the public lands of the United States constitute a legitimate and proper fund.

Resolved, That, after the construction of the national railway trunk from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, in the opinion of this convention, it is the duty of Congress to aid, by the appropriation of the national domain, in the construction of such branch railroads as will best connect it with the northern lakes, and the great thoroughfares leading to the Atlantic ocean, and with such other points on the Mississippi river as will connect it with the lines of improvement completed, or in the course of construction; and also to aid in the construction of branches from the main trunk to suitable points on the Gulf of Mexico, either east or west of the Mississippi river.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this convention, it is the duty of the General Government to provide, under liberal conditions, for a connection between the main trunk of this national railroad and all railroads now made, or which may hereafter be constructed by the authority of the several states and territories of the Union.

Resolved, That as an important means, a necessary preliminary to the construction of a railroad, it is the first duty of Congress to take the necessary measures for the establishment of military posts from the western confines of our western states, along the southern boundaries of our republic and our Indian frontier, to the Pacific ocean; that these posts should be established in all proper places, not far distant from each other, and that civilized and productive settlements should be encouraged around them, by sales and the grant of preëmption rights of the public lands to actual settlers, and by such other encouragement as may be deemed necessary, so that by these means ample opportunities may be afforded to our engineers for the immediate survey and reconnoissance of our possessions lying between our western and southern states and the Pacific ocean; and so, also, that by these means safe, practical roads, one or more, with facilities of travel, may be immediately formed for our citizens, and for the transportation of troops and munitions of war, etc., across our own territories, from the Atlantic to the Pacific shores,

and in order that our government may fulfil its recent treaty stipulations with Mexico.

Resolved, That while the contemplated railroad across the continent is being constructed, a present communication between the states of this Union and the American and Asiatic coasts of the Pacific ocean, is of vast importance to every portion of this country; that such communication can be obtained by ship-canal or railroad across the isthmus of Tehuantepec, Nicaragua, or Panama, or across them all; which railroads or canals may be constructed by private enterprise; and this convention, in order to encourage the undertaking and completion of such works, recommend the passage of a law, by the Congress of the United States, directing the Postmaster General, Secretary of War, and Secretary of the Navy, to make annual contracts for the transportation of the mails, troops, and military and naval stores of the government, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ports of the country, by the shortest, speediest, and cheapest route.

Resolved, That, in the event of the appropriation by Congress of a considerable portion of the public lands, or of the proceeds of the sales thereof, to the construction of a railroad from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, that liberal appropriations of the public lands lying within the limits of the respective states, should be made to aid them in the construction of their works of internal improvement.

Resolved, That, in the present state of our knowledge, we feel warranted in recommending to the particular attention of the General Government for examination, as possessing special advantages, the route commencing at San Diego on the Pacific ocean, crossing the Colorado of the West, running along the Gila river, or near it, in a direction to the Paso del Norte, and thence across the state of Texas to its north-eastern boundary, between 32° and 33° of north latitude, terminating at some point on the Mississippi between the mouth of the Ohio river and the mouth of Red river.

Resolved, That a special committee of seven be appointed by the president of the convention, to collect and publish information, to prepare a memorial to the Congress, and an address to the people, of the United States, upon the subject of increasing the facilities of intercourse between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and such other matters as shall be embraced in the resolutions of this convention.

Committee of seven, appointed by the president to memorialize Congress, &c.:

J. D. B. DeBow, of Louisiana.

ABSAOM FOWLER, of Arkansas.

JAMES C. JONES, of Tennessee.

J. R. STROTHER, of Missouri.

J. F. G. MITTAG, of South Carolina.

C. C. MILLS, of Texas.

G. S. YERGER, of Mississippi.

MINNESOTA.—We make the following extract descriptive of Minnesota, from a letter written by H. H. Sibley, Esq.:

"The part of Minnesota which lies east of the Mississippi river constituted a portion of Wisconsin Territory before the admission into the Union of the state of that name, with curtailed boundaries. The St. Croix, and a line drawn from the main branch of that stream to the mouth of the St. Louis River, on Lake Superior, now divide Wisconsin and Minnesota. On the west of the Mississippi, the parallel of $43^{\circ} 30'$ is the line of division between the state of Iowa and Minnesota west to the Missouri. All the country up the latter stream to its junction with the Whitewater, and along that river to the British Possessions, thence westwardly following the line of 49° to the intersection of the extreme north-west boundary of Wisconsin, in Lake Superior, appertains to Minnesota Territory. The area embraced between these limits contains between 140,000 and 150,000 square miles, equal in extent to New-York, Virginia and Pennsylvania combined.

"This immense region is bountifully watered by the Mississippi, St. Peter's, and Missouri rivers, and the Red River of the north, and their numerous tributary streams which traverse it in every part. There are also innumerable bodies of fresh water, which abound in fish of various kinds, the white fish especially being found in great numbers in the more northern and large lakes. The general character of Minnesota is that of high rolling prairie; but the streams and lakes are bordered with heavy bodies of timber which contain every species of wood known along the Mississippi below, except beech and sycamore. At a point about eight miles above the Falls of St. Anthony, west of the Mississippi, commences a large and remarkable forest which extends to the south, nearly at a right angle across the Minnesota or St. Peter's river, to the branches of the Makato or Blue Earth river. This vast body of woodland is more than one hundred and twenty miles in length, and from fifteen to forty in breadth. Many beautiful lakes of limpid water are found within its limits. In this beautiful country are to be found all the requisites to sustain a dense population. The soil is of great fertility and unusual depth, covered as it is with the mould of a thousand years. The Indian is here in his forest home, hitherto secure from the intrusion of the pale faces; but the advancing tide of civilization warns him that ere long he must yield up his title to this domain, and seek another, and a strange dwelling-place. It is a melancholy reflection that the large and warlike tribes of Sioux and Chippewas, who now own full nine tenths of the soil of Minnesota, must soon be subjected to the

operation of the same causes which have swept their eastern brethren from the earth, unless an entirely different line of policy is pursued by the government towards them. If they were brought under the influence and restraint of our benign laws, and some hope extended to them, that education and a course of moral training would, at some period hereafter, entitle them to be placed on an equality, socially and politically, with the whites, much good would be the result. The soil of Minnesota is admirably adapted to the cultivation of all the cereal grains. Wheat, oats, and barley afford a safe crop, even at the British Red river colony, which is in latitude 50°.

"Minnesota is destined to become a great agricultural region, and her prairies are well calculated for the raising of stock. There is also such an extent of water-power throughout its broad surface, that no reason can be perceived why manufactures would not flourish also. The reports of those scientific men who have explored the country justify us in the belief that our territory is rich in copper ores; and more particularly in galena or lead. Whether coal exists is a problem yet to be solved. If it shall be found in any considerable quantities, the discovery will be of more real advantage to Minnesota than the best mines of silver and gold.

"On the upper portion of the Mississippi and St. Croix valleys lies the great region of pine, which will continue to prove a source of wealth to the territory and state for a century to come. The manufacture of pine lumber already occupies a large part of the industrial labor of the people. Much of this is needed for home consumption, caused by the rapid increase of population; but the larger portion is sent to St. Louis, where it meets with a ready sale.

"The climate of Minnesota is not subject to sudden variations, especially in winter. Although, in some years, the snow falls to a considerable depth, yet, as a general rule, we have far less than is the case either in New-England or the northern part of the state of New-York. The comparative absence of moisture in our country is attributable, doubtless, to the fact that no very large bodies of water are to be found, although, as I have before stated, small lakes abound. During the coldest weather in winter the air is perfectly still; consequently the temperature is much more tolerable, and even pleasant, than could be supposed by those who reside in the same latitude on a stormy Atlantic coast.

"The navigation of the Mississippi is not to be relied on after the first week in December, and steamboats arrive in the spring about the 10th or 12th of April, so that the river may be considered as closed about five months in the year.

"St. Paul is the present capital of the territory. It is situated on the east bank of the Mississippi, about six miles below Fort Snelling, and eight miles by land from the Falls of St. Anthony. It is now a town of twelve or thirteen hundred inhabitants, and is rapidly augmenting in population.

"Stillwater is a thriving village on lake St. Croix, about eighteen miles from St. Paul by land, and twenty-five miles from the Mississippi. It is second only to St. Paul in size, and is increasing steadily in wealth and population. There is also quite a village at the Falls of St. Anthony, which is one of the most lovely spots in the upper country, and also at Marine Mills on the St. Croix river, Sauk Rapids, on the Mississippi, seventy-five miles above the falls, and at Mendota, at the mouth of the St. Peter's river. Point Douglass is at the junction between the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers. It is a charming place, and is destined to be the site of commercial importance.

"Pembina is the name of a settlement on our side of the line of the British Possessions, and contains upwards of a thousand souls, principally persons of a mixed Indian and white blood. These people are active and enterprising, hardy and intrepid, excellent horsemen, and well skilled in the use of firearms. They subsist by agriculture and the hunting of buffalo. They desire to be recognized as citizens of the United States, as do some thousands of their kindred, who now reside at Selkirk's colony in the British territory; but who are anxious to emancipate themselves from the iron rule of the Hudson Bay Company. These people are only waiting some action on the part of the government of the United States to join their brethren at Pembina. They would form an invaluable defense to that exposed frontier, either with the British government (to which they are much disaffected) or with the Indian tribes.

"I might state in the connection that the Indians generally through our territory are kindly disposed towards the whites, and anxious to avoid a collision. This is emphatically the case with the Sioux and Chipewas.

"I would remark in conclusion, that the people of our territory are distinguished for intelligence and high-toned morality. For the twelve months or more prior to the establishment by Congress of a government for Minnesota, although, in the anomalous position in which it was left by the admission of Wisconsin into the Union as a state, it was uncertain to what extent, if any, the laws could be enforced, not a crime of any magnitude was committed. The emigration to Minnesota is composed of men who go there with the well-founded assurance, that, in a land where nature has lavished her

choicest gifts, where sickness has no dwelling-place, where the dreadful cholera has not claimed a single victim, their toil will be amply rewarded, while their persons and property are fully protected by the broad shield of law. The sun shines not upon a fairer region, one more desirable as a home for the mechanic, the farmer, and the laborer, or where their industry will be more fully requited, than Minnesota Territory."

MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—The work, the title of which we have prefixed to this article,* besides being well-timed, for it has made its appearance when all men's minds are occupied with the subject, is very cleverly written, and exhibits, in an advantageous light, the industry and talent of the author. General Thompson appears to have availed himself of all the advantages of his situation, to store his mind with characteristic anecdotes of the people among whom he was living, as well as carefully to observe the tendency of the events that were passing around him; and to study with unremitting attention the conduct and character of the principal actors in the revolutionary struggles which have distracted that country for more than a quarter of a century. Although we differ with him in some particulars, and in none more than in his estimate of the character and services of some of the chiefs who have figured during this eventful period, on the whole, we congratulate ourselves and the public upon the appearance of a work on Mexico by an American and a Republican. The accounts we have lately seen have all been written by Europeans, who take part heart and mind with the monarchical party; and unhesitatingly mis-represent the motives and conduct of the federal republicans; and from ignorance of the truth, as we are disposed to believe, give a false coloring to the events they undertake to describe.

Before entering into a more minute examination of the work before us, we propose to give our readers a rapid sketch of the present condition and prospects of Mexico, and briefly to review the chief events of its history since the revolution; and of the causes which have led to its actual state of destitution and misrule. And first, it may not be useless to give some account of the extent, population, and military and other resources of the country.

Mexico is bounded on the east and south-east by the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea; on the west by the Pacific Ocean; on the south by Guatemala; and on the north by the United States. From the southern extremity of Yucatan to the northern extremity of California, Mexico extends over twenty-seven degrees of latitude; varying considerably in breadth, being only one hundred and

twenty-five miles across at its lower extremity, and about eleven hundred miles from the Gulf to the Pacific, at its northern boundary. Baron Humboldt estimated the superficial extent of the Mexican territory to be 118 478 square leagues; of which 82,000 square leagues are situated under the temperate zone, and the remainder lie within the tropics. The whole of this immense extent of country is traversed by the great Cordillera; which, after passing through the whole of South America, in a single chain, broken only here and there by deep transverse valleys, divides into two branches on entering this northern continent, which, preserving their northerly direction, leave in the centre an elevated tract of country known as the table-land of Mexico. The height of this tract varies from six to eight thousand feet above the level of the sea, and is surmounted by several lofty peaks, which soar above the region of perpetual snow. The western branch continues of an uninterrupted height, until it splits into the various ramifications, known chiefly by the name of the Rocky Mountains; while the eastern division declines as it approaches our frontier, until about the 26th degree parallel of north latitude, it subsides to nearly a level with the ocean. In ascending from the coast to the table-land, the climate and productions, to use an expression of Humboldt, succeed each other in layers; and the traveller, in a few days, passes in review the whole scale of vegetation, from the ferns and other plants of the tropics to the pines of the arctic regions. He considers the low country as very insalubrious; but, with the exception of the towns on the coast and the borders of rivers and streams, even this portion of Mexico is singularly exempt from disease. Humboldt gives 76 deg. of Fahrenheit as the mean heat of the coast, and 64 deg. of Fahrenheit as that of the table-land. We should have estimated both as somewhat higher, especially that of the coast; but in such an extent of country, all general calculations must be subject to exceptions. In the internal provinces, for instance, the cold of winter and heats of summer are both extreme. In the equinoctial region of Mexico, and even as far north as 28 deg., the seasons of rain and drought are regular and periodical. The rains generally commence about the middle of May, and end in October; the remainder of the season being one long drought. Owing to this cause, wheat and barley can only be cultivated where the land is capable of irrigation; and in such situations they are very productive, yielding thirty for one. Maize or Indian corn is always sown before the rains set in, the farmer relying upon the moisture in the ground to bring up his crop, and upon the intercession of his patron saint or of some miraculous image to bring down the rain in due season to mature his crop. The crops of Indian corn that we have seen in the low lands near the coast, on the slope of the

* Recollections of Mexico, by the Hon. Waddy Thompson.

Cordillera, and on those favored spots of the table-land, equal, if they do not exceed, those of Tennessee and Kentucky.

As may be supposed, the face of the country thus distinguished presents a very arid appearance during the period of drought, and is entirely without forage for horses or cattle. We have seen the herdsmen feeding the latter with the succulent leaves and stems of the cacti, which they roast in the fire to deprive them of their prickles, that effectually prevent animals from feeding on them without the aid of man. Horses and mules are here fed throughout the winter on barley and chopped straw. At the proper season pasturage is abundant, and the road along this elevated platform, running north and south, so perfectly practicable, that we have ourselves seen on one occasion four wagons in the square of Mexico, driven and escorted by our sturdy countrymen from Santa Fé, in New-Mexico, through Chihuahua to the capital. They were proceeding with produce to Vera Cruz, on account of some Mexican merchants, and actually delivered their loads there, and returned to Chihuahua with dry goods. Neither the nature of the country, therefore, nor that of the roads offer any serious obstacle to the passage of armies. Provisions, however, are not abundant; for corn, wheat, and barley are cultivated only in patches as it were; chiefly in the Baxio, a rich and fertile country lying north of Mexico and south of Guanajuato, the plains of Toluca, the southern and eastern parts of the valley of Mexico, the state of Puebla, and the vicinity of Aguas Calientes. Enough, however, is raised for the wants of this very abstemious people; but a few thousand northmen, with the ordinary appetites of their race, would, in a few days, breed a famine in the most fertile and productive of these favored districts. Beans are cultivated pretty extensively, and we sent home on one occasion, to the New-York Horticultural Society, thirty-two varieties of pulse; the best is the most common, a red bean, resembling very much in form, taste and flavor, our southern red or cow pea. Our people would be much surprised to see a whole estate cultivated in red pepper, or a species of capsicum, called by the natives *chilé*. The consumption of this article is prodigious, the working classes subsisting chiefly on thin cakes, made of Indian corn, seasoned with a sauce of tomato and *chilé*. It would be foreign to our purpose to dwell upon the other productions of Mexican agriculture. They would not aid much in subsisting an army.

The population of the country has been variously estimated. In 1830, it was believed to have reached 8,666,666. It cannot be short of that number now. It is composed of a very few European Spaniards; Creoles or Spanish descendants, who are the chief proprietors of the soil, and govern the country; Indians, unmixed, descendants of hewers of

wood and drawers of water among the aboriginal races found there at the time of the conquest, the better born having perished under the oppression of their conquerors; and the mixed classes. Of this enumeration, the poor Indians are the most numerous and the most industrious. Now, in what condition is this immense population to defend the country against an invading army? The regular army of Mexico, even in the midst of peace, cannot be estimated much below 30,000, with an equal number of active militia, enrolled and partially disciplined, ready to be called into the field in any emergency. The entire militia cannot well be counted at less than 500,000 men, liable to be drafted into the service at any moment. Of these latter, 100,000 are horsemen, unsurpassed in horsemanship and in the use of the spear and lasso. It must not be supposed that, because the recruiting service is carried on forcibly, and the recruits conducted to the army like felons, they make on that account inefficient soldiers. We have seen the French conscript manacled and driven along to the *dépôt* by *gens d'armes*; we have seen the English sailor dragged, bleeding, through the mud, by the press-gang, to man some vessel of war; and yet, after a moderate course of drill, they both are animated by the *esprit de corps* of their comrades, and rival the most enthusiastic volunteers in battle. The Mexicans do not excel in the use of firearms, but frequent practice may remedy that defect. When we were in Mexico, in 1829, the army was stated by the Secretary of War to consist of 58,955 men, of whom 32,161 were actually under arms. The troops of the line were composed of twelve battalions of infantry, each of 823 men, the full war complement being 1223; twelve regiments of cavalry, each 559 men, the war complement being 815; and three brigades of artillery, of 1797 men in all. In addition to this force, stationed at and near the capital, the report represented 22,788 regulars under arms, protecting the coasts and the northern frontier. We believe this to have been an exaggerated statement; indeed, we know it to be so; but we likewise know, that the expenses of the army, at that period, exceeded nine millions of dollars a year. This extravagance has proved the fruitful source of all the evils that have befallen this ill-fated country since its separation from Spain.

The Mexican government, soon after its installation, negotiated a loan in England, which they dissipated in ostentatious and needless expenses in three years; and from that period the country has been torn by domestic faction and constantly recurring insurrections. If we were called upon to account for these disorders, we should be disposed to attribute them altogether to want of economy and financial skill. They borrow money, and lavish it as if it formed part of their annual income; they anticipate their revenue at a ruinous sacrifice,

and make no permanent provision for repaying their debt, or refunding the amount thus abstracted, at an enormous cost, from their income. The pensions, no inconsiderable items of their expenses, the salaries, the army and navy, are all unpaid, and all complain and clamor; and, at length, on some pretext or other, revolt against the government in the vain hope of being relieved. Whether the invasion of their territory will impart more wisdom to their councils and energy to their government, we know not. But if the people should take an active part in the contest, and the clergy be incited to oppose us, our forces ought to be well organized, well disciplined, and well supplied, to promise a successful result to our arms. During the struggle for independence it was remarked, that the frequent failure of the insurgents was occasioned by the necessity they were under to subsist their armies on the country they sought to liberate. Owing, in some measure, to the bad roads and absence of other means of transportation, little more is produced, in most of the districts, than the wants of the inhabitants require; and the attempt to take from them that little, would rouse them to desperate resistance. All outrages upon the church, &c., must be avoided; for if the clergy are forced to regard their influence or their property to be in danger, they will exert the one to inflame the minds of the people against us, and give a portion of the other to supply the government with the means of carrying on the war, as they can very well afford to do. The great influence exercised by the priesthood over the affairs of Mexico may be inferred from the fact, that all the great revolutions that country has undergone, during the present century, have been their work. Hidalgo and his co-laborers were priests, and the successful movement that resulted in the separation of Mexico from Spain was instigated by them, in order to preserve their estates, which would have been forfeited if the decrees of the Cortes of Spain had been carried into effect in their American dependencies. They afterwards dreaded the ultimate effect of free institutions, and aided to overthrow the federal republic, and to erect upon its ruins a central government, which, if it be allowed to subsist any length of time by the Mexican people, must terminate in monarchy. We mean despotic monarchy. We are aware that many entertain the opinion that this is the only form of government suited to restrain the turbulent character of this people. We do not coincide with this opinion, but believe, that with more experience and better education, the people will gradually comprehend the workings and benefits of free government, and become tranquil. This can only happen, however, under a federal system. A central government, under whatever denomination it may exist, will be a tyranny; and if the states should separate, an event by no means

improbable, there is too much reason to fear they will be involved in continual disputes and war with each other, and become, each in its turn, subject to military despotism. From all these evils their sister republic might have saved them, not by force, but by advice and persuasion; for a very large majority of the Mexicans are inclined to look up to us as their example; and it is certain that the contemplation of our success cheered them on their rugged path to freedom. The monarchists, the aristocracy, and the clergy, became early aware of this feeling among the people, and, aided by the Europeans in Mexico, succeeded in driving from the country the first envoy sent there by our government, who, it was supposed, exercised an influence adverse to their views; and now the same parties have provoked a war with the United States, which must result in the further alienation of the two republics. We shall for ever regret that this government has permitted them to succeed in their nefarious designs. We venture to predict, however, that their triumph will be ephemeral. Let the final result of this war be what it may, let the monarchists and the military succeed in establishing a central despotism and a kingly throne in Mexico, such a government will not long subsist where the people are as deeply imbued with the spirit of liberty as the Mexicans are. They will rise in their might and shake off so disgraceful a yoke; and in our opinion the only circumstance likely to retard this event, would be the premature intervention of this government. It is not our province, nor is it our intention, to indicate the steps by which these United States might acquire sway over the republics of the new world; but we are persuaded they might, by judicious management, exercise a beneficial moral influence over their councils and conduct, equally advantageous to both parties.

So many misrepresentations have appeared in print, injurious to the character of the leaders of the republican party there, that we cannot forbear giving an account of the occurrences as they really took place. We attach no blame to the European authors who have recorded the events of the several revolutionary movements in Mexico. They received their information from men prejudiced against the party of the people, and with feelings warmly enlisted in favor of the aristocracy. Their statements furnish another striking proof of the difficulty of writing contemporaneous history.

The feeble attempts which were made to render Mexico independent of Spain, from the year 1810 to 1821, were chiefly the work of the parish priests, aided by the Indian population. Not one of the nobles, and very few of the gentry, took part with the insurgents. It is true that the revolution was ultimately effected by them; but they were actuated by

very different motives from those which had animated the people in their first efforts to shake off the yoke of the mother country. The new constitution of Spain was so liberal as to be offensive to their pride. The Europeans saw, with jealousy, that the Creoles would be intrusted with power; and the clergy with dread that the decrees of the Spanish Cortes would deprive them of their vast possessions, and reduce them to poverty. They speedily determined on a separation, and found a fitting agent to carry out their plans in Don Augustin Iturbide, who possessed great influence with the army, and had hitherto been an active, zealous, and cruel persecutor of the Mexican insurgents. The separation from Spain was declared, and the "plan of Iguala" promulgated; the principal object of this scheme was to establish a Bourbon Prince of Spain on the throne of Mexico. A vast number of the Creoles, and of the people generally, were opposed to the plan of Iguala. They were unwilling to receive a prince of Spain, or to sanction the adoption of a monarchical government. They were without organization, however, and compelled to submit to the *Bourbonistas*, as the ruling party was then styled. In this state of affairs, the new Captain-general, O'Donoju, arrived at Vera Cruz, to take command of the country under the new constitution. He soon saw the futility of resisting the march of the revolution, entered into a negotiation with Iturbide, on the basis of the plan of Iguala, and evacuated the country with the Spanish troops that had formed the garrison of Mexico. So far, the party were successful, but their intentions were frustrated by the ambition of the chief they had selected to carry them into effect. Iturbide managed to have himself proclaimed emperor by the army, dissolved the Congress, and imprisoned his former friends, the chief *Bourbonistas*. His career of extravagance and misrule was brief, and we hesitate not to predict that a similar fate awaits any one who shall have the folly to make a similar attempt. After a sharp contest between the *Bourbonistas* and the *Republicans*, the latter succeeded in establishing a federal government, very nearly resembling that of the United States. When this was resolved on, the former made an effort to elect one of their number president. The election of the people, however, elevated General Guadalupe Victoria to the presidency of the new Republic, and General Bravo became vice-president and leader of the opposition, which was promptly formed against the administration. Matters went on smoothly enough until the republican party began to gain the ascendancy in Congress, when one Montaño made a silly attempt to disturb the government at Otumba, in 1827. His declaration was only remarkable for containing a denunciation of the Minister of the

United States, and a peremptory demand that he should be expelled from Mexico. His example was followed by Colonel Rivero. Both these insurrectionary movements were put down by a proclamation, declaring them treasonable. But to the surprise of every one, a very few months after this event, General Bravo retired to Zulancingo, with a small body of discontents, from whence he issued a manifesto, declaring himself in favor of the plan of Montaño. We never shall forget the exultation of the *Bourbonistas*, the Europeans, the priests, and all those who had hitherto appeared in the character of advocates of order and moderation, when this movement became public. They already believed themselves triumphant, and ruling again in Mexico. They were destined, however, again to be disappointed. By order of government, General Guerrero marched upon Zulancingo; and Bravo, although at the head of a considerable force, surrendered without any serious opposition. He was brought to trial before the Congress of the Mexican United States, found guilty of treasonable designs, and banished the country for a period of seven years.

But the great struggle between the two contending parties that divided the nation, was made upon the election of a successor to President Victoria. Guerrero was the candidate of the republicans, and Gomez Pedraza of their opponents. The latter was Secretary of War in Victoria's cabinet. General Guerrero had distinguished himself in the wars of the revolution, as an active and brave partisan leader. He was, however, a weak man, and totally unfit for the station. Pedraza, his antagonist, on the contrary, was a man of education; he began his career in the service of Spain, under the viceroys, taking an active part against the Mexican patriots; was sent deputy to the Cortes of Spain; and, on his return, became one of Iturbide's ministers, and subsequently a leader of the *escorceses*, or *Bourbon* party, which contributed so essentially to the overthrow of the emperor. On the first outbreak against the administration, he took part in its favor, and was furiously abused by his former friends. They became reconciled to him, however, when they selected him, as it were, a fit instrument of their designs, and resolved to run him in opposition to Guerrero. Although he had very frequently and openly declared that he would never again hold communion with men who had sought, by the basest means, to destroy the liberties of their country, he did not long hesitate to yield to their solicitations. This party could not have made a better selection. Pedraza had partisans among the *Iturbidistas*, and even with the republicans, and was supported by the whole strength of the *Bourbon* faction. He was, moreover, Secretary of War, and showed himself not over-

scrupulous in using the power that station placed in his hands, to further his views. Officers, whose adherence was doubtful, were dismissed; and to all the states military commandants were sent, to exert their power and influence to favor the election of their chief. There is good reason to believe, likewise, that the wealth of his rich partisans was used to obtain the same end. Notwithstanding all these abuses, Gomez Pedraza was elected President by a majority of only *two votes*. It is very probable, that if the power thus iniquitously acquired had been used with moderation, it would have been preserved without a struggle; but the senate and the supreme court, both bodies created during the reign of the Bourbon party, and both violently opposed to the republicans, commenced at once a series of persecutions against such of their opponents whose talents, liberal principles, or extensive popularity, excited their jealousy, or gave cause of alarm. Several governors of the states of the confederation were impeached on anonymous charges, suspended from their offices, and a design manifested to bring them to condign punishment. One especially, Don Lorenzo Zavala, at that time governor of the state of Mexico, was the chief object of their animosity. He was charged falsely, as we have reason to know, with treasonable practices, and a party of soldiers was dispatched to the capital of the state, St. Augustin de los Cuevas, where he resided, to arrest him. The first intimation he had of being accused, was the order for his arrest, delivered to him by an officer of cavalry, who was accompanied by an escort of soldiers to convey him to prison; a prison which, it was afterwards ascertained, had been fitted up with every precaution to prevent escape, and from which he would probably have been sent to the scaffold. That the governor of a free and independent state, containing nearly a million of people, should be arrested without any other preliminary proceedings, upon the simple order of the executive, is calculated to excite the indignation of every freeman; and yet how is this occurrence narrated by English historians? Speaking of the defection of Santa Anna, who, on being deprived of the office of governor of Vera Cruz, appeared in arms, and declared against the election of Pedraza, as having been effected by fraud and violence, and in favor of General Guerrero, they say:

"In the capital some of the Yorkinos, and among others one of the chief leaders, Zavala, governor of the state of Mexico, evinced a disposition to make common cause with Santa Anna; and Zavala, upon his being denounced to the Congress as a correspondent of that general, confirmed the accusation by flight."

Zavala was not apprised that such an accusation had been preferred against him; he saw

only the order for his arrest, and the soldiers sent to conduct him to prison. He knew the character of his persecutors, and the little prospect he had of obtaining justice at their hands. He foresaw a long imprisonment, to be terminated, too probably, by a violent death, and he fled. He was more disposed to sustain the government than to take part with that chief against Santa Anna, for there was no sympathy between them; but he was driven to rebellion against it by the unjust and tyrannical conduct of his enemies. He would have submitted to the elevation of Pedraza to the presidency, notwithstanding he was an eye-witness to the unjustifiable means used to obtain that election; but he was an object of hatred to the party in power, because he had uniformly, and with great ability and great force of eloquence, supported the federal party and advocated republican principles. These unjust and violent exhibitions of animosity against the best patriots and most deserving men in the country, roused the people to resistance, and produced the catastrophe which drove Pedraza from the country, and placed General Guerrero in the presidential chair. Santa Anna was compelled to retire before the national army, commanded by General Calderon, to the city of Oaxaca, where, after a protracted siege and desperate resistance, he was forced to surrender. He was saved from destruction only by the successful revolution in the capital of the 4th of December; a revolution, we repeat, entirely brought about by the violence and injustice of the reigning faction. We would not be understood as including President Victoria in this charge; he deserved the high encomium pronounced upon him by General Thompson, in the work before us. He was truly a man of inflexible virtue and transcendent patriotism; but his virtues were those of endurance rather than of active usefulness. He was uninformed, and therefore dependent upon his ministers, and above all, very indolent; so that, after the election of Pedraza, he suffered him to direct all the measures of the government until his overthrow and flight, when he reposed the same trust in Guerrero.

The outrageous conduct of the friends of Pedraza brought on the crisis, and it was considered most advisable by the leaders of the opposition to effect the revolution in the capital itself, and, if possible, before the arrival of the armed bands that were known to be on their march from the coast of the Pacific, whose excesses they dreaded. Accordingly, on the night of the 30th of November, 1828, the *acordada*, a large edifice at the entrance of the city, then used as artillery barracks, was seized by the ex-marquis of Cadena, at the head of a battalion of militia. The next morning they were joined by Gen. Lobato, who assumed the command, Zavala

and others, who had been persecuted and outlawed; "and," says the author we have before quoted, "by a multitude of leperos, who were promised the pillage of the capital as a reward for their services." This is not only untrue, but improbable: these leperos resemble the lazzaroni of Naples, unarmed and unaccustomed to the use of arms; what services could such men render? The insurgent forces increased every hour, by the junction of the militia from the neighborhood, and by desertion from the army. Guerrero was proclaimed, and at that period his name would have assembled a host. He visited the *acordada*, and then retired to a distance of three leagues from the city, waiting the result of events, but taking no part in the contest. The city was beleaguered; and although the government made a feeble defense, and must have been conscious of its utter inability to repel an assault, it obstinately refused to accept the terms which were repeatedly and urgently pressed upon it, in order to preserve the inhabitants from the excesses to be apprehended from a body of armed men, hastily collected together, without order or discipline, forcibly entering the city. They continued to resist, after their outposts had been driven in and the defenses destroyed, and until the insurgents entered the principal square; when the soldiers drawn up in front of the palace to defend its entrance, threw down their arms and joined the plunderers, who did not spread themselves like a torrent over the city, as is stated, but concentrated their attack upon the Parian, a wooden structure erected in one corner of the square, containing the retail shops principally owned by Spaniards—an extensive bazaar—which they sacked. Order was restored in the course of two or three hours, and an attempt to renew the plunder on the following morning was promptly put down by the energy of the leaders, who ordered out a battalion of light artillery to disperse the mob. Only one citizen lost his life—the Count del Balle—on whose house-top troops had been stationed to fire upon the besiegers. The same column attacked the house of our minister, where several Spanish merchants had taken refuge, but ceased their hostilities upon his displaying the flag of his country. Pedraza had fled from the city, resigned his rights and pretensions to the presidency, and Guerrero was declared the successor of Victoria by the Congress of Mexico. No opposition was made to this change; all the states gave in their adherence to it; the republicans were released from the prisons in which they had been confined by their opponents, and the satisfaction of the people appeared complete. To add to Guerrero's popularity, a Spanish force under General Barradas, which had landed at Tampico with the avowed intention of subduing Mexico, had at this time been vanquished,

and forced to lay down their arms, by General Santa Anna. Every thing combined to render his term of office prosperous; but unfortunately for himself, if not for the country, he was a very vain as well as weak man, and suffered his former enemies and opponents to approach and counsel him. He was flattered by the notice of men of their rank and distinction, and received them into his confidence, gradually putting away all his old partisans and tried friends.

When the way was thus cleared, General Anastasio Bustamente, who had been chosen vice-president, gave the signal of revolt by putting himself at the head of the forces stationed in the state of Vera Cruz. From thence he issued his proclamation, setting forth the abuses and usurpations of Guerrero, and declaring his intention of wresting the government from him. The revolutionary president looked in vain for counsel and successor in this emergency. He had dismissed his republican friends and counsellors, and the persons who had brought him into these difficulties, left him to extricate himself as best he might. He became alarmed at the idea of being besieged in the palace; and under the pretext of placing himself at the head of the troops and marching against Bustamente, he left the capital and retired to his old haunts in the south. Here he was pursued by the relentless animosity of his enemies, and at length captured by a most contemptible stratagem and executed as a *traitor*, by order of government. A more disgraceful outrage never was perpetrated; but as the perpetrators were Bourbonistas, the friends of law and order, so called, the English historians have thought proper to pass it over in silence.

Guerrero, as we have seen, was a very weak man, but he was humane, generous, and brave, and had served his country during her struggle for independence, faithfully and gallantly. He was covered with wounds received in battles with the royalists, and merited a better fate. He had no sooner left the capital than his late friends and advisers seized upon the reins of government. Bustamente was declared his successor, and the administration went blundering on amid the universal disaffection and dissatisfaction of the people, until General Santa Anna availed himself of this public sentiment to place himself in an attitude of hostility to Bustamente, and to *pronounce* against the existing order of things, that is, to issue his proclamation containing his plan or declaration of views and intentions. This plan was so thoroughly democratic that even the Texans gave in their adherence to it, and the other states following this example, Bustamente was driven forth an exile, and Santa Anna assumed the reins of government. He held them with a firm hand, and being instigated, aided, and

upheld by the anti-republican party, he dismissed the Congress, which thwarted his projects, exiled that stern republican, Gomez Farias, who had been made vice-president, and finally succeeded in converting the federal republic into a central government, the whole power of which he usurped. He was dictator with extraordinary powers—in short, an autocrat. The states, by a stroke of his pen, were converted into departments, and their legislatures into a council of five. Some of the northern states revolted against this monstrous abuse of power; among these were Zacatecas and Texas. The former was put down by the strong arm, and the latter achieved its independence. We perceive that all other right on the part of Texas than that of revolution, is denied by trans-Atlantic writers. They say: "If the people of Mexico preferred a different form of government to that established in 1824, they had the right to effect this change, because it is generally admitted that in a republic the majority must govern." Now, in the first place, it is universally known that this change was effected by the military power, and manifestly against the will of the majority of the people; and in the next, that the federal constitution, copied almost *verbatim et literatim* from ours, professed to consider and treat the states confederated together by this act as sovereign and independent states, which, like our own, would be set free by a dissolution of the federal union. But it is useless to discuss this question now. The right of revolution is nowhere denied them. Their appeal to arms was successful, and Texas has transferred her allegiance and her territory to the United States of America, which we think she had an undeniable right to do.

But to return to Mexico. Santa Anna's defeat and capture at San Jacinto changed the actors on the stage of public affairs there, but did not vary the scene. Bustamante was restored to the chief magistracy after a brief space of time, and the government continued to suffer all the disorders incidental to an empty treasury and a disorderly soldiery, until Santa Anna was again called from his retirement by the voice of the army, and of his friends and allies, the Catholic clergy. On his return from his unfortunate campaign in Texas, he was regarded by his countrymen with distrust. They believed that he had bargained away Texas for life and liberty, and were moreover mortified by his failure to reduce that rebel state. The revolutionary movement of General Mexia first drew him from his retirement. He solicited and obtained the command of the troops sent to quell this insurrection. The contending forces met near the city of Puebla. The patriots were defeated, and Mexia fell into the hands of his former

friend and comrade in arms, and was shot by his order on the instant.

General Thompson appears to have been seduced, like many others, by the gallant bearing and social qualities of General Santa Anna, into an esteem for his person. He was besides deeply grateful to him for releasing, at his solicitation, many of his unfortunate fellow-citizens who were held in chains in Mexico and Perote—an act, by the way, unworthy a Christian despot, and unparalleled except in Barbary and Borneo. For ourselves, we confess that his whole course has impressed us with the opinion that he is an ambitious, unscrupulous, corrupt, and cruel man, with no redeeming qualities but courage and activity. If the violation of faith, and the murder of the gallant Colonel Fanning and his brave followers, are susceptible of any palliation, which we do not admit, what can be said in justification of the dreadful massacre of his unfortunate countrymen at Zacatecas? But the whole tenor of his conduct as a public man is so generally well known, that we leave him to the judgment of an impartial public.

The only insurrectionary movement in Mexico since 1822, in which General Santa Anna did not take the lead or a very prominent part, was that of Urrea in favor of the federal constitution in 1840, and which was suppressed by the active measures of General Valencia, although President Bustamante was at one time a prisoner in the hands of the insurgents. The following year a combined movement of Paredes at Guadalajara, of Valencia and Lombardini in the capital, and of Santa Anna at Vera Cruz, in August, 1841, overthrew Bustamante after a sanguinary conflict in the streets of Mexico, and again changed the form of government. Santa Anna had recovered his popularity with the army by the part he took in repelling the attacks of the French upon Vera Cruz. As soon as the blockade was established he repaired to the port, and was placed in command of the troops. His presence and activity restored confidence to the garrison, and the enemy were driven back in their attempts to land. On one occasion, while following the French in their retreat to their boats, Santa Anna had his leg shattered by a cannon ball, an event that at once re-established his influence throughout the empire. The downfall of Bustamante was followed by the elevation of this daring chieftain. As was customary with him, he proclaimed his entire submission to the will of the people and of the Congress, merely indicating his preference of a central government strong enough to maintain the peace of the country; but upon Congress exhibiting too great a leaning toward free institutions, he dissolved that body and convened a junta of *Notables*, which framed the "Bases of poli-

tical organization of the Mexican Republic." Strange notions they must have entertained of a republican government! The chief basis of this anomalous fabric is the creation of a president for the term of five years, with power to declare war or make peace, to fine those who disobeyed his orders, to visit the tribunals of justice, reform abuses therein, seeing that a due preference was given to causes which concerned the public weal.

The Bases of the new Government, as its provisions were properly called, for it bore no resemblance to a constitution, provided for a House of Representatives and Senate, to be chosen by a privileged class of electors, an Executive Council and *perpetual Court Martial*, the members of both these bodies to be appointed by the President. This despotic ruler was to be elected every fifth year by the departments which were represented by assemblies of not more than eleven nor less than seven members. He was re-eligible without restriction. On these bases stood Santa Anna, and for a longer period than was usual in that turbulent country administered the government with great firmness, "would we could say with justice! The difficulties he had to contend against were numerous and formidable. Among them were, first, a numerous army always inclined to mutiny, who, together with a large band of rapacious civil officers, had to be quieted and paid without a dollar being in the treasury, without the existence of any well-digested system of finance to replenish it; next, his own corrupt nature and that of the favorites who surrounded him; and lastly, the disaffection of a large body of the people, who disliked, and distrusted, and dreaded him. The discontent broke out into open revolt in 1845. and Santa Anna was hurled from the elevation he had usurped by, as it appeared, one universal burst of popular indignation. He was abandoned by all his former adherents, hunted down and arrested by the peasantry, and confined, by order of government, in the castle of Perote. After some not very creditable passages between the Congress and the fallen chief, he was permitted to leave the country with his ill-gotten wealth.

He was succeeded by General Herrera, who was placed at the head of the successful movement against him, and who continued to struggle with the difficulties of his station until the army, habituated to seek payment of their arrears, and to redress real or fancied grievances, by overthrowing one government, setting up another, availing itself of the discontent of the people occasioned by the President's supposed disposition to renew the diplomatic intercourse with the United States, marched upon the capital, under General Paredes, and effected another change of government, or rather of rulers; for it must be evident, from all we have said, that

since the destruction of the constitution of 1824, Mexico has been subject to a military despotism.

MEXICAN MINES AND MINERAL RESOURCES IN 1850.—THE MINES OF MEXICO—MEXICO UNDER THE COLONIAL SYSTEM.—It is generally supposed that the mineral wealth of America was one of the most powerful stimulants of Spanish conquest and emigration; nor is the idea erroneous, if we recollect the manner in which the Castilian power was founded on this continent, and the colonial policy it originated. It will be seen by the tables annexed to this article, that the results have largely fulfilled the hopes of European adventurers, and that the wealth of the world has been immensely augmented and sustained by the discovery of the New World.

In the order of the earth's gradual development under the intellectual enterprise or bodily labor of man, we find the most beautiful system of accommodation to the growing wants or capacities of our race. Space is required for the crowded population of the Old World, and a new continent is suddenly opened, in which the cramped and burdened millions may find room for industry and independent existence. The political institutions of Europe decay in consequence of the encroachments of power, the social degradation of large masses by unjust or unwise systems, or the enforced operation of oppressive laws; and a virgin country is forthwith assigned to man, in which the principle of self-government may be tried, without the necessity of casting off by violence the old fetters of feudalism. The increasing industry or invention of the largely augmented population of the earth, exacts either a larger amount or a new standard of value for the precious metals, and regions are discovered among the frosts and forests of a far off continent, in which the fable of the golden sands of Pactolus is realized. The labor of man and the flight of time strip commercial countries of their trees; yet, in order to support the required supply of fuel, not only for the comfort and preservation, but also for the industry of the race, the heart of the earth, beneath the soil which is required for cultivation, is found to be veined with inexhaustible supplies of mineral coal!

The bounty and the protective forethought of God for his creatures is not only intimated but proved by these benevolent storehouses of treasure, comfort, and freedom; and whilst we acknowledge them with proper gratitude, we should not forget that their acquirement and enduring possession are only to be paid for by labor, thrift, and social as well as political forbearance.

We do not think these observations out of

place in an article devoted to the mineral wealth of Mexico. The subject of property and its representative metals should be approached in a reflective and Christian spirit, in an age in which the political and personal misery of the over-crowded masses of Europe are forcing them to regard all who are better provided for, or more fortunate by thrift, or the accident of both, as enemies to the poor. The demagogue leaders of these wretched classes, pushing the principle of just equalization to a ridiculous and hideous extreme, have not hesitated to declare in France, since the revolution of February, 1848, that "property is robbery."* We shall not pause to examine or refute this false dogma of a dangerous incendiary. The common sense, as well as the common feeling of mankind, revolts at it. Property, as the world is constituted by God, is the *source* of new industry, because it is, under the laws of all civilized nations, the *original result* of industry. "*It makes the meat it feeds on.*" Without it there would be no duty of labor, no exercise of human ingenuity or talent, no responsibility, no reward. The mind and body would stagnate under such a monstrous contradiction of all our physical and intellectual laws. The race would degenerate into its former savage condition, and force, instead of its antagonists, industry and honest competition, would usurp the dominion of the world, and end this vicious circle of bastard civilization.

And yet it is the duty of an American—who, from his superior position, both in regard to space in which he can find employment, and equal political laws by which that employment is protected, stands on a vantage ground above the confined and badly governed masses of Europe—to regard the present position of the European masses not only with humane compassion, but to sympathize with that natural feeling which revolts against a state of society which it seems impossible to ameliorate, and yet whose wants or luxuries do not afford them support. It is hard to suffer hunger, and to see our dependents die of starvation, when we are both able and willing to work for wages, but can obtain no work upon which to exercise our ingenuity or our hands. It is frightful to reflect, says Mr. Carlyle, in one of his admirable essays, that there is hardly an English horse in a condition to labor for his owner, that is deprived of food and lodging, whilst thousands of human beings rise daily from the obscure and comfortless dens in the British isles, who do not know how they shall obtain employment for the day, by which they may purchase a meal.

To this dismal account of European suffering, the condition of the American conti-

nent affords the best reply. The answer and the remedy are both displayed in the social and political institutions, as well as in the boundless, unoccupied, and prolific tracts of our country. Labor cries out for work and recompense from the Old World, whilst the New displays her soil, her mines, her commerce and her trades, as the best *alms* that one nation can bestow on another, because they come direct from God, and are the reward of meritorious *industry*. Before such a tribunal the modern demagogues of continental Europe shrink into insignificance, and the laws of labor are effectually vindicated.

The mines of Mexico have been wrought from the earliest periods. Long before the advent of the Spaniards, the natives of Mexico, like those of Peru, were acquainted with the use of metals. Nor were they contented with such specimens as they found scattered at random on the surface of the earth or in the ravines of mountain torrents, but had already learned to dig shafts, pierce galleries, form needful implements, and trace the metallic veins in the hearts of mountains. We know that they possessed gold, silver, lead, tin, copper, and cinnabar. Beautiful samples of jewelry were wrought by them, and gold and silver vases, constructed in Mexico, were sent to Spain by the conquerors, as testimonials of the mineral wealth of the country. The dependent tribes paid their tributes to the sovereign in a species of metallic currency, which, though not stamped by royal order, was yet the representative of a standard value. The exact position of all the mines from which these treasures were derived by the Aztecs, is not certainly known at the present day; but, as the natives were often compelled to indicate some of the sources of their riches to the conquerors, there is little doubt that the present mineral district of the republic is that from which they procured their chief supplies.

The mines of Mexico may be classed in eight groups, nearly all of which are placed on the top, or on the western slope of the great *Cordillera*. The *first* of these groups has been the most productive, and embraces the districts contiguous to Guanajuato, San Luis Potosi, Charcas, Catoree, Zacatecas, Asientos de Ybarra, Fresnillo, and Sombrerete.

The *second* comprises the mines situated west of the city of Durango, as well as those in Sinaboa, for the labors of engineers have brought them so close to each other by their works, that they should be united in the same geological division.

The *third* group is the northernmost in Mexico, and is that which embraces the mines of Chihuahua and Cosguiriachi. It extends from the 27th to the 29th degree of north latitude.

* "*La propriété, c'est le vol.*"—Prudhon.

The *fourth* and *fifth* clusters are found north-east of Mexico, and are formed by the mines of Real del Morte, or Pachuca, and Zimapan, or El Doctor. Bolanos, in Guadaluajara, and Tasco, in Oajaca, are the central points of the *sixth*, *seventh*, and *eighth*.*

The reader who will cast his eye over the map of Mexico, will at once perceive that the geographical space covered by this metaliferous region is small, when compared with the extent of the whole country. The eight groups into which the mining districts are divided, occupy a space of twelve thousand square leagues, or one tenth only of the whole extent of the Mexican republic, as it existed previous to the treaty of 1848, and before the mineral wealth of California, and probably of New-Mexico, was known to the world. But as that treaty confirmed and ceded to the United States more than one half of the ancient territory of Mexico, we may estimate the mining region as covering fully one fifth of the remainder.

Before the discovery and conquest of the West Indies and the American continent, Europe had looked to the East for her chief supplies of treasure. America was discovered by Columbus, not, as was so long imagined, because he foresaw the existence of another continent, but because he sought a shorter route to the rich and golden Zipangon, and to the spice regions of eastern Asia. Columbus and Vespucci both died believing that they had reached eastern Asia, and thus a geographical mistake led to the greatest discovery that has ever been made. In proof of these assertions, we may state that Columbus designed delivering at *Cuba* the missives of the Spanish king to the great Khan of the Mongols, and that he imagined himself in Mangi, the capital of the southern region of Cathay or China! "The island of Hispaniola," (Hayti,) he declares to Pope Alexander VI., in a letter found in the archives of the Duke of Varaguas, "is Tarshish, Ophir, and Zipangon. In my second voyage I have discovered fourteen hundred islands, and a shore of three hundred and thirty-three miles, belonging to the continent of Asia." This *West Indian* Zipangon produced golden fragments, or spangles, weighing eight, ten, and even twenty pounds.†

Before the discovery of the *silver* mines of Tasco, on the western slope of the Mexican Cordilleras, in the year 1522, America supplied only *gold* to the Old World; and consequently, Isabella of Castile was obliged, already in 1497, to modify greatly the relative value of the two precious metals used for currency. This was, doubtless, the origin

of the edict of Medina, which changed the old legal ratio of 1 : 10.7; yet Humboldt has shown that, from 1492 to 1500, the quantity of gold drawn from the parts of the New World then known did not amount, annually, to more than about one thousand pounds avoirdupois; and the Pope, Alexander VI., who by his famous bull bestowed one half the earth upon the Spanish kings, only received, in return, from Ferdinand the Catholic, some small fragments of gold from Hayti, to gild a portion of the dome of the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore—a gift that was suitably acknowledged in a Latin inscription, in which the offering is set forth as the first that had been received by the Catholic sovereigns from India.

Although the income of treasure must have increased somewhat, yet the working of the American mines did not yield three millions of dollars yearly, until 1545. The ransom of Atahualpa amounted, according to Gomara, to about 425,000 dollars of our standard, or 52,000 marks of silver; whilst the pillage of the temples at Cuzco, if Herrera is to be credited, did not produce more than 25,700 marks, or a little more than a quarter of a million of our currency.*

It has been generally imagined, that the wealth of the New World immediately and largely enriched the Spanish kings, or their people, and that the sovereigns under whose auspices the discovery was made participated at once in the treasures that were found in the possession of the Indian rulers. Such, however, was not the case. The historian, Ranke, in his essay on the Spanish finances, has shown, by new documents and official vouchers, the small quantity of the precious metals which the American mines, and the supposed treasures of the Incas, yielded.† It is probable that the conquerors did not make exact returns to the court of their acquisitions, or that the revenue officers appointed at an early period of American history were not remarkable for the fidelity with which they transmitted the sums that came into their possession as servants of the crown, and thus it happened that neither the king of Spain nor his kingdom was speedily enriched by the New World. Baron Humboldt, in one of his late publications, gives an interesting extract from a letter written by a friend of Ferdinand the Catholic, a few days after his death, which exhibits the finances of that king in a different light from that in which they have been hitherto viewed. In an epistle to the bishop of Tuy, Peter Martyn says, that this "lord of many realms—this wear-

* Humboldt's *Essai Politique*, book iv., chap. ii. Paris, 1811.

† See Humboldt's essay on the production of gold and silver, in the *Journal des Economistes* for March, April, and May, 1838.

* See Humboldt's essay on Precious Metals, *ut ante*, in note, in the American translation, given in volume 3d of the *Banker's Magazine*, page 509.

† See Ranke, *Fursten und Volker*, vol. 1, pages 347, 355.

er of so many laurels—this diffuser of the Christian faith, and vanquisher of its enemies—died *poor*, in a rustic hut. While he lived, no one imagined that after his death it would be discovered that he possessed scarcely money enough either to defray the ceremony of his sepulture, or to furnish his few retainers with suitable mourning!"*

The adventurers in America were, doubtless, enriched, and duly reported their gains to friends at home; but Spain itself was not improved by their acquisitions.

The rise in the prices of grain and other products of agriculture or human industry, about the middle of the sixteenth century, and especially from 1570 to 1595, indicates the true beginning of the plentiful flow of the precious metals to the Old World, in consequence of which their value diminished, and the results of European industry increased in price. This is accounted for by the commencement of the beneficial working of the American mines about that period. The real opening of the mines of Potosi, by the Spanish conquerors, dates from the year 1545; and it was between this epoch and 1595, that the splendid masses of silver from Tasco, Zacatecas, and Pachuca, in New-Spain, and from Potosi, Porco, and Oruro, in the chain of Peruvian Andes, began to be distributed more uniformly over Europe, and to affect the price of its productions. From the period of the administration of Cortez to the year 1552, when the celebrated mines of Zacatecas were just opened, the export from Mexico rarely reached annually in value 100,000 pesos de oro, or nearly \$1,165,000. But from that date it rose rapidly, and in the years 1569, 1578, and 1587, it was already, respectively, 931,564, 1,111,202, and 1,812,051 pesos de oro.†

During the last peaceful epoch of the Spanish domination, Baron Humboldt calculates the annual yield of the mines of Mexico at not more than 23,000,000 of dollars, or nearly 1,184,000 pounds avoirdupois of silver, and 3,500 pounds avoirdupois of gold. From 1690 to 1803, \$1,330,772,093 were coined in the only mint of Mexico; while, from the

discovery of New Spain until its independence, about \$2,028,000,000, or two fifths of all the precious metals which the whole of the New World has supplied during the same period, were furnished by Mexico alone.* It appears, from these data, that the exhaustion of the mines of Mexico is contradicted by the geognostic facts of the country, and, as we shall hereafter show, by the recent issues of Mexican mints. The mint of Zacatecas alone, during the revolutionary epoch from 1811 to 1833, struck more than \$66,332,766; and in the eleven last years of this period from four to five millions of dollars were coined by it every year uninterruptedly.

The general metallic production of the country, which was of course impeded by the revolutionary state of New Spain between 1809 and 1826, has arisen refreshed from its slumber, so that, according to the last accounts, it has ascended to perhaps twenty millions annually in total production, in consequence of the prolific yield of the workings at Fresnillo, Chihuahua, and Sonora, independent of the abundant production at Zacatecas.†

The Mexican mines were eagerly and even madly seized by the English, and even by the people of the United States, as objects of splendid speculation, as soon as the country became settled; but, in consequence of bad management, or the wild spirit of gambling, which assumed the place of prudent commercial enterprise, the holders of stock were either disappointed or sometimes ruined. Subsequently, however, the proprietors have learned that prudence and the experience of old Mexican miners were better than the theoretical principles upon which they designed producing larger revenues than had ever been attained by the original Spanish workmen. Their imported modern machinery and engines for voiding the shafts and galleries of water, are the chief beneficial improvements introduced since the revolution; but the enormous cost of transporting the heavy materials, in a country where there are no navigable rivers extending into the heart of the land, and where the usual mode of transportation is on the backs of mules, by wretched roads over mountains and through ravines, has often absorbed large portions of the original capital, before the proprietors even began to employ laborers to set up their foreign engines. Many of the first British and American adventurers or speculators have thus been ruined by unskilful enterprises in Mexican mines. Their successors, however, are beginning to reap the beneficial results of

* Pet. Mart. Epist., lib. xxix., No. 556, 23d January, 1516.

† The peso de oro is rated by Prescott at \$11 65, and by Ramirez at \$2.93. See M. Ternaux-Compans's Original Memoirs of the discovery of America (Conquest of Mexico, page 451.) Compans publishes in this, for the first time, an official list, sent between 1522 and 1587, by the viceroys of New Spain, to the mother country. The pesos of gold must be multiplied by a mean of \$11.65, in order to give their value in dollars. See Banker's Magazine, *ut antea*, page 594, in note. See Prescott's History of the Conquest of Mexico, vol. 1, page 320. Ramirez, in his notes on the Spanish translation of Prescott's History of the Conquest, rates the peso de oro at \$2.93. This result is reached by a long financial calculation and course of reasoning. See La Conquista de Mejico, vol. 2, at page 89 of the notes at the end of the volume.

* This is Humboldt's estimate in the essay cited in this section. We think it rather too large, yet give it upon such high authority. See our general table of Mexican coinage.

† It will be recollected, that all that is extracted from the mines is not coined.

this expenditure; and throughout the republic steam engines, together with the best kinds of hydraulic apparatus, have superseded the Spanish *malacates*.

"Whenever these superb countries, which are so greatly favored by nature," says Humboldt, in his essay on gold and silver in the *Journal des Economistes*, "shall enjoy perfect peace, after their deep and prolonged internal agitations, new metallic deposits will necessarily be opened and developed. In what region of the globe, except America, can be cited such abundant examples of wealth in silver? Let it not be forgotten that near Sombrerete, where mines were opened as far back as 1555, the family of Tagoaga (Marqueses de Apartado) derived, in the short space of *five months*, from a front of one hundred and two feet in the out-cropping of a silver mine, a net profit of \$4,000,000; while, in the mining district of Catorce, in the space of two years and a half, between 1781 and the end of 1783, an ecclesiastic named Juan Flores gained \$3,500,000 on ground full of chloride of silver and of *colorados*!"

One of the most flourishing establishments, in 1842, was the Zacatecano-Mejicano mining company of Fresnillo. Its one hundred and twenty shares, which originally cost \$22,800, were still held by Spaniards and Mexicans. These mines were originally wrought by the state of Zacatecas; but in 1836 Santa Anna took possession, by an alleged right of conquest, and rented them for twelve years to this successful company. In the first half year of 1841, they produced \$1,025,113, at a cost of \$761,800, or a clear profit of \$263,313.

Mexico, under the colonial system, with the immense product of her mines, and notwithstanding the richness of her soil for agricultural purposes, became almost entirely a silver producing country. The policy of Spain was, as we have already often stated, to be the workshop of the New World, while Mexico and Peru were the treasuries of the Old. The consequence of this was natural. Mexico, one of the finest agricultural and grazing lands in the world, but with no temptations to export her natural products, (for she had no markets for them elsewhere,) and no roads, canals, or rivers, to convey her products to seaports for shipment, even if she had possessed consumers in Europe, at once devoted herself to her mines, which were to her both wealth and the representatives of wealth. Her agriculture accordingly assumed the standard of the mere national home consumption, while the pastoral and horticultural interests followed the same law, except, perhaps, within late years in California, where a profitable trade was carried on by the missions in hides and tallow. From this restrictive law of exportation, we, of course, except vanilla, cochineal, and a few other minor articles.

The sources of the wealth of the principal

families of Mexico will consequently be found in her mines; and an interesting summary of this aristocracy is given by Mr. Ward, in his "Mexico in 1827," to prove the fact. The family of Regla, which possessed large estates in various parts of the country, purchased the whole of them with the proceeds of the mines of Real del Monte. The wealth of the Fagoagas was derived from the great Bonanza of the Pavellon at Sombrerete. The mines of Balanos founded the Vibancos. Valenciana, Ruhl, Perez-Galvez, and Otero, are all indebted for their possessions to the mines of Valenciana and Villalpando, at Guanajuato. The family of Sardaneta, formerly Marqueses de Rayas, took its rise from the mine of that name. Cata and Mellado enriched their original proprietor, Don Francesco Matias de Busto, Marquis of San Clemente. The three successive fortunes of the celebrated Laborde, of whom we shall speak hereafter, when we describe Cuernavaca, were derived from the canada which bore his name, at Talpajahua, and from the mines of Quebradilla and San Acasio, at Zacatecas. The beautiful estates of the Obregones, near Leon, were purchased with the revenues of La Purisima and Concepcion, at Catorce; as was also the estate of Malpasso, acquired by the Gordos from the products of La Luz. The Zanbranos, discoverers of Guarisamey, owned many of the finest properties in Durango; while Batopilas gave the Bustamentes the opportunity to purchase a title and to enjoy an immense unincumbered income.*

Nevertheless, some of the large fortunes of Mexico were made either by trade or the possession of vast agricultural and cattle estates, in sections of the country where there were either no mines, or where mining was unprofitable. The Agredas were enriched by commerce, while the descendants of Cortez, who received a royal grant of the valley of Oajaca, together with some Spanish merchants in Jalapa and Vera Cruz, derived the chief part of their fortunes from landed estates, cultivated carefully during the period when the Indians were under better agricultural subjection than at present.

Thus the mines and the mining districts, by aggregating a large laboring population in a country in which there were, until recently, but few manufactures, and in which the main body of the people engaged either in trades or in tending cattle, became the centres of some of the most active agricultural districts. "The most fertile portions of the table-land are the Baxio, which is immediately contiguous to Guanajuato, and comprises a portion of Valladolid, Guadalajara, Queretaro, and Guanajuato, the valley of Toluca, and the southern part of the state of Valladolid, which both supply the capital and the mining districts of

* Ward's Mexico in 1827, vol. ii., p. 151.

Tlalpujhuá, El Oro, Temascaltepec, and Angango; the plains of Pachuca and Appam, which extend on either side to the foot of the mountains upon which the mines of Real del Monte Chico are situated; Itzmiquilpan, which owes its existence to Zimapan; Aguas Calientes, by which the great mining town of Zacatecas is supplied; a considerable circle in the vicinity of Sombrerete and Fresnillo; the valley of Jaral and the plains about San Luis Potosí, which town, again, derives its name from the mines of the Cerro de San Pedro, about four leagues from the gates, the supposed superiority of which to the celebrated mines of Potosí, in Peru, gave rise to the appellation of Potosí. A little further north we find the district of Matehuala, now a thriving town with more than seven thousand inhabitants, created by the discovery of Catorce; while about the same time, in the latter part of the last century, Durango rose into importance from the impulse given to the surrounding country by the labors of Zambrano, at San Dimas and Guarisamey. Its population increased, in twelve years, from eight to twenty thousand, while whole streets and squares were added to its extent by the munificence of that fortunate miner. To the extreme north, Santa Eulalia gave rise to the town of Chihuahua; Batopilas and El Parral became each the centre of a little circle of cultivation; Jesus Maria produced a similar effect; Mapimi, Cuencame, and Inde, a little more to the southward, served to develop the natural fertility of the banks of the river Nazas; while in the low, hot regions of Sonora and Sinaloa, on the western coast, almost every place designated on the map as a town, was originally and generally is still a real or district for mines.*

Such is the case with a multitude of other mines which have formed the nuclei of population in Mexico. They created a market. The men who were at work in the vein required the labor of men on the surface for their support and maintenance. Nor was it food alone that these laborers demanded; all kinds of artisans were wanted, and consequently towns as well as farms grew up on every side. When these mining dependencies are once formed, as Baron Humboldt justly says, they often survive the mines that gave them birth, and turn to agricultural labors, for the supply of other districts, that industry which was formerly devoted solely to their own region.

Such are some of the internal advantages to be derived from mining in Mexico, especially when the mines are well and scientifically wrought, and when the miners are kept in proper order, well paid, and consequently enabled to purchase the best supplies in the neighboring markets. The mines are, in fact,

to Mexico what the manufacturing districts are to England and the United States; and they must be considered the great support of the national agricultural interests, until Mexico becomes a commercial power, and sends abroad other articles besides silver, cochineal, and vanilla; the two last of which may be regarded as her monopolies. The operation of this tempting character of *mines*, or of the money they create as well as circulate, is exhibited very remarkably in the rapidity with which the shores of California have been covered with towns, and filled with industrious population.

The tabular statement on the next page manifests the relative production, and improving or decreasing productiveness, of the several silver districts of Mexico during the comparatively pacific period of ten years antecedent to the war with the United States, which commenced in 1846. While that contest lasted, the agricultural and mineral interests and industry of the country of course suffered, and, consequently, it would be unfair to calculate the metallic yield of Mexico upon the basis of that epoch, or of the years immediately succeeding.

From the table it will be seen (omitting the fractions of dollars and of marks of silver) that the whole tax collected during these ten years, from 1835 to 1844, amounted to \$1,988,896 imposed on 15,911,194 marks of silver, the value of which was \$131,267,352; the mean yield of *tax* being \$198,889, and of *silver*, 1,591,119 in marks, which, estimated at the rate of eight dollars and a quarter per mark, amounts to \$13,126,734 annually.

Comparing the first and second periods of five years, we find a difference in the tax, in favor of the latter, of \$113,130, or 905,042 marks of silver; showing that, in the latter period, \$7,466,596 more were extracted from the Mexican mines than during the former.

If we adopt the decimal basis of calculation, the returns show, *approximately*, the following results:

In		pr. ct.
In Zacatecas	33 ² / ₃₂	
" Guanajuato	21 ¹² / ₃₂	"
" San Luis Potosí	7 ²² / ₃₂	"
" Pachuca	6 ³² / ₃₂	"
" Guadalajara	5 ⁴ / ₃₂	"
" Mexico	4 ²⁶ / ₃₂	"
" Durango	4 ¹⁸ / ₃₂	"
" Guadalupe y Calvo	3 ³² / ₃₂	"
" Chihuahua y J. Maria	4 ¹⁸ / ₃₂	"
" Rosario, Cosala, and Mazatlan.	2 ²⁶ / ₃₂	"
" Sombrerete	6 ³² / ₃₂	"
" Parral	1 ⁶ / ₃₂	"
" Zimapan	28	"
" Alamos	32	"
" Alamos	27	"
" Alamos	32	"
" Alamos	26	"
" Alamos	32	"
" Alamos	32	"

* Ward, *ut antea*.

In Oajaca	$\frac{1}{32}$ pr. ct.
" Tasco	$\frac{1}{32}$ " "

cious metals produced in Mexico, which were either clandestinely disposed of or used in the manufacture of articles of luxury.

These statements do not include the pre-

TABLE OF THE GOLD AND SILVER coined in the eight mints of the Mexican Republic, from 1st January, 1844, to 1st January, 1845, according to official reports:

Mints.	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
Chihuahua.....	\$61,632 00	\$290,000 00	\$331,632 00
Durango.....	27,508 00	213,362 30	240,870 30
Guadalajara.....	5,282 51	95,1032 63	955,315 34
Guadalupe y Calvo.....	95,004 00	338,124 00	433,128 00
Guanajuato.....	441,808 00	4,219,900 00	4,661,708 00
Mexico.....	36,172 00	1,688,156 48	1,724,328 48
San Luis Pot. sl.....	—	936,525 50	936,525 50
Zacatecas.....	—	4,429,833 40	4,429,833 40
Totals.....	\$667,406 51	\$13,065,454 71	\$13,732,861 40

COINAGE OF MEXICO, from 1535 to 1850, omitting fractions of a dollar:

Mints.	Silver.	Gold.	Copper.	Total.
1535 to 1690, in city of Mexico.....	\$620,000,000	\$31,000,000	\$ —	\$651,000,000
1690 to 1844, " ".....	1,606,225,922	88,597,827	5,323,765	1,700,147,514
1811 to 1844, Chihuahua.....	6,629,875	368,248	50,428	7,048,551
1811 to 1844, Durango.....	21,815,913	1,986,069	—	23,801,982
1812 to 1844, Guadalajara.....	17,840,720	364,629	61,217	18,266,566
1844, Guadalupe y Calvo.....	338,124	95,004	—	433,128
1812 to 1844, Guanajuato.....	50,998,241	4,370,700	—	55,368,941
1827 to 1844, San Luis Potosi.....	18,531,428	—	23,517	18,554,945
1810, 1811, and 1812, Sombrerete.....	1,561,249	—	—	1,561,249
1828, 1829, 1830, Tlalpam.....	959,116	203,544	—	1,162,660
1810 to 1844, Zacatecas.....	120,375,366	—	107,949	120,483,315
All the Mexican mints, from the end of 1844 to the end of 1849, at the rate of \$14.0 0,000 per ann., which was the approximate total coinage in 1844.†	—	—	—	70,000,000
Totals.....	\$2,465,275,954	\$126,986,021	\$5,566,876	\$2,667,828,851

RESUME.

Silver Coinage from 1535 to 1844, inclusive.....	\$2,465,275,954
Gold " " " ".....	126,986,021
Copper " 1811 to 1844 " ".....	5,566,876
General " 1845 to 1849, both inclusive.....	70,000,000

Total Coinage of Mexico to the present time, or in 314 years..... \$2,667,828,851

Or, avoiding fractions, nearly \$8,500,000 yearly.

TABLE EXHIBITING THE PLACES AND THE AMOUNT OF TAX COLLECTED AT EACH, ON EVERY MARK OF SILVER, DURING THE TEN YEARS FROM 1835 TO 1844, DESIGNED TO SHOW THE RELATIVE PRODUCTIVENESS OF THE VARIOUS SILVER DISTRICTS THROUGHOUT THE MEXICAN REPUBLIC.

PLACES WHERE THE IMPOSITION OF TAX HAS BEEN COLLECTED.	Product of the tax from 1835 to 1839, both inclusive.	Product of the tax from 1840 to 1844, both inclusive.	Increase of yield of tax during the last five years.	Decrease of yield of tax during the last five years.	Value of total Silver product in dollars, at \$8 25 per mark.	Mean annual of Silver product in dollars, at \$8 25 per mark.
Zacatecas.....	\$350,715 79	\$306,620 51	\$ —	\$44,095 28	\$43,384,215 70	\$4,338,421 48 4
Guanajuato.....	197,423 52	228,498 12	31,074 40	—	25,110,838 20	2,511,083 67 2
San Luis Potosi.....	75,629 77	77,373 31 5	1,690 34 5	—	10,107,766 79	1,010,771 56 9
Pachuca.....	58,895 14	75,654 50 5	16,849 36 5	—	8,874,345 19	887,434 42 1
Guadalupe.....	41,520 47	60,067 30 5	18,546 65 5	—	6,704,804 73	670,480 41 1
Mexico.....	31,841 20	63,472 21	31,631 01	—	6,290,091 56	629,009 14 2
Durango.....	49,416 09	40,668 66	—	8,747 23	5,945,603 66	594,560 30 6
Guadalupe y Calvo.....	13,238 55 5	63,733 06 5	53,494 31	—	14,888,075 40	1,488,807 44 8
Sombrerete.....	32,405 63	19,385 64	—	13,019 81	3,418,243 06	341,824 20 6
Chihuahua.....	23,293 59	19,940 07	—	3,353 52	2,853,430 20	285,343 02 4
Cosala.....	24,073 71	15,980 12	—	8,093 61	2,643,566 67	264,356 50 2
Jesus Maria.....	8,379 21 5	19,502 11 6	11,122 70 1	—	1,841,171 41	184,117 17 1
Parral.....	13,258 71 5	10,716 39	—	2,542 32 5	1,582,372 29	158,237 20 5
Zimapan.....	8,523 64	9,279 74	756 10	—	1,175,044 60	117,504 30 6
Alamos.....	—	16,896 62 5	16,896 62 5	—	1,109,247 19	110,924 59 3
Hermosillo.....	5,773 03	10,275 01	4,501 80	—	1,059,170 60	105,917 07 2
Rosario.....	2,517 24	8,939 43	6,422 21	—	756,150 26	75 6 5 03 0
Mazatlan.....	—	4,100 54	4,100 54	—	270,644 00	27,064 32 4
Oajaca.....	2,450 38	—	—	2,450 38	161,730 20	16,173 02 4
Tasco.....	1,474 10	—	—	1,474 10	97,290 70	9,729 08 4
Totals.....	\$937,882 78 5	\$1,051,013 37 1	196,906 06 1	\$83,776 25 5	\$181,267,352 40	\$18,126,734 18 4
Deduct decrease.....	—	—	83,776 25 5	—	—	—
Difference in favor of increased yield of tax, and of production during the last period of 5 years.....	—	—	\$113,129 80 6	—	—	—

* See Report of the Mexican Minister of Foreign and Domestic Relations, for the year 1846, p. 139 of *Documentos Justificativos*.

† The actual coinage of all the mints in the Republic, in 1844, amounted, in fact, to the sum of \$13,732,861: but we assume \$14,000,000 as a fair annual average for a period of several years.

‡ See Table No. 1, in the Report of the Mexican Minister of Foreign and Domestic Relations, for 1846.

MEXICO.—PRODUCTS OF SUGAR, COTTON, RICE, INDIGO, &c.—Agriculture is about to assume in this country its natural position and importance. Heretofore it has been held in but a secondary consideration. The cause of this was that land was plenty and the population small; but with the increase of population our agricultural and horticultural necessities have increased. Our lands have also increased, taking into the Union all climates, embracing those similar to the tropic and congenial to the growth of tropical fruits and vegetation. We are now looking Asiaward for *tea, sugar, canes, fruits*, etc. Some of these articles can, no doubt, be found much *nearer home*, and can be obtained at but *little cost comparatively*. I therefore offer, for the benefit of those who feel an interest in this subject, a few agricultural statistics, collected by myself at random, during the late Mexican war, while stationed in the provinces of Tusan and Chicontepec. I must here remark, that very little attention was paid to agriculture in any part of Mexico previous to their independence, or while a colony of Spain, from the fact that the mother country classified her colonies, some of which she devoted to agricultural pursuits, while from others she only abstracted the precious metals. The island of Cuba, on the Atlantic side, and Chili, on the Pacific, were encouraged and directed by the Spanish crown to pursue altogether agriculture. It is a well-known fact that both Chili and Cuba contained mines of copper, silver, and gold. These mines were not allowed to be worked; but the mines of Mexico and Peru were extensively worked. In the latter departments agriculture was forbidden, so much so, that in Peru wheat was not cultivated, but it was supplied from Chili; and Mexico was supplied in coffee and sugar from Cuba, although both these articles could be supplied by the former in greater quantities and of better quality. She therefore rendered her colonies mutually dependent on each other—in fact, keeping the natural resources dormant. Peru possessed naturally a better soil and climate for agriculture than Chili; her natural manures lay in mines inexhaustible, along her coast and on her hills; yet she was not permitted to use them abundantly. Mexico possessed naturally a better soil than Cuba, yet she was not allowed to cultivate more than enough to yield sparingly to her inhabitants; but Cuba was taxed in the agricultural productions to her utmost extent to supply Mexico. The natural productions of the latter were never fully developed, but she was left to herself, and to run wild in a prolific natural growth, without the aid of art; and while agricultural instruments were plenty both in Chili and Cuba, Mexico was destitute of them, and the native was left his machete only to scratch up his prolific soil.

The provinces of Tusan and Chicontepec are blessed with all climates. While we find

the department of Chicontepec very warm, we have the department of Tonticomatlan both cold and warm. But, in order to give a better idea of these provinces, I will here give their boundaries. They are bounded on the north by the district of Tampico; on the east by the Gulf of Mexico; on the south by the districts of Papantla (state of Vera Cruz) and Huanchinango, (state of Puebla); on the west by the district of Hugutla. Its greatest extent from north to south is seventy miles, and from west to east sixty-five miles. It extends sixty-five miles along the Gulf coast. Three rivers empty into the Gulf, off which there is a good anchorage; these are Tanguino, Tusan, and Cazonis. On the latter river there is a French settlement, having purchased their lands under the Mexican law encouraging emigration and settlement. They are employed raising "vanilla, sarsaparilla, sugar, cotton, rice," procuring Indian rubber from the Palo de Ule, or caoutchouc, which grows in great abundance, gum copal, etc. These are exported to France by way of Vera Cruz. Tusan, the beautiful villa, is embraced between three flower-clothed hills, and is built on the banks of the river of the same name, the banks of which are covered with plants and flowers of all varieties; the orchideæ and leguminosæ vex the air with their delightful fragrance. The soil and climate are both congenial to vegetation; the river abounds in fish; the woods resound with the sweet notes of the feathered songster. The river meanders through a soil not exceeded in richness and productiveness by any in the world; not excelled by any of the West India islands in its tropical productions. The guava grows wild; so do the lime and lemon. Coffee, cotton of two kinds, the tree grape, sugar cane, rice, cocoa, tobacco, vanilla, indigo, pimento, sarsaparilla, are the indigenous plants of this department. The forest, plains, banks of streams, and the river, are prolific in all kinds of woods, flowers, and beautiful birds. The rich, gaudy, and fragrant plumeria fatigues the air along the upland banks of the river by its beauty and fragrance; the datura, single and double, with its bell-like blossoms, cloy the senses with its fragrance; and the waters are green and fragrant with the leaves and blossoms of the sea-side daffodil, lotus, and other aquatics. In this nature's favored spot, the shades of night are scarcely drawn over before the ear is assailed by the sweet soft notes of a feathered songster, which come floating in almost seraphic strains through the calm solitude of the night; you are lulled to sleep imperceptibly, and the senses become dormant in a gush of fragrance and music. The morning is ushered in by the loud scream of the cojoleto, or tufted purple turkey, and the noisy chichilaca and chattering voluble parrot. Every tree-top soon has an occupant of the feathered tribe, making the air melodious with

their songs; each hour brings from the shady recesses of the forest a new songster, each day and month its own plant, and each month a climate which vies in healthiness and balminess with its predecessor. Such are the departments of Tuspan and Chicontepec. It is of the productions of this country I intend to give you the full statistics.

We will commence with sugar cane. This article grows in great abundance, and far superior to any of the Cuba varieties. While the Cuba cane requires to be laid every three years, this will continue to yield in good quantity ten or twelve. It is to be much regretted that the mills here are of such miserable construction; merely made of wood, they simply produce from the cane a material called *peloncilla*, which is done up and sent away to be manufactured into sugar. The quantity of *peloncilla* to the almud, or ninety yards square, is about seven thousand pounds. I think this character of cane would answer well in Florida or Louisiana, as it grows wild in the mountain districts of *Ilamatlan*.

The tobacco plant grows wild throughout the provinces of Tuspan and Chicontepec. This article is a government monopoly, and therefore not extensively cultivated by private persons; yet, in its wild state, it is superior to the *Cuba varieties*. Two crops of tobacco could easily be raised per annum in that part of Mexico, and at much less expense than in any part of the United States.

The country and land is well adapted to the cultivation of cotton. It is produced abundantly, and of a very superior quality. There are found here two species of cotton, both of long staple—the one a bush, the other a vine, which is very prolific, bearing bolls nearly the whole year, or with the exception of one or two months. In the careless manner it is cultivated and cleaned, ninety yards square produce easily 600 pounds of clean cotton; but I have no doubt, by proper attention, with the aid of machinery, etc., this amount could be vastly increased. I would recommend to our southern cotton planters to obtain varieties of the seed, and try them in their plantations. The staple is long and fine.

Three varieties of corn are raised, and two full crops in one year, yielding 70 bushels to the 20 varas, or about 85 yards square. The varieties are soft white, hard yellow, and prolific white, besides a small blue corn, of a very prolific kind. Bread from corn is the principal food of the people, as no wheat is raised in the provinces. Ninety yards square will yield annually 140 bushels of corn.

The black beans of the famous *frigole* grow here in vast quantities, and of a quality far superior to any part of Mexico. Every one who has ever visited any part of Mexico is well acquainted with the famous *frigole* dish brought on the breakfast table by all Mexicans.

Rice grows in great abundance, and of a finer quality, larger in grain, and whiter, than any in the United States. Ninety yards square yield 1,200 pounds of clean hulled rice; properly cultivated, there is no doubt it would yield much more. I recommend this variety to southern planters.

Indigo grows wild in every direction, but its culture is entirely neglected. This article could, no doubt, be profitably cultivated, and the whole of the United States could be supplied from the provinces of Tuspan and Chicontepec.

Fustic, well known in commerce as a dye-wood, grows in the extensive forests of this province in great abundance and vast size. Quantities are yearly shipped to France, and from thence to this country. It could be transported direct to the United States at much less expense, and would, no doubt, be profitable.

Pimento grows wild everywhere, and is ripe about the month of September.

Sarsaparilla is indigenous, and grows wild in great abundance, and can be obtained all the year round.

Every rancho has its apiary, and honey was in great abundance and cheap. This could, no doubt, be made a profitable business.

The argave, Mexican *petat*, and long-leaved machette grow here in great abundance, and hemp is made from them equal to Jute or Sisal. This part of Mexico being near to us, the articles could be obtained here better and cheaper than at Sisal or the East Indies.

Cocoa grows finely and of much better quality than that from Tabasco; but owing to the port of Tuspan not being one of entry, this article has not been extensively gathered for exportation, but is used in preference to all other kinds by the inhabitants.

The Indian rubber tree grows in great abundance, and the gum produced from it is of a superior quality; yet, owing to the causes stated above, but little is gathered.

Gum copal can be obtained in great abundance from the tree producing it, as it is indigenous to this part of Mexico; besides, many other gums used in commerce can be and are found here in great quantities.

The vanilla *aromatica* grows well, and those trees adapted to its culture are numerous. This plant, being a parasite, requires for its propagation trees which do not shed their bark—a climate warm, and regular temperature to cure and preserve them. It is used to flavor ice creams, cakes, candies, soaps, and perfumery. A specimen of this plant can be seen at the National Conservatory; it is worth in commerce from twelve to sixteen dollars per pound. A few vines will yield this quantity. It is one of the most valuable productions of Mexico. I think the vine could be propagated in Florida on the *orange tree*.

Oranges, lemons, plantains, bananas, and

pine-apples grow in great abundance, of a finer and better quality than those grown in Cuba. — *W. D. Porter.*

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY.—THEORY OF MANUFACTURES—THEIR PROGRESS—ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF COTTON MANUFACTURES IN ALL COUNTRIES—UNITED STATES MANUFACTURES—SOUTHERN MANUFACTURES.—Though every nation be, in fact, primarily dependent upon its soil for the means of support, none can be said to be purely agricultural. Some changes or modifications will take place in the raw material, in the lowest state of society; and even where, in a more advanced period, the vast proportion of the people are employed upon the soil, as is the case in the north of Europe, some kinds of manufactures, however rude, will still gradually grow up.

Many of the great trading states of antiquity were also great manufacturing ones. Indeed, without such manufactures any very considerable trade could not be conducted, unless it be the "carrying trade." It is in the nature of manufactures to be regardless of distant and foreign markets. The home demand is ever too narrow, for whilst one agriculturist may be unable to supply the wants of more than four or five persons, a manufacturer can as easily supply those of a hundred. Great Britain, the greatest commercial power on earth, exports no *raw* produce other than sea-coal.

In the most polished period of Greece and Rome, manufactures were regarded as essentially *servile*, and unworthy the attention in any way of freemen. The same spirit has come down to us in many parts of our country, and is with difficulty subdued. It was maintained that such employments were hurtful to the strength and agility of the human body, and to its capacity for enduring the fatigues of war. The whole field was restricted to slaves.

There are various modes by which the higher manufactures may be introduced. They may be by a gradual improvement and refinement of the primitive, rude operations of the people, or the imitation of the more showy and splendid fabrics of other countries, and for which commerce introduces a taste. In the first case may be classed the Chinese and other Eastern products; in the last, the wool, silk, and other manufactures of England, &c., &c.

They do not always indicate national prosperity, as frequent experience has shown, though in general they constitute a good criterion of it. In the midst of the most destructive foreign wars, the greater part of the manufactures may frequently flourish, says Adam Smith, and on the contrary, they may decline on the return of peace. They may flourish amidst the ruin of their country, and

begin to decay on the return of its prosperity.*

Manufactures contribute to opulence and luxury, the growth of cities, and their splendours; but the almost incessant concomitant is dense population, and all the evils in its train—poverty, suffering, ignorance and crime. These occur only in the most highly advanced state, and are dependent much, perhaps, upon unwise laws for their intensity. When the manufacturing spirit reaches this point, it becomes a great social and political evil.

The melancholy spectacle which Great Britain presents, is not without its warnings. It is possible to stimulate this branch of industry to the point of national degradation. Mr. Alison furnishes a frightful picture. "Great Britain," says he, "is to be regarded as a great workshop, which diffuses its fabrics equally over the frozen and the torrid zones; which clothes alike the negroes of the West Indies, the laborers of Hindostan, the free settlers of Canada, the vine growers of the Cape, and the sheep owners of New-Holland and Van Diemen's Land. The rapid increase of the human race in these advanced posts of civilization sustains and vivifies our empire, notwithstanding all the burdens consequent upon our political situation; and in spite of the prodigious increase in the power of machinery, has called into being an enormous and perilous manufacturing population.

"It is utterly impossible that this unparalleled growth of our manufacturing industry can co-exist with the firm foundations of public prosperity. Its obvious tendency is to create immense wealth in one part of the population, and increased numbers in another; to coin gold for the master manufacturer, and to multiply children in his cotton-mill; to exhibit a flattering increase in the exports and imports of the empire, and an augmentation as appalling in its paupers, its depravity, and its crimes."

The true position to be taken undoubtedly is, that the prosperity of no country can be considered permanent and stable, which is *wholly* dependent upon any single one of the three great industrial pursuits of commerce, agriculture, or manufactures, but that, however any one may prevail, the others must be suffered to grow up by its side, without discouragement. In the *natural* state of things they will so grow up upon a secure and imperishable foundation.

The progress of manufactures in the old European states has been, for the most part, the result of their colonial empires established in the eastern and western worlds. The markets of these colonies for manufactured goods were limited to the parent state, and they were prohibited from sending their raw produce to any other source, or to work it up

* Smith's Wealth of Nations, ii. 164.

into any form of manufactures. Of the whole exports of manufactured goods in 1836, by Great Britain, somewhat more than one half were to her own colonies.

Before the close of the seventeenth century, (1699,) the Parliament of England declared that the American plantations should ship no wool or yarn manufactures. This was a blow at their infant attempts in the coarsest goods.

In 1719 it was declared, that the existence of manufactories in the colonies lessened their dependence upon Great Britain; in 1732, that the convenience of the Americans from the plenty of beavers, hare, coney wool, and many other furs, gave them such advantages, that, unless restrained, they would soon supply all the world with hats. In the report of the Board of Trade, the same year, it is said New-England, New-York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania, have fallen into the manufacture of woollen cloth, for the use of their own families on-y, and linen cloth; hemp and flax they manufacture into coarse cloth, bags, traces and halters; some iron is manufactured in Massachusetts; also a bounty is given for the manufacture of duck or canvas by the Assembly; brown hollandes are made, also small quantities of cloth for shirtings, paper to the amount of £200 a year; nails, bar iron, hollow ware, &c.; ships are built for the French and Spaniards; hats are made and exported to Spain, Portugal, and West India Islands; several still-houses and sugar refineries exist, &c.

In this alarming state of things, the Board remark, it were to be wished that some expedient might be fallen upon to divert their thoughts from undertakings of this nature, so much the rather, because these manufactures may be carried on in process of time in greater degree, unless an early stop be put to their progress!

"From the foregoing statement it is observable, that there are more trades carried on and manufactories set up in the provinces on the continent of America, to the northward of Virginia, prejudicial to the trade and manufactories of Great Britain, particularly in New-England, than in any other of the British colonies.*"

In 1750, the Americans were forbidden to work in iron; and Lord Chatham declared not long after in Parliament, that the colonies of North America had not even the right of manufacturing a nail.

During the revolution, and under the articles of federation, our manufacturing system made but little progress, though, in fact, such articles of plain construction as were necessary to our uses, were made.

In 1787, while the National Convention,

which framed the Constitution, was in session in Philadelphia, a second convention met in that city, of the "Friends of American manufactures."

The object of the Convention was to consider the condition of this branch of industry, so much affected by the system of duties and imposts which prevailed between the states.

Tenche Coxe, of Philadelphia, made a report to the Convention, in which he urged the establishment and encouragement of domestic manufactures with very great ability, thus connecting himself with the earliest movements of the kind in the Union. He takes a survey of the whole subject in all its lights, and, without doubt, supplied much of the material afterwards used by Alexander Hamilton in his celebrated report upon the same subject. The enumeration which Mr. Coxe makes of the articles then manufactured in the country has no little interest: meal of all kinds, ships and boats, malt liquors, distilled spirits, potash, gunpowder, cordage, loaf sugar, pasteboard, cards and paper, snuff, tobacco, starch, cannon, muskets, anchors, nails, and many other articles of iron, brick, tiles, potter's ware, mill-stones, &c., cabinet ware, trunks and Windsor chairs, carriages and harness of all kinds, corn fans, ploughs, &c., saddlery, &c., boots, shoes, leather, hosiery, hats and gloves, wearing apparel, coarse linens and woollens, and some cotton goods, linseed and fish oils, wares of gold, silver, tin, pewter, lead, brass and copper, clocks and watches, wool and cotton cards, printing types, glass and stone ware, candles, soap, &c., &c.

"The encouragement and protection of manufactures" appears among other things, in the preamble of the first tariff act, under the present Constitution, 1789; and in 1791, the Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, in answer to a call from the House of Representatives, submitted that celebrated report upon manufactures which has won for him the title, in all subsequent times, of "father of the American System."

This able statesman went elaborately into the politico-economical questions of manufactures, weighing with nice deliberation their national advantages and disadvantages, and presenting a very powerful array of facts in support of his positions. The division of labor; the extension and use of machinery; the additional employment to classes in the community not ordinarily engaged in business; the promotion of emigration from foreign countries; the furnishing greater scope for diversity of talents and dispositions, which discriminate men from each other; the affording a more ample and various field for enterprise; the creating in some instances a new, and securing in all a more certain and steady demand for the surplus produce of the

* McPherson's Annals, Com.

soil; are the prominent advantages he anticipated from manufactures.*

Mr. Hamilton goes afterwards into an enumeration of what had already been achieved in America, and draws from it the most flattering hopes of the future. He thus classifies the manufacturing products of that period:

1. Of *Skins*:—Tanned and tamed leather, dressed skins, shoes and boots and slippers, harnesses and saddlery, portmanteaux and trunks, leather breeches, gloves, muffs and tippets, parchment, glue, &c.

2. Of *Iron*:—Bar and sheet iron, nails, steel, implements of husbandry, stoves, pots, and other household utensils, steel work of carriages and for ship building, anchors, scales, beams and weights, tools of artificers, arms of different kinds.

3. Of *Wood*:—Ships, cabinet-ware and turners; wool and cotton cards, and other machinery for manufactures and husbandry, mathematical instruments, coopers' wares, &c.

4. *Flax and Hemp*:—Cables, sail-cloth, cordage, twine and pack thread.

4. *Miscellaneous*:—Bricks, coarse tiles and potters' wares, ardent spirits and malt liquors, printing, writing, and other papers, hats of fur and wool, &c., women's stuff and silk shoes, refined sugars, oil of animals and seeds, soap, spermaceti and tallow candles, copper and brass wires, distillers' wares, sugar refiners and brewers, andirons and other household utensils, philosophical apparatus, tin wares, carriages, snuff and manufactured tobaccos, starch and hair powder, lamp black and other painters' colors, gunpowder, &c.

These he states had arrived to considerable maturity, and are as applicable to the southern as to the middle or northern states. Great quantities of coarse cloth, coating, serges, and flannels, linsey-woolseys, hosiery of wool, cotton and thread, coarse fustians, jeans and muslins, checked and striped cotton and linen goods, bed-ticks, coverlets and counterpanes, tow linens, coarse shirtings, sheetings, towelling and coarse linens, and various mixtures of wool and cotton, and of cotton and flax, were made in the household way, and in many instances to an extent not only sufficient for the supply of the families in which they were made, but for sale, and even in some cases for exportation. It is computed that in a number of districts two thirds, three fourths, and even four fifths of all the clothing of the inhabitants are made by themselves.

Mr. Hamilton then goes into the question of protection, and finally into an enumeration of the materials of manufacture abundantly existing in the country, and the infant

attempts in some of them. The list includes iron, copper, lead, coal, wood, skins, grain, flax and hemp, cotton, wool, silk, glass, gunpowder, paper, &c., sugar and chocolate, &c., &c.

In the year 1791, according to the report of Albert Gallatin, made in 1810 by resolution of the House of Representatives, the first cotton mill was erected in Rhode Island; in 1795, another in the same state, and two more in the state of Massachusetts, in 1803 and 1804. Before 1808 fifteen in all were in operation, working about 8,000 spindles. By the end of 1809, 87 mills were being or had been erected, requiring 80,000 spindles, and with a capital employed of \$4,800,000. The amount of cotton used was 3,600,000 lbs.; yarn spun, \$3,240,000; persons employed, 4,000. Many of the mills were also engaged upon wool. Mr. Gallatin furnishes the result in 14 woollen factories, which were not the whole. The cloths are represented as superior in quality, but inferior in appearance to the imported article of the same price.

Mr. Pitkin states the first cotton factory in the United States was established by Samuel Slater, a cotton manufacturer from England, called the father of American cotton manufactures, and that President Washington delivered his speech to Congress, in 1790, in a suit of broadcloth from a factory in Connecticut.

In 1810, according to Gallatin, wood, leather, &c., soap, candles, spermaceti oil, &c., flaxseed oil, refined sugar, coarse earthenware, snuff, chocolate, hair powder and mustard, were manufactured in quantities large enough to supply the whole consumption.

He names a number of others supplying a greater or less part of the whole demand, some then but in early progress; among the last were paints, &c., medicinal drugs, salt, japanned ware, calico printing, earthen and glass ware, &c., &c.

"From the imperfect sketch," says Mr. Gallatin, "of American Manufactures, it may with certainty be inferred that their annual product exceeds one hundred and twenty millions of dollars. And it is not improbable that the raw materials used, and the provisions and other articles consumed by the manufacturers, create a home market for agricultural products not very inferior to that which arises from the foreign demand. A result more favorable than might have been expected, from a view of the natural causes which impede the introduction, and retard the progress of manufactures in the United States."

The census of 1810 included a return of the manufacturing system of the Union, according to the suggestion of the Secretary, but was very deficient, from the haste in

* Am. State Papers, Finance, vol. i. 124.

which the items were obtained. The results were prepared and digested by Tenche Cox, appointed for that purpose.

The number of cotton mills returned was 168, with 90,000 spindles. The woollen fabrics at that period were principally made in families. Of wool, cotton and flax, the manufacture was greatest in New-York, including, of course, family workmanship, though Virginia manufactured the greatest number of yards; and what is singular, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, manufactured greatly more in quantity and in value than the whole of New-England together, and North Carolina produced double the number of yards of Massachusetts! The whole value produced in these articles was estimated at \$40,000,000.

During the war, manufactures received an extraordinary stimulus. Capital flowed in upon them. On the restoration of peace, the whole immense stock of foreign manufactures, for some time accumulating, was thrown into the country, and sold at ruinous sacrifices. It was well worth while, said Mr. Brougham, to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States, which the war had forced into existence, contrary to the natural state of things.

The history of the cotton manufacture, in all countries, and from the earliest antiquity, possesses the highest degree of interest, and will not be out of place before proceeding any further in the discussion of our own manufactures. In India, from the remotest times, this industry has been prosecuted without improvement in machinery, but with extraordinary manual facility. Common muslins are made in every village. Those of Dacca are of the most exquisite fineness, and are used by the lords, and called "webs of woven wind." The importation of these manufactures into Europe has been almost entirely arrested by the progress made there in the same fabrics. India has indeed become herself an extensive importer.

In China, though long before the Christian era cotton cloth is noticed, not before the eleventh century is it supposed to have been extensively produced. The opposition of wool and linen makers retarded the progress until the close of the fourteenth century, when it rapidly advanced. At the present day, nine tenths of the population are clothed in cotton. Large quantities of the wool are imported into China.

The cotton manufacture was introduced into Europe by the commercial states of Italy, about the year 1500; from Italy it passed to the Netherlands, and was carried over to England early in the seventeenth century, by Protestant refugees. In 1641,

Manchester is mentioned in the "Treasure of Traffic" as engaged in this industry.

The manufacture was greatly improved by John Wilson, of Ainsworth, in a variety of ways; but principally in dressing, finishing and dyeing.

All the yarn produced was by the one-thread spinning wheel, the only machine then used, and which put a practical check upon manufactures. In weaving, some advances had already been made by the fly-shuttle; also, a great improvement in carding, by the cylindrical carding engine.

In 1767, a great revolution was effected by the spinning-jenny, invented by James Hargreaves. "The progress of invention after this was rapid; for when it was seen that with the aid of the few mechanical combinations we have mentioned, the spinner had been able to increase his power of production nearly eighty-fold, the attention of those engaged in other branches of manufacture was awakened to the possibility of introducing changes equally beneficial in their peculiar employments."

Against this fearful innovation the populace, supported by the old process, rose up in rebellion and riot, and destroyed every machine that could come within their reach.

Whilst all this was going on, a humble barber boy, the youngest of thirteen children, in Lancashire, Richard Arkwright, conceived the idea that the spinning process might be greatly improved. With scarcely any science, and no means, he matured a plan in which, after many difficulties and trials, he obtained the countenance of some capitalists. The result was, in 1769, the "spinning-frame" was patented, for the discovery of which the author was knighted, and for which he is immortalized. No attempt to extend the principle of the frame was made until 1810, when the throstle was introduced, which last was improved by Mr. Danforth, an American spinner, and Mr. Montgomery, of Great Britain.

The next great invention was that of Samuel Compton, in 1775, the "mule-jenny," which entirely supersedes Hargreave's jenny, being capable of producing the very finest yarns, which the other could not. As much as twenty guineas the pound was received for some, from Tobago cotton.

Various other important improvements have from time to time been introduced into all the departments of this manufacture, which have increased the productive power, extended the consumption, and diminished the price of fabrics to an inconceivable extent.

The manufacture of muslins began in England in 1785, and rapidly extended. Dimities were produced in the north of England, ginghams in Lancashire, cambrics in the same place and in Glasgow, and also, in the last, the bandana handkerchiefs, in imitation of those of the East.

About 1773, cotton calicoes began first to be fabricated at Blackburn, and in 1805 the pieces sold there were estimated at one million, but the process of hand-weaving was unfavorable to their extension.

It was in 1787 that the great desideratum of power-loom weaving was supplied by the ingenuity of Mr. Cartwright, who erected a factory immediately after. In this he was followed by others, but it was not, perhaps, before 1805 that the power looms may be said to have gone into very successful operation. The struggle with the hand-loom weavers was long and bitter.

The conversion of the stocking frame into a machine for weaving point lace was perfected in 1809, and the manufacture increased with extraordinary rapidity, so that by 1823 the productions of France and the Netherlands were rivalled. It is in this our finest Sea Island cottons are used.

The cotton manufacture was introduced into France about the year 1765, and the yarns were at first brought from Turkey in a dyed state. The progress of this manufacture and its perfection, though considerable, are greatly behind that of England, except in the articles of dyed goods and sewed muslins.*

Spinning machinery was not introduced into Switzerland until 1798. Under a perfect system of free trade the manufacture of cotton goods has progressed steadily and extensively throughout the cantons, which exhibit the utmost industry and enterprise.

Austria, under her despotic government, has made little progress in manufactures. Saxony has a population favorable for their successful prosecution.

In Prussia the industry has extended very rapidly; and in addition to the large quantities of cotton wool annually spun, immense amounts of yarn are received from England to be worked up into cloths. Some of these are, it is said, returned to England.

Russia is also a vast consumer of English yarns, and the manufacture has been advancing in that country; the same may be remarked of the Italian states.

We have already furnished a sketch of the origin and early progress of the cotton manufacture in the United States, down to the close of the last war with Great Britain. We resume from that period.

The national debt of the United States being very nearly liquidated, measures began to be agitated in 1831-2, in regard to the reduction of the then existing tariff. The Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. Louis McLane, was requested to collect the statistics of the manufacturing system of the country, and report to the next Congress. From the haste in which this duty was executed, and the imperfect returns, nothing resulted but a crude mass of

minute particulars, embraced in two volumes, which no one, so far as we know, has ever undertaken to digest, and which are therefore of no practical value.

About the same period two great conventions were held in the United States—the one called Tariff, and the other Anti-Tariff Conventions. These instructed committees to make the necessary investigations, in order to memorialize, and thus influence the action of Congress. At the head of the Free Trade Committee was Albert Gallatin.

This gentleman proceeds to show that, independently of protection, the home manufacture had greatly increased in the proportion of its commodities consumed to those of foreign make. He remarks, from the imperfect data obtained in 1810, the domestic manufactures formed from two thirds to three quarters of the total amount of manufactures consumed. By 1823 the domestic had increased between 121½ and 136 per cent., and the amount of foreign manufactures was in 1824 from one fifth to one sixth, whilst in 1801 it was one third to one quarter of the whole amount consumed. This showed a considerable relative increase of the *domestic*.

The Tariff Committee confined their inquiries to the states of Virginia, Maryland, Maine, Vermont, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware.

In these states there were 795 factories, with a capital of \$40,000,000; 1,246,503 spindles, producing 10,642,000 lbs. yarn, 230,461,900 yards cloth, and consuming 77,657,316 lbs. cotton, or 214,882 bales cotton; annual value of product, \$26,000,000. A further capital of \$32,000,000 was estimated as employed in machine shops, bleacheries, and print houses.

In the southern and western states thirty establishments were returned but vaguely. Indeed, it was said the manufacturers every where had underrated their operations, on the fear of taxation, etc.

The whole annual product of cotton manufactures in 1834, Mr. Pitkin estimates at \$40,000,000, including those of families, not embraced in the report above, and correcting deficiencies; and in 1831 the consumption of the raw material was about one third of that of Great Britain, equal to that of France, and double the rest of Europe.*

Previous to 1825, it is estimated we consumed often two millions pounds a year of raw cotton grown abroad, and Mr Woodbury, in his able cotton report in 1836, estimates the whole amount of raw cotton consumed in the United States, in 1835, 100,000,000 lbs., of the value in goods, varying between 50 and 70 millions dollars, 45 to 50 millions being in factories. The whole import of foreign cotton goods at the same time averaged seven

* This in 1831. *Encyclop. Brit.*

* Pitkin, 456.

millions a year above the export of the same kind of goods.

In 1840, the census returned for the whole Union gives the total number of cotton factories, 1,246; number of spindles, 2,284,631; product, \$46,350,443; capital invested, \$51,102,359; one third of this amount is due to Massachusetts, one sixth to Rhode Island, one ninth to Pennsylvania, and one twelfth to New-Hampshire. Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Florida, Wisconsin, Iowa, and District of Columbia, had no product.

Since that period the consumption of cotton has greatly increased in all the northern states, under the powerful stimulus of the tariff of 1842, continued even under the less favorable one of 1846. The southern states, especially North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, have entered much more largely into manufactures. Alabama and Florida have followed, the same of Tennessee. The increase of cotton manufactures in the valley of the Ohio has been extraordinary within the past few years.

The amazing growth of Great Britain since the beginning of the century has been the result of her manufacturing system, and especially of cotton. It was long supposed the Americans could not compete in this latter manufacture, from the high price of labor with them, and Mr. Hamilton discusses the question as early as 1790. We have seen that the manufacture had grown up in 1824, the point of the first *strictly* protective tariff, to a considerable stature; the low value of agricultural products and cheapness of raw material counterbalancing, no doubt, the difference in labor and interest. Our being able to sell some coarse goods in England evinces this. Nor is it to be supposed, that in the advance of our country in population, the proportion between the value of labor in the two will be so far removed. It is but natural the United States should become a great manufacturing country, and judging from the past and present indications, she will be enabled to supply, with her manufactured goods, every nation in the world.

Mr. Montgomery, an experienced English cotton manufacturer, having visited the United States, published, in 1840, an able work, contrasting our factories with those of Great Britain. He says:

"The amount of goods produced is much greater in America than in Great Britain, but the hours of labor are somewhat longer in the former country. The cost of buildings, machinery, &c., is a great deal higher in America, as well as the general rate of wages. The British manufacturer, upon the whole, can produce 19 per cent. cheaper; but this is more than neutralized by the lower price of cotton. In every description of goods in which the cost of the raw material exceeds that of production, the American manufactur-

ers have a decided advantage over the British; the experience of every British manufacturer engaged in producing this description of goods, has painfully convinced him that the superior quality of the American is gradually driving him from every foreign market. Hitherto the British have enjoyed a monopoly of fine goods, but the resources of the Americans will soon enable them to compete successfully in these. They will adopt a more economical method of getting up their works, a more improved system of management, &c., &c., which will enable them to compete successfully with the British. And, indeed, he says the manufacturers here can afford to pay higher wages than the British, because they run their factories longer hours, drive their machinery at a higher speed, from which they produce a much greater quantity of work, at the same time they can purchase their cotton at least one penny a pound cheaper, and their water power does not cost above one fourth of the same in Great Britain."*

"In passing through the streets of Constantinople," says Mr. Jas. Lawrence, in a letter to the late Secretary of the Treasury, "during a stay of several weeks in that city, in the year 1848, I was attracted by the cry of 'Americanas!' 'Americanas!' from pedlars carrying packs of cotton goods upon their backs. On examining the goods I found they were of British manufacture, which led me to inquire the cause of their being hawked about as American fabrics. My informant told me that a few years before some American cottons found their way from Smyrna to Constantinople, and were there sold. Their superiority was so appreciated by the consumers, that since then the pedlars, in order to obtain a higher price for inferior fabrics, whether of British or foreign manufacture, are obliged to give them the American name." The same state of things, Mr. Lawrence continues, exists in the markets of Alexandria and Cairo. In Asia Minor *genuine* American goods are sold.

The home consumption of cotton for manufactures has increased from 149,516 bales in 1826, to 487,769 bales in 1849-50. But these are not favorable years for comparison, as the following figures will show, though we must add to them the consumption in the southern and western states to have the whole amount:

COTTON CONSUMED BY AND IN THE HANDS OF HOME MANUFACTURERS.

BALES.		BALES.	
1849-50...	487,769	1837-8....	246,063
1848-9....	518,039	1836-7....	222,540
1847-8....	531,772	1835-6....	236,733
1846-7....	427,967	1834-5....	216,888
1845-6....	422,597	1833-4....	196,413

* Montgomery, 126, 138.

BALES.

1844—5...389,006
 1843—4...346,744
 1842—3...325,129
 1841—2...267,850
 1840—4...297,288
 1839—40...295,193
 1838—9...276,018

BALES.

1832—3...194,412
 1831—2...173,800
 1830—31...182,143
 1829—30...126,512
 1828—9...118,853
 1827—8...120,593
 1826—7...149,516

In the southern and western states, where the manufacture has only lately been introduced, the increase has been from 75,000 bales in 1848 to 107,500 in 1850. The whole number of mills now reported in these states is 153, working 242,830 spindles. The figures are below the facts, and we may expect in a few years to see this profitable branch of industry monopolized by them.

"The present consumption of cotton in the United States," said Gen. Talmadge, at the last fair of the American Institute in New-York, "is estimated at 500,000 bales per annum, which is more than the entire crop in 1824. This does not include a vast quantity which goes up the Mississippi, Ohio, and also out from the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, for the supply of the mills in Indiana, Ohio, Western Virginia, and Pennsylvania. There are said to be *upwards of two hundred and fifty cotton mills south of Mason & Dixon's line*: in these points and sources of consumption, it is believed 150,000 bales are used, making a total not less than 650,000 bales worked up at home. The quantity of cotton goods made in the United States is estimated at 720,000,000 of yards, of which about 80,000,000 are exported, leaving 640,000,000 for home consumption."

We conclude with a few remarks from the address of Dr. Antisell, at the same fair, regretting that we have been unable to examine the other manufactures of the country with the same minuteness as cotton, and referring the reader to our published volumes for a vast variety of information upon the subject of cotton and its manufacture in the south, the Union, or abroad:

The vastness of the cotton trade, and the suddenness of its growth, naturally astonishes us. It is the agricultural wealth of the southern states. It would be well to recollect that it is England's manufacturing wealth. We export nearly five sixths of all we grow; in exact numbers, in the year 1848:

The total cotton crop was...2,726,596 bales.
 The export of 1849, as above...2,227,944 "

which, with a small stock on hand, left 518,039 bales for home consumption.

England is the chief buyer of the raw cotton, and the chief manufacturer of cotton prints, and this country is at present dependent on that island for the chief supply of cotton piece goods. The British export of cotton goods of

all kinds, in the six months ending June, 1849, was 596,370,322 yards, of which the greater quantity came to this country.

There is, however, some comfort exhibited by the returns of the last twenty years: from these it appears that the imports now of plain calicoes are one half what they were in 1830, and in printed calicoes between one half and one third; so that our cotton manufactures are gradually increasing, and at the present time represent one fifth the value of all manufactured goods.

The exports of cotton manufacture are small, not having increased of late years, standing nearly at the same figure as in 1829; so that our increased supply has been for home consumption, an increasing population demanding it. (See Cotton Manufactures.)

MANUFACTURES—INDUCEMENTS FOR IN THE SOUTH AND WEST.—The civil arts embrace the three great pursuits of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and these are so intimately connected and interwoven, that in writing an essay upon one, we must necessarily have frequent reference to the others. They are the great civilizers of the nations of the earth, and where they flourish most, there we may expect to find the highest state of moral improvement. As they spread and extend from country to country, they carry with them something of the minds of those who conceived and improved them. When the people of one nation adopt the pursuits of another, they must necessarily adopt the ideas and reasoning connected with those pursuits; and thus a sympathy is established between nations who were before strangers, and perhaps enemies to each other. By the intervention of commerce these sympathies are cultivated, and a community of interest is established which binds together the whole commercial world.

Hence it will be perceived that any important change which may be introduced in reference to either of these three great pursuits must be felt throughout the entire commercial circle; and the introduction of manufactures in the southwestern states, if prosecuted upon a scale commensurate with the resources of the country, will constitute a new era in the history of the civil arts.

In considering of the propriety and utility of introducing manufactures into any given district, it will be proper to take into view every circumstance that can in any wise affect the particular pursuit proposed for adoption. The character of the population, the climate, the soil and its products; the particular and relative location of the country, together with its mineral and other natural productions—all these and many other subjects will naturally present themselves for discussion and for consideration.

The population of the southwest, governed

as it is by the peculiar institutions of the states in this region, constitutes the most prominent subject of consideration, and claims the attention of all who would desire to form a just opinion upon the subject of manufactures in this district. The free population of the south may be divided into two classes, the slaveholder and the non-slaveholder. I am not aware that the relative numbers of these two classes have ever been ascertained in any of the states, but I am satisfied that the non-slaveholders far outnumber the slaveholders; perhaps by three to one. In the more southern portion of this region, the non-slaveholders possess, generally, but very small means, and the land which they possess is almost universally poor, and so sterile that a scanty subsistence is all that can be derived from its cultivation; and the more fertile soil, being in the possession of the slaveholder, must ever remain out of the power of those who have none.

This state of things is a great drawback, and bears heavily upon and depresses the moral energies of the poorer classes. Man requires encouragement; the desired end must appear attainable, or he will in time cease to strive for it. So it is with these people; the acquisition of a respectable position in the scale of wealth appears so difficult that they decline the hopeless pursuit, and many of them settle down into habits of idleness, and become the almost passive subjects of all its consequences. And I lament to say that I have observed of late years that an evident deterioration is taking place in this part of the population, the younger portion of it being less educated, less industrious, and in every point of view less respectable than their ancestors.

Such a state of things should not exist in the present age, in such a country as ours. It should be sufficient to challenge the attention and arouse the energies of the philanthropist and the patriot. It is, in an eminent degree, the interest of the slaveholder that a way to wealth and respectability should be opened to this part of the population, and that encouragement should be given to industry and enterprise; and what would be more likely to afford this encouragement than the introduction of manufactures? Diversify the labor and pursuits of the country, and while many will be induced to enter upon these new pursuits, and become industrious, enterprising, and useful citizens, a market will be opened for the produce of the small agriculturist, who will also be stimulated to better his condition; and not many generations will pass away before this portion of the southern population will rival their eastern neighbors in enterprise and industry.

By such a change, the wealth and moral power of the southwest would be increased to an almost indefinite extent, the sources of human comfort would be greatly enlarged,

and the liberal arts—the refiners of man—would abound in the land.

To the slaveholding class of the population of the southwest, the introduction of manufactures is not less interesting than to the non-slaveholding class. The former possess almost all the wealth of the country. The preservation of this wealth is a subject of the highest consideration to those who possess it. Wealth may be divided into two classes, *natural* and *artificial*. The natural wealth of a country consists of the soil, forests, minerals, streams, etc. *Artificial wealth is that permanent accumulation of the products of human labor and skill which remains after the immediate and daily wants of the producer are supplied*; and whatever may be the skill and capacity of a community to produce the means of human comfort, this residuum must be regarded as the only true test of its prosperity. Labor, skill, and capacity for producing do not constitute wealth in this sense of the term; they are merely the means of its acquisition. The capacity of producing may be very great, and much labor may be performed, and still an individual or a state may not increase in wealth. Nay, so far from it, examples may be found in our own country of states having become poorer by a steady perseverance in an unwise application of their labor. Such is the case in the Atlantic states south of the Potomac, as I think will be granted by every intelligent and candid individual who is acquainted with the country, and I think it will be admitted that these states are poorer than they were twenty years ago. There is a small increase in the number of laborers, and there may have been something gained in skill; but the great source of all wealth in an agricultural country—the soil—has been greatly deteriorated and diminished, and it may be affirmed without the fear of successful contradiction, that no country, and more especially an agricultural one, can increase in wealth while the soil is becoming more and more exhausted every year, for it is most clear that sooner or later an absolute state of exhaustion must be the result, and no wealth that could be acquired by the sale of those products, the growth of which had caused this state of things, could compensate for the loss of the soil.

Why are not the sandy pine barrens of these states settled and cultivated by a prosperous and intelligent population? It is certainly because the soil will not repay the laborer with bread. And when the once fertile hills and valleys of this region shall have been exhausted by an unwise and improvident system to the same state of sterility as the pine barrens, they likewise will fail to reward the laborer with the means of subsistence, and must be deserted and return to the same state of desolation; a state of desolation the more fearful because it speaks of better days, and forces upon the mind a mournful comparison between the

present and the past, and upon the passer-by, with all their force, the lines of Byron :

"Such is the aspect of this shore;
'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more."

Although I do not entertain the slightest apprehension that this, the fairest and most delightful region of our continent, will ever be reduced to such a state of desolation, yet it may be safely affirmed that a continuance in the unwise and improvident system hitherto pursued, must in time produce the state of things alluded to.

It is said that evils sometimes cure themselves, and when man pursues a course of folly to the brink of ruin, necessity, sometimes performing the office of reason, warns him of the danger, and compels him to change his course. And if the people of the southwest do not voluntarily abandon their present system of applying all their labor to the production of a few agricultural staples, necessity will in time compel them to do that which the dictates of reason and common sense should long since have taught. This necessity has been operating for many years, but still the people seem resolved to disobey its mandates; for rather than submit to a change, they prefer to abandon the country of their fathers and of their own birth, and seek homes in other lands. This is abundantly proven by the census of the year 1840, whereby it is shown that the increase of the population of the whole United States in the ten preceding years was about thirty-three per cent.; yet the increase in Virginia was but 2.19 per cent.; the increase of North Carolina 2.15 per cent.; and of South Carolina 2.21 per cent. The ratio of Georgia was sustained, but for the reason that within that time a large area of new territory within her limits was being opened for settlement. That necessity must be strong and urgent which induces thirty one per cent. of the population of a state, in the short space of ten years, to break all the social and individual ties that bind man to the place of his birth, and seek his fortunes in other lands. It may be questioned if such an instance of so large a portion of the population of any civilized community has ever been known to emigrate in so short a period. I am aware that the great quantity of new lands which were brought into market in the southwest, operated as a great inducement to emigration, and under the circumstances of the case, constituted the principal inducement. But if the soil in the old states had been properly husbanded, and kept up to its primitive state of productiveness, instead of being reduced to a state of sterility; had manufactures been introduced and established, so as to give employment to the surplus labor that was not required in agriculture, this large

drain could not have taken place. The capital invested in manufactures cannot be readily transferred from one country to another. In most of the leading branches the fixtures constitute a large part of the outlay, and cannot be removed without great loss; hence when capital is once invested in manufacturing, it becomes permanently located, and gives permanency to the population. This view of the subject is sustained by reference to the state of Massachusetts. With a population proverbially enterprising, and much more crowded than that of the southern states; with a soil originally greatly inferior, and a climate decidedly unfriendly to agricultural pursuits, she still shows an increase of twenty-one per cent. in her population, while in the same time Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, only show an increase of about two per cent. And it must also be remembered that within this same space of ten years, a very large quantity of the finest lands in the northwest were brought into market; lands consisting of plains ready for the plough, located near the great thoroughfares of navigation, and a climate suitable to the agricultural habits of the New-Englander. With such temptations and inducements to emigrate, it cannot be doubted but that as large a proportion of the population of Massachusetts would have changed their homes had it not been for the establishment of manufactures in that state. Owing to the establishment and encouragement of manufactures, Massachusetts has retained not only the wealth which has been produced by the labor and skill of her population, but she has kept her population at home, contented and prosperous, while Virginia and the Carolinas have been great losers in both. For when the agriculturist removes, he carries with him almost every thing which he possesses in the form of property, except his land, and that is usually so exhausted that it would not be worth transportation, even if it were as portable as bank notes.

The loss of wealth and population is not the only evil attending this propensity to emigrate,—the moral and social condition of those who remain, as well as those who remove, must ever be disturbed, and more or less retarded in their advancement. This unsettled state of society prevents the establishment and encouragement of any permanent and efficient system of common schools. And here again, by reference to the census of 1840, will be seen how disadvantageously these southern states compare with Massachusetts and other eastern states upon this vital policy. In Massachusetts nearly ninety-nine out of every hundred persons over twenty years of age can read and write; in Virginia but about eighty-two out of every hundred; in North Carolina but about seventy-three out of every hundred; and in South Carolina but about eighty-two

in every hundred adults can read and write.* Such facts as these, one would suppose, were sufficient to arouse the attention of the citizens of the southern states to an inquiry into the cause of their being so far behind the eastern states in regard to education, and the general diffusion of useful knowledge among the poorer classes.

When a spirit of emigration prevails in a country, those who are under its influence cease to feel themselves as individuals identified with the community in which they live; they husband all their resources for the purpose of enabling them to remove and establish new homes; and they will not enter into any schemes for the improvement of either the moral or physical condition of the country which they have resolved to abandon. This influence extends far beyond the number who actually remove, for very many continue to consider their removal as probable, for many years together, who do not eventually emigrate; and thus their moral energies are paralyzed, and the country is deprived of their usefulness. Any change in the pursuits of the country that would allay this spirit of emigration, would constitute the beginning of a new and better state of things.

If manufactures were introduced and encouraged, and the labor of the country sufficiently diversified, so as to give employment to every variety of labor and skill, the population would cease to look for new countries. They would then go to work in earnest to improve both the physical and moral condition of their own. The soil would be improved; more permanent and comfortable habitations would be erected; orchards and gardens would be planted and cultivated; and the country would be redeemed from its present wasted and barren condition. The desire, as well as the means of education would be increased, until there would be no adult freeman found in the land who could not read the constitution of his country. It is a principle in man's nature to regard with partial consideration the things of his own production. He who improves a barren soil to a high state of fertility, feels an interest in it that he could not enjoy by the possession of a soil naturally rich; and he who improves and embellishes his domain by the cultivation of orchards, gardens, and other objects of taste and ornament, derives a pleasure from their use and observation which is unknown to the stranger; these things have been associated with the most cherished objects of his affections, until they have become inseparable; and hence the love of home and of country becomes a sacred principle in the human heart.

Connected with this subject there is another class of the population of the southwest which claims much consideration. And here I may be permitted to remark, that in my humble opinion the institution of slavery in the United States is destined to produce more extensive results in the improvement and amelioration of the condition of the human family than perhaps any other event that has happened since the Christian era. Africa, sunk into a state of barbarism by reason of the unfriendliness of her climate, could never have been redeemed from her degraded condition in any other way than by transporting her children to some country where they could be brought in contact with civilization, and be made to learn its arts. This may appear to be a harsh mode of redemption, but who that is acquainted with the present moral condition of these people can doubt but the race has been greatly improved by its transportation hither? And though not educated in the schools of literature, they are instructed in most of the substantial arts of civilization; and sufficiently enlightened to understand and appreciate the principles of the Christian religion. There is perhaps no instance of a people in an absolute state of barbarism who have made greater advances towards a state of civilization in the same length of time than have the African race of this country.

Without the agency of slave labor, cotton for exportation would never have been grown to any considerable extent in the United States. It may be even doubted whether it would ever have been of sufficient importance to stimulate the inventive genius of Whitney to the construction of the cotton gin; and the primitive mode of extracting the seed by the fingers might have been handed down to the present generation to enliven the fireside of a winier's evening with a cotton picking frolic.

But with the aid of slave labor, the price of the raw material has been reduced to about one tenth of its former value in the space of half a century; which, in conjunction with the improvement of machinery, has also reduced the price of cotton cloth in an equal ratio; thus putting it in the power of the poor of every country to procure clothing for at least one tenth part of the former prices. If effects could be traced to their true causes, I doubt not but that it would be discovered that the improved condition of the poorer classes in every civilized country was as much indebted to the reduced rates in the price of clothing as to any other one cause whatever. No physical want is so degrading to the human family as the want of clothing; nakedness and rags are the badges of poverty and degradation every where; in this condition man seems to lose all self-respect, and becomes the dependent and passive instru-

* I have calculated these estimates from the tables in the American Almanac for 1842. I cannot answer for their accuracy, as but little reliance can be placed on the census of 1840.

ment of him who has courage to use him. But clothe him in comfortable and tasteful raiment, and you impart to him a new spirit; he holds up his head, looks his oppressor in the face, and boldly demands his rights.

It is by the agency of slave labor, also, that the United States have become the second commercial nation of the earth, and by the same agency they are destined ere long to become the first. But before this preëminent position can be attained, a division of this labor must take place, and a portion of it must be directed to manufacturing purposes. The southwest will then as far outstrip every other country in the manufacture of cotton, as she has hitherto done in the growth of the raw material. This is a proposition that does not appear as yet to have been considered by the people of the southwest; but has evidently not escaped the consideration of the people of Great Britain. They foresee that if slave labor should be directed to manufacturing, that our cotton crop would no longer be sent to their mills; and if they should still continue to control the crops of other countries, they could not compete with the slave labor of the southwest; for we could undersell them in every market in the world, not excepting their own home market. Hence the interest which Great Britain and France evinced in relation to the annexation of Texas. It was their policy, and a wise policy on their part, to prevent the people of the United States from extending their territory over the fine cotton region of Texas, and thereby monopolizing much the greater portion of the profitable cotton-growing district of the continent. Hence likewise the policy of England in becoming the champion of liberty in every part of the world; and though covered with the mantle of philanthropy, the disguise is too thin to conceal the true objects of her designs.

Cotton being the great and leading staple of the southwest, the manufacture of the raw material by the labor of this district becomes a subject of the first importance. And the first question is, whether the labor and resources of this region are reasonably adequate to the end proposed. By reference to the census of 1840, it will be seen that the number of slaves then in the United States was about two million five hundred thousand. This population doubles in about twenty-five years; thus in the year 1865 the slave population will be five millions, and in the year 1890 it will reach ten millions. This population cannot emigrate, but must remain within its present limits. Any one acquainted with the country must be satisfied that so great a number of laborers cannot be profitably employed in agriculture, and long before the number reaches ten millions the country will become so exhausted and occupied, that property in slaves must become of

little or no value, unless some other than agricultural employment is found for them.

To one who is acquainted with the southwestern states, it is known that except in the state of Texas, nearly all the good and fertile uplands in the cotton region have been reduced to cultivation; and although there is a large quantity of the poorer uplands, and a considerable quantity of bottom land that may yet be brought into cultivation, yet from the rapid deterioration of the lands now under cultivation, and the necessity of increasing the quantity cultivated in grain to supply the increasing population, it is fair to conclude that the cotton crop east of Texas has nearly reached its maximum; and that three millions of bales might be assigned as the limit. And allowing one and a half million of bales (which is probably too much) for Texas, we shall limit the cotton crop of the United States to four and a half million of bales. Now, according to the most reliable data that I have been able to procure, it would require not exceeding seven hundred thousand laborers to spin and weave four million five hundred thousand bales cotton into plain cloth. The number thus taken from agricultural labor, compared to the number of slaves estimated for the year 1890, bears so small a proportion to the ten millions that it would scarcely be missed out of the field. The white population would afford abundant material for the supply of those branches of the manufactures that require education and skill. Thus it will be seen that in the article of labor the country will afford it in the greatest abundance without at all interfering with other branches of industry; nay, so far from it, by thus drawing off a portion of the labor, the price of slaves will be sustained, and other industrial pursuits will be benefited by sustaining the prices of their products.

Thus, I think it must be admitted on all hands, that the article of labor is now abundant in the southwest; and for the reasons before stated, this abundance must increase more rapidly here than in any other country. And a further reason in favor of this proposition is found in the fact that in every other country a portion of the more prosperous laborers escape from the necessity of laboring, and thus keep down the increase; but every slave is a laborer, and must ever remain so, and so long as this population continues to increase, so long must the number of laborers increase.

Another important consideration connected with this subject is the *price* of labor in the southwest. I have frequently heard it said that manufactures could not succeed in this country, owing to the high price of labor. A female operative in the New-England cotton factories receives from ten to twelve dollars per month; this is more than a female slave

generally hires for in the southwest. But without entering into a comparison of the present nominal price of labor in this and other countries, it is sufficient to say that whatever the price may be, none can produce any given article as cheap with hired labor as *he* who owns it himself. In the latter case the labor is so much capital in hand, and it is not so much a question with the owner whether he can produce a yard of cloth, or any other given article, as low as it can be produced in England or in Massachusetts, but whether by applying his labor to the production of the cloth, or other article, he can make it more profitable than he can by using it in agriculture. It matters nothing to him how low others can produce the article, he can produce it lower still, so long as it is the best use that he can make of his labor, and so long as his labor is worth keeping. It is upon this principle that the southwest is destined to monopolize the manufacture of the whole cotton crop of the United States. But I have heard it frequently asserted that the slaves were not sufficiently intelligent to make useful and profitable operatives in cotton mills; this is an assumption, as I believe, made by those who possess but little knowledge of the negro character. It is a fact well established that negroes learn blacksmithing, carpentering, boot and shoe-making, and in short all the handicraft trades, with as much facility as white men; and Mr. Deering, of Georgia, has employed slaves in his cotton factory for many years with decided success.

It would no doubt be true that grown negroes taken from the field would be found awkward and clumsy in the labor of the cotton mill; but slaves put into the factories when young, and raised up to that employment, would make the most efficient and reliable operatives that could be found in any country. They would be efficient, because, raised and retained at the same business throughout their lives, they would become most thoroughly capable: they would be more reliable, because they would have no right to prescribe the hours for working; there would be no striking for higher wages; and they would have no right to leave the employment at pleasure, as is the case with free laborers. These would be eminent advantages in favor of those who employ this species of labor.

Another great advantage which this country possesses over all others in reference to the manufacture of cotton, is found in the fact that it possesses the raw material at prime cost: in most cases it would, no doubt, be delivered to the manufacturer at less cost than is now incurred in transporting it to the point of exportation. Thus the cotton would be delivered to the mills in this country for about an average of ten per cent. less than it could be delivered at Lowell, in Massachusetts.

All other things being *equal*, this of itself would be an advantage that no country could work against for a continued series of years.

The southwest would possess also an advantage in the prices of provisions; this would be especially the case in the valley of the Mississippi. It is not at all improbable that the building of cotton mills in various parts of the country would stimulate the smaller farmers to grow provisions sufficient to feed the operatives, thus affording provisions as well as cotton at prime cost. But if this source should fail, the great bread and provision growing region, watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries, could furnish the operatives of the southwest with bread and other provisions at a much less cost than can ever be furnished to the operatives of New-England.

Supposing fuel, water power, and other appliances necessary for carrying on the work, to be equal to other countries, it cannot be doubted by any that the southwest can, if she will, monopolize the manufacture of all the cotton which she will or can produce.

But the people of the southwest should not, nor will they be satisfied with a monopoly of the article of cotton. This region offers immense facilities for the rearing of sheep; there are large districts of country in the south that have hitherto been considered as useless, by reason of their sterility—these are admirably adapted to sheep husbandry. They are generally the most healthy parts of the country, and if encouragement were given to wool growing, the non-slaveholding part of the population would be furnished with a most pleasant and profitable pursuit. The lands would cost little or nothing, and with almost no means at all, any individual could in a few years get up a respectable flock. This would enlarge the capacity of the country to sustain its increasing population, and keep within its limits a physical and moral power necessary for the preservation of the peculiar institutions of the south—a policy that should never be lost sight of by the slaveholder. But an inducement must be afforded before these non-slaveholders can be persuaded to embark in this—to them—new pursuit. They are a class of men who possess but little enterprise or foresight; they are not over-fond of labor, and must be well convinced that they will be rewarded before they will agree to work.

The subject is one of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the Legislatures of the states, and if no better mode could be suggested, we would submit the proposition of giving a bounty upon wool sufficient to stimulate its production. This, aided by a demand that would be created by the establishment of manufactures in the interior of the country, would give an impulse to this great branch of industry; one, in whatever light it may be considered, of the utmost importance to the country. This is a business that must neces-

sarily have a small beginning, but sheep are of rapid growth and increase, and with proper encouragement, the growth and manufacture of wool would constitute a large item in the wealth and commerce of the country. It would very soon begin to stop the great drain upon us for coarse woollens and blankets for negro clothing. These articles would be made with a view to the particular uses for which they were designed, and would therefore be better than those obtained from abroad.

The benefits to be derived by the non-slaveholding part of the population, would perhaps be of more importance than any other. By opening to them a profitable employment, you give them the means of procuring wealth and moral respectability, and thereby raise up in the heart of the country a population which will be the pride and boast of the nation. Instead of emigrating out of your borders, they will remain the physical and moral bulwark of southern institutions.

The same causes that favor the manufacture of cotton, will bear upon the article of wool; but the south can never acquire the same monopoly in this as in the article of cotton. If, however, this district should prosecute the growing of wool to the extent of its capacity, and should only manufacture to the extent of its growth, the business would become of great importance, and would add much wealth to the community.

Iron is an article that abounds in many parts of the southwest, and is destined to constitute one of its great staples. Slave labor is peculiarly adapted to the production and manufacture of this article. The demand for iron is daily increasing throughout the civilized world, but in no part perhaps more than in the United States. It may be assumed that the system of internal improvements, by means of railways, will be adopted throughout the entire country; the demand for this object alone will be large, almost beyond calculation. The introduction of cotton, woollen, and other manufactures, will also greatly increase the demand for iron. Add to these the increasing demand incident to the growth of the west for agricultural and other purposes, and it will be perceived that the production and manufacture of iron is scarcely inferior to any other branch of industry, and it should be the policy of the south, without delay, to use every reasonable means for the encouragement and development of this great source of wealth.

Cotton, wool, and iron may be regarded as the three great staples of the southwest. But there is so close a relation between these and many other branches of manufactures, that the establishment of any one or more of them upon an extensive scale would draw after them others, perhaps, not thought of in the beginning; thus not only affording employment to all the labor of the country, but imparting

value to all the natural products of the land. The minerals, the streams, and the forests, would all be found to be the great sources of wealth, and the possessor of many a barren spot would be surprised at his good fortune. But of all the classes to be benefited by such a change, the agriculturist would come in for the largest share, and it is for them and their interests that these important changes are proposed. The country and its destiny is in their hands; they have at their disposal more ample means of producing wealth, and for the promotion of human comfort, than has ever been bestowed upon any other land or people. They have reached an important crisis in their own history, and it would be prudent that they should take a retrospective view of the past, and examine their present condition, for the purpose of enabling them to form a just estimate of the future.

In looking into the history of the south and southwest since the earliest settlement, we find that the almost entire labor of the country has been applied to agriculture, and that the surplus products have been, up to within a few years past, almost entirely shipped to foreign markets. The country seems to have labored under the impression that wealth could be acquired only by drawing it from other countries. Acting upon this principle, they have gone on from year to year producing cotton, tobacco, and grain for exportation, until their best lands have become exhausted, and they find themselves as poor in all the appliances of comfort as they were many years past. The price of the crops being returned to the country in articles of daily consumption, the proceeds of each year's crop is consumed without leaving any thing to be added to the wealth of the community; and the only increase to be found in the elements or means to procure wealth, consists of the increase of slaves—an increase in no way connected with the exportation of produce, but would have been the same, or in all probability greater, if all the produce had been consumed at home.

If one unacquainted with the present condition of the southwest, were told that the cotton-growing district alone had sold the crop for fifty millions of dollars per annum for the last twenty years, he would naturally conclude that this must be the richest community in the world. He might well imagine that the planters all dwell in palaces, upon estates improved by every device of art, and that their most common utensils were made of the precious metals; that canals, turnpikes, railways, and every other improvement designed either for use or for ornament, abounded in every part of the land; and that the want of money had never been felt or heard of in its limits. He would conclude that the most splendid edifices dedicated to the purposes of religion and learning were every where to be

found, and that all the liberal arts had here found their reward and a home. But what would be his surprise when told, that so far from dwelling in palaces, many of these planters dwell in habitations of the most primitive construction, and these so inartificially built as to be incapable of protecting the inmates from the winds and rains of heaven; that instead of any artistical improvement, this rude dwelling was surrounded by cotton fields, or probably by fields exhausted, washed into gullies, and abandoned; that instead of canals, the navigable streams remain unimproved, to the great detriment of transportation; that the common roads of the country were scarcely passable; that the edifices erected for the accommodation of learning and religion were frequently built of logs, and covered with boards; and that the fine arts were but little encouraged or cared for. Upon receiving this information, he would imagine that this was surely the country of misers—that they had been hoarding up all the money of the world, to the great detriment of the balance of mankind. But his surprise would be greatly increased when informed, that instead of being misers and hoarders of money, these people were generally scarce of it, and many of them embarrassed and bankrupt. Upon what principle could a stranger to the country account for this condition of things? How could he account for the expenditure of the enormous sum of *one billion of dollars* in the short space of twenty years? Indeed, I think it would puzzle the most observing individual in the country to account for so strange a result.

It is true that much has been paid for public lands within this period of twenty years, but the price of two crops would more than cover that account. The purchase of slaves and private lands should not be taken into the account, because the money paid for these should have remained in the country, except that portion paid for the slaves purchased out of the cotton region, which is inconsiderable when compared to the number brought into it by emigrants; and as to the natural increase of the slaves in the cotton region, that has no relation to the subject.

What, then, has become of the other nine hundred millions of dollars? Much of it has been paid to the neighboring states for provisions, mules, horses, and implements of husbandry; much has been paid for clothing and other articles of manufacture, all induced by the system of applying *all*, or nearly all the labor of the country to the production of one staple only, and by neglecting the encouragement of manufactures. No mind can look back upon the history of this region for the last twenty years, and not feel convinced that the labor bestowed in cotton growing during that period has been a total loss to this part of the country. It is true that some of the

neighboring states have been benefited to some extent, and it has served to swell the general commerce of the nation; the manufacture of the raw material has given employment to foreign capital and to foreign labor, and has also served to swell the volume of foreign commerce. But the country of its production has gained nothing, and lost much;—it has lost much because it has not kept its relative position in the rapid march of improvement which marks the progress of other countries; and more than all, in the transportation of its *produce*, it has transported much of the productive and essential principles of the soil, which can never be returned, thereby sapping the very foundation of its wealth.

No country has ever acquired permanent wealth by exporting its unmanufactured products; and if any such case could be found in history, the experience of the southwest would furnish satisfactory testimony that the exportation of the commodities produced here, tends rather to impoverish than enrich the country. With the experience and the lights of the past before them, it would seem to be madness to persevere in a course so detrimental to their interests. If, when the prices of the leading staples were much better than they are likely to be for the future, and when the lands were more fertile and productive than now, this system proved unprofitable and ruinous, what hope is there that the result of the future will be better? Nay, is it not quite certain that each succeeding year will accelerate the progressive deterioration, until a state of irredeemable ruin will ensue?

The time has arrived when this subject should be brought to the consideration of every individual in the country, and all the facts bearing upon it should be collected and stated with fidelity. If the legislatures will not move in this work, let societies be formed for the purpose of collecting facts, and collating them for public use. Let a survey and census be taken of some of the older states, showing the quantity of land now in cultivation, compared to the quantity cultivated of some given period that has passed; the quantity of land that has been cultivated, and now abandoned by reason of its exhaustion; the comparative productiveness of the soil now in cultivation, with the soil formerly cultivated; also the quantity of productive soil not cleared and brought into cultivation, and the capacity of the state to increase its productions, either of cotton or grain.

Let it be shown also what number of the inhabitants are non-slaveholders, and the prospects of this class in regard to their future condition in the country. Let facts be also collected in regard to the minerals, forests, water power, and the number of laborers that might be spared from the field without detriment to the agricultural pursuits. Add to this all proper facts connected with the cost

of erecting buildings, and the purchase of machinery for manufacturing both cotton and wool. Let the number of hands and the cost necessary to produce any given quantity of fabric be ascertained; and cause the whole, when properly and fairly digested, to be published in the most popular form, that they may be read by the whole community. Such a collection of facts would afford more light upon the subject of political economy than all the books that have been written upon the subject, from the time of Adam Smith to the present day.

To the foregoing might be added another class of facts, that would go far to explain what has become of a large portion of the money that has been earned by the labor of the south and southwest—I mean those facts connected with the transportation of the raw material to a market, and the amount of the manufactures composed of that raw material, that has been returned to and consumed by the producer. This is a branch of the subject that should be carefully inquired into, and stated in terms that could be understood by all. It should be separated, if possible, from all political considerations, so that the mind of every individual may be free to act on it without prejudice. It is a self-evident proposition, that the transportation of an article adds nothing to its intrinsic value. Its volume, quality, and properties remain the same as they were before the act of transportation. A barrel of flour or pork transported from New-Orleans to Liverpool contains no more nutriment, nor can it contribute more to the support of human life and comfort in Liverpool than in New-Orleans. Now it will be perceived, that if this flour and pork should be consumed in Liverpool by one who is employed in the manufacture of cotton cloth, and this cloth should be sent to this country to be consumed by the cotton grower, and the cloth could have been manufactured here with the same amount of labor as at Liverpool; then the whole of the time, labor, and capital employed in the transportation of the cotton, flour, and pork to Liverpool, and the re-shipment of the cloth to this country, is a clear loss, at least to the United States.

The only objection that can be raised to this proposition is predicated upon the assumption that the labor employed in the manufacture of cloth in this country might have been more profitably employed in agriculture. So far from this being the case, however, the interest of the agriculturist would be promoted by withdrawing this labor from the field, and to that extent keeping down the over-production of the raw material. The capital, skill, and labor employed in this transaction, are not only lost to this country but to the whole human family; for as it has been shown that nothing has been produced by the operation, the volume of those

things necessary to human comfort has in no way been increased. In making this assertion, we do not forget that those employed in this transportation have been supported by their labor, but this does not alter the case; for as their labors were unproductive, it would have been the same to the balance of the world if they had raised the amount by contribution from the producer and consumer of the articles transported. This is the great evil under which the southwest labors. She is yearly wearing out her soil in the production of one great staple, which has become ruinously low in price by reason of its great supply. She parts with this staple at prime cost, and purchases almost all her necessary appliances of comfort from abroad, not at prime cost, but burdened with the profits of merchants, the costs of transportation, duties, commissions, exchange, and numerous other charges, all of which go to support and enrich others at her expense. This is the true reason that she is growing poorer while the rest of the world is growing rich, for it is easy for the world to enrich itself from such a customer on such terms.

If she were wise, she would cease to carry on a traffic in which she always has been and always must be a loser; she will set up for herself, and instead of parting with the products of all her labor to support the balance of the world, she will manufacture her own clothing, and, not stopping at this, proceed to manufacture the whole of her crop, and thereby draw upon the world for a portion of her former losses.

If the proper statistical information could be obtained, we have no doubt but it would be found that the capital and labor expended by the southwest in the transportation of its cotton, and the return of the manufactured article for consumption within the last twenty years, would amount to a sum sufficient to erect buildings, purchase machinery, and put into successful operation a sufficient number of cotton mills to manufacture all the cotton that she grows.

Supposing the south should be convinced that she has hitherto pursued an erroneous and ruinous policy, and resolves to change, an important inquiry then arises in regard to the source from which the means can be obtained to enable her to introduce in a reasonable time the contemplated reform. Upon this head it may be observed that a change in the policy of a country which involves so many important and vital considerations should be introduced gradually, so as to prevent sudden revulsions from taking place in the long established pursuits of the community. The beginning should be small, so as to prevent the outlay of too much capital at a time when it would be difficult to procure the requisite number of skillful operatives to make the investment profit-

able. But notwithstanding the change should be gradual, yet a well-digested system of increase and enlargement should be adopted in the beginning, and never departed from.

Let such planters as are desirous of the introduction of manufactures, instead of investing the net income of their crops in land and slaves, appropriate it to the purposes of manufacturing, and, by uniting the surplus means of a number together, an association might be formed with sufficient means to commence the work in every important district in a very short time. Instead of sending their young slaves to the field, send them to the cotton mill to be instructed as operatives. If such a course were adopted and adhered to, every year would add accelerated strength to the enterprise. The manufacturing establishments would soon begin to support themselves. Every year would bring an increase of operatives to the mills, and by adhering to a system like this, a few years would insensibly produce a change that would astonish mankind, and this, too, without lessening the agricultural products of the country, or doing violence to any of the established pursuits of the community. By adopting a course like this, the whole scheme could be carried out upon the means and resources of the southwest, the establishments would go into operation free from debt and incumbrance, and all the profits would belong to the country, free from the demands of foreign capitalists. Two hands employed in the mills could spin and weave the cotton produced by three; this would add about two hundred per cent. to its value, which would be a clear gain to the country. I assume it to be a clear gain, for the reason that I believe in a few years the cotton crop, in its raw state, would bring as much money to the planters and the country at large as it would have done providing this system had not been introduced. It would, in time, be the means of affording a home market for all the cotton produced: this would make the market price more permanent and satisfactory, for the reason that the price would not depend upon and be influenced by so many contingencies as at present. The character of the crop, and the amount of stock on hand, could always be estimated. This would, to a great extent, prevent the spirit of speculation, which has so often prevailed in regard to the article of cotton, and which has ever been attended with most disastrous consequences. In a word, we should control the cotton trade of the world, and would have it in our power to establish the prices at rates that would always be remunerating to the producer of both the raw material and the manufactured article.

In contemplating the results of these propositions, they appear more like air-built castles than substantial effects flowing from or

produced by adequate causes. But at the risk of being pronounced a dreamer, we will take a glance at some of the results which may reasonably be expected from the introduction of manufactures into the southwest. And first of all, the value of the cotton, in case it should all be manufactured in the country, will be increased at least two hundred per cent.; and instead of fifty millions of dollars, we shall produce annually one hundred and fifty millions; and if the crop should ever reach four and a half millions of bales, and the prices of the raw material and the manufactured articles should range as at present, the annual produce would amount to the enormous sum of three hundred millions of dollars per annum. Thus the article of cotton alone, to say nothing of other productions, would, to use a figurative expression, establish the centre of gravity for the commercial world in the southwest.

Instead of being drained of her substance by every other people, the current would be reversed, and wealth would flow into her coffers from all the nations of the earth; then, indeed, her planters might dwell in castles, upon estates improved and embellished by every device of art; the exhausted and abandoned fields would be reclaimed and redeemed from sterility; her swamps would be drained, and her rivers confined within their banks, with great advantage to the health of the country; the facilities of travelling and transportation would be improved and enlarged to an extent commensurate with the utmost demand; and the south and southwest would become, what by nature and the aid of art they are destined to be, the richest and fairest portion of the whole earth. But the benefits of such a change will not be confined to the southwest; every other part of the country would participate in her prosperity, and more especially the west and northwest. This mighty region, which will ere long number fifty millions of human beings, must be most intimately connected with the southwest, whether in prosperity or adversity. The southwest is the legitimate market for the bread, provisions, and stock of this region. The northwest could be supplied at cheaper rates with all the articles of manufactures produced in the southwest, than she could be from either New-England or any foreign market; for this one reason, if no other, that the transportation would be cheaper, and for the further reason that, by purchasing in the market where she sold her own produce, much would be saved in the way of exchange and commissions.

It may be asked, where could a market be found for the enormous quantity of fabrics to be produced from four million five hundred thousand bales of cotton? By reference to the ratio of the increase of population in the

United States, it will be found that our population doubles in about twenty-four years; and, assuming that we have twenty millions now, our population will amount to eighty millions in the year 1896, a period that will arrive within the lifetime of many men who are now thirty years of age. This increase of population will be quite equal to the increase in the growth of cotton; and we shall continue to have perhaps about the same quantity for exportation to foreign countries that we export at present; but this quantity being greatly increased in value by being manufactured, our external commerce in this article will be more than doubled, while our internal commerce will be enlarged almost beyond human conception; for the closest investigation cannot at present discover the many new sources of commerce which will from time to time develop themselves in a country so new and so extensive as the United States, and especially the great western division.

In every point of view (save that it affords no revenue to the government) the internal commerce of the country is vastly more important than the external or foreign commerce. The capital, labor, and skill employed in the transportation belongs to the country, and constitutes a portion of its wealth; and the profits derived from the transportation, as well as the commissions and profits of the dealers in this commerce, all go to the support of our own citizens. By establishing manufactures in the country, a market will be afforded for many articles, which from their perishable nature, or owing to their great weight or bulk compared to their value, cannot become the objects of a foreign or distant commerce. Many articles of this class would be found profitable to the producer, and highly convenient and useful to the consumer. But at present, for want of a demand, this source of employment, comfort, and wealth is lost to the country.

In this class of products may be mentioned the products of the forest, summer fruits, hay, potatoes, and many other articles produced at a considerable distance from towns and navigable streams. Every manufacturing establishment would open a new market, and become the centre of a commercial circle; and by changing these perishable and heavy articles by the process of consumption and reproduction into a more permanent and valuable form, they would be made suitable to enter into a more distant commerce. And thus employment would be given to labor, and all the means of comfort and of wealth would be produced in districts hitherto lying waste and unproductive. In a government like ours in form, extending over so large a country, a country so strongly marked and divided by its physical conformation and diversity of climate, it is of great importance

that every encouragement should be given to internal commerce. By promoting this great interest, the local and provincial prejudices always so liable to grow up between districts having but little intercourse are prevented. Each portion of the country will be made to feel its dependence upon the other, a community of interest will be established, and a general sympathy pervade the whole nation as one family. Thus our political institutions will be greatly strengthened, and many of the causes which have hitherto disturbed the harmony of the country will cease. Our population will become more Americanized. In throwing off our dependence upon other countries for the supply of our physical wants, we shall become more independent in our manners and modes of thinking, and the same great causes, which give us the control of the commerce of the world, will enable us to impress upon other nations our manners and customs. The spirit and philosophy of our political institutions will follow our commerce wherever it prevails; and more than all, under the guidance of Providence, we shall, through the agency of our supremacy in foreign commerce, do much to establish the Christian religion throughout the earth.

Possessing a territory extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with Europe and Africa on the east and southeast, and Asia and Australia on the west and southwest, and our coasting trade from east to west, passing all around South America, we occupy a position upon the globe which plainly indicates our superior advantages over all other nations of the earth. But these advantages must be cultivated and improved, or they will not be available in giving to our country that proud pre-eminence over all others that she is capable of attaining. The first step towards the attainment of this object is the encouragement of manufactures, by which means we shall not only render ourselves independent of all other countries for the supply of most of our wants, but we shall soon begin to afford large supplies to other nations. In using the term *encouragement*, I have no reference to that kind of encouragement which may be given by the acts of the general government by a protective tariff; that branch of the subject belongs to the statesman, and with him I desire to leave it. But I mean that kind of encouragement which it is in the power of the people to give, simply by a division of labor. This is the great principle which lies at the foundation of the whole subject. Experience shows that every agricultural product that can be successfully produced in the United States can be increased far beyond the demand; this, in time, reduces the prices so low that it checks the production, and the demand for labor being also checked, much labor is thrown out of employment; and it has been the case for many

years that there has been an over-production of all the leading staples at the same time, leaving in the country very many individuals without adequate and constant employment. This is a great evil; it is not only a source of individual suffering, but greatly endangers the safety and morals of society.

From my own observation, I am satisfied that within the scope of my acquaintance, I have perceived more unhappiness arising from the want of constant and profitable employment, for five years past, than from all other causes put together. If the pursuits of the country were sufficiently diversified, this evil would be removed. It is not in the power of the laborer who is out of employment to introduce new pursuits; he is destitute of the means to enable him to do so. But when it is discovered in any district of country that from over-production the leading pursuits fail to remunerate the labor engaged in them, some other pursuit should be introduced to an extent that would relieve the established pursuits from over-production. This could be effected throughout the country by the formation of agricultural societies in every county, whose duty it should be to collect all proper information connected with the labor and products of the country; and whenever it was ascertained that any pursuit was becoming unprofitable by over-production, or other causes, it should be their further duty to procure information in regard to a substitute, and when a substitute should be selected and adopted, the means should be raised to aid in its introduction. In this way a great variety of employments would in time be established, greatly to the benefit and advantage of the whole community. By this means many new sources of employment and wealth would be discovered and developed, and more permanency would be imparted to the standard value of the old-established pursuits; and revulsions would consequently become less frequent.

Such is the nature of the *encouragement* required for the introduction of manufactures and a division of labor; it is that kind of encouragement which is derived from the sympathy and countenance of society; for without this encouragement, nothing short of great capital and indomitable industry and perseverance will secure success to any new enterprise. The community must first be enlightened upon the subject; the public mind must be convinced by facts and arguments, and old prejudices removed, before it can be brought to sympathize with any scheme which proposes a change in the established pursuits of the community. There is a spirit of conservation in business, as well as in morals and politics, which is ever upon the watch, and prompt to condemn every innovation; and woe to him against whose projects these conservatists prophesy! They have much pride

of opinion, and if they predict a failure, they will labor to sustain their judgment by every means short of violence. Success would implicate their judgment and foresight, and consequently they have something at risk; they denominate the innovator a castle-builder wanting in judgment, and pronounce his schemes visionary and impracticable. By such practices the unfortunate projector is brought into disrepute; he loses the confidence of the community, and without great pecuniary and moral resources he must fail; and with his failure the cause in which he engages is injured.

Let it not be said that prophecy has ceased. There are many prophets in the land, whose predictions a wise man will not disregard; for they prophesy evil, and set themselves at work to produce the result. Hence the importance of preparing the way for the introduction of manufactures by enlightening the public mind by every practicable means. The public prints are not sufficient; the living minds of the people must be brought to act upon each other by and through the agency of associations; and without this no sympathy can be diffused among them upon this great subject, and no concert of action can be effected.

Before the public mind can be prepared for the encouragement of manufactures in the southwest, it must be taught a new system of private and political economy. Under the present system the opinion generally prevails that nothing but money constitutes wealth; and many seem to suppose that the best test of prosperity is indicated by the gross sum for which the crop is sold, with but little reference to the cost of its production. In all my acquaintance, I have met with very few planters who estimated the depreciation of their soil as any thing in the cost of producing a crop, notwithstanding they were every few years compelled to purchase land to supply the place of that which they had worn out. Those who act upon this system rarely ever do any thing to improve their land; are unwilling to appropriate sufficient labor to the production of a sufficient supply of grain and provisions; and never doubt the proposition that if they can buy an article cheaper than they can make it, that it would be great folly to produce it themselves. This proposition appears plausible in theory, and might be true perhaps, if the true cost of producing the article could be correctly calculated; as well as the inconvenience of procuring a supply from abroad, and the detriment to business arising from the want of an abundant and constant supply, with many other considerations which are rarely brought into the estimate. But however plausible the theory may appear, it is quite certain that it is deceptive and unsound; or the calculations of the cost of producing, and purchasing the sup-

ply, are not correctly made. For, except in some peculiar locations, and under peculiar circumstances, experience has proven that the system is almost universally ruinous in practice. This is a strong illustration of the necessity of a division of labor, even upon a single plantation. For the application of all the labor of the plantation to the production of one staple, is a violation of this principle, which seems to be a law of nature governing all her works.

The variety of soil, of climate, of mountain and plain, and in fine the great variety of human capacity and of human wants, all indicate the observance of this principle. And when civilized man shall cease to observe it, he must return to his primitive state of barbarism; and even then he cannot exist without in some degree conforming his pursuits to this principle. Labor is man's destiny upon earth; none can escape from it in some form or other; nor have they the moral right to do so. Neither have any part of the human family the natural right to appropriate to themselves more than their share, to the exclusion of others.

By a law of man's nature, a certain amount of bodily exercise is made necessary to the development of his faculties, and the enjoyment and preservation of health. This exercise was not intended to be wasted in unprofitable pursuits; but was designed to be appropriated to the production of things useful to human comfort, and to the improvement of man's condition. It is only by such an appropriation that civilized man has emerged from a state of barbarism; and by such means only can a state of civilization be sustained; for when that requisite quantum of human exercise which is necessary to sustain health, shall be wasted or thrown away upon unprofitable objects, the advance of civilization must not only be checked, but it must suffer decay, in a ratio commensurate with the waste and misapplication of human exercise. Although man was undoubtedly designed and constituted for a state of civilization, it is nevertheless an artificial state, and must be governed by human laws; and among other civil rights, it is most clear that the laborer should be protected in the enjoyment of his honest acquisitions.

It is also clear that for the purpose of defining and securing civil rights, that the natural wealth, consisting of the soil, the forests, minerals, &c., should be appropriated, and become the objects of individual property and control. By keeping these propositions in view, we must perceive that in time, as the population of a country increases, and new generations spring up, a portion of the people must be destitute of either natural or artificial wealth, and are necessarily dependent on those who possess the wealth of the country for employment and support. Now, if we sup-

pose that all the established and known peasants of the country are fully supplied with labor, and no more can be admitted without endangering the means of existence to those already employed, then that portion of the population who are so unfortunate as to be out of employment, must starve or emigrate; and thus a limit would be fixed to the increase of population. This is not a mere hypothesis, for history affords many instances in point. This result can be prevented as long as new pursuits can be introduced that will reward the laborer with the means of subsistence. If, in such a case, a part of the corn produced was sent to another country to buy clothing, and this clothing could be made by the surplus and unemployed laborers at home, it is quite plain that such a change would afford relief to the extent of the corn thus retained in the country. Or, if a country in such a condition procured corn from abroad by the exchange of its manufactures, which were produced to the full extent of the demand, if some other article of manufacture could be produced, which could be exchanged for corn, this would likewise afford relief to the extent which such manufacture could be exchanged. In this case it will be perceived that the principle upon which the relief is founded, is the withdrawing of the employment of foreign labor, and increasing the demand at home by the introduction of new pursuits. By thus dividing the labor of a community, and diversifying the pursuits, provision may be made for an almost indefinite amount of population. And the conclusion naturally follows, that the more divided and diversified the pursuits, the more diversified will be the intelligence of a community; for every new pursuit brings with it the science or knowledge connected with it, thus redeeming the laboring classes from ignorance, as well as from poverty.

This is an important consideration in a government like ours, which is founded upon the intelligence and virtue of the people; these constitute not only the basis, but the superstruction also; these are improvable qualifications; and with proper culture and encouragement may be perpetuated throughout all time, and so long may our free institutions abide. But suffer these to fall into decay, and the republican government of the United States must cease to exist, except in history, where it will be pointed out as a splendid failure in an effort made by a few philanthropists to redeem man from ignorance and tyranny.

The foregoing views have been more particularly applied to the Atlantic and Gulf states, which may be denominated the cotton region; but in their general application, they are intended for the whole of the slaveholding district of the Union. Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Missouri may be denominated

the provision and iron region of the southwest. From the character of their climate and soil, their agricultural pursuits are more varied; they cannot be said to have any decided and fixed staple, except in some small districts, and consequently as their population increases, they will more naturally diversify their pursuits. Situated between the south and the north, their location is a most happy one for the distribution of their great leading products; and when our population shall reach eighty or a hundred millions, as it must before the present generation shall all have passed away, the middle states will become the richest and most interesting portion of the Union; the great internal commerce of the Union will find its centre here, and cities and markets will be established, equalling, and perhaps surpassing, those situated upon the sea-coast. Besides the article of provisions, this region will be able to produce and manufacture the articles of iron, hemp and tobacco cheaper than they can be any where else produced; and by reason of advantage of location, these articles can be distributed in every direction as from a common centre, with less cost of transportation to the consumer. Here likewise will centre the arts and refinements of civilization, which will give the distinctive tone and coloring to the American character. Such predictions may appear rash to many, but before they are condemned as visionary and false, I respectfully invite an attentive examination of the map of the United States, with a careful inquiry into the natural resources of each and every state and territory east of the Rocky Mountains. After such an examination, let it be imagined that the valley of the Mississippi, including Texas, contains a population of one hundred millions, and that two fifths of this population is situate west of the Mississippi river, and I think it will be admitted that the eastern cities can no longer control the commerce and finances of this mighty region; and this is a state of things not so remote but that many now living may realize it, for in seventy years from this time, if our population should continue to increase at a ratio equal to the seventy years past, it will reach over one hundred and fifty millions. Such is the destiny that awaits the southwest, if her population should have the foresight and wisdom to improve the means that nature and her peculiar institutions have placed in her power. But if she blindly adheres to her old system of applying all her labor to the production of but one, or a few articles, thereby exhausting her natural wealth and receiving nothing that is substantial and permanent in its stead, she must lose all the advantages of her position and of her vast resources, and the eastern states must continue to increase their manufactures until they shall monopolize both the raw material and the fabric. And thus, the absurd

system of transporting the raw material to a great distance, at a great expense, to get it manufactured, will be perpetuated. And a bushel of corn grown in the west for ten cents, must continue to be sent to the east at the cost of from thirty to forty cents, to feed the operatives; and after giving employment to the eastern population, and paying a large profit on eastern capital, and to eastern merchants, the manufactured article will be returned to the west, charged with transportation and other expenses, to be consumed and paid for in part with corn at ten cents per bushel, and other western produce at corresponding prices. The whole process is so absurd and preposterous when fairly stated, that we can scarcely believe in its present existence, although the whole country is engaged in carrying it on every day.

There is another consideration connected with the perpetuation of this system. As the lands become more and more exhausted in the older and more northern parts of the slaveholding districts, slave labor will become less and less valuable; it will therefore press south and southwest, and their places will be filled by white laborers, thus insensibly narrowing the limits of the slave district, until the whole of this population will be crowded into a comparatively small area in the extreme south. This result of all others should be avoided if possible by the slaveholders; for it would in every way tend to lessen the value of their property, and would sooner or later verify the prediction of the eccentric statesman of Roanoke, that instead of the slaves running away from the master, the master would run away from his slaves. As the country fills up with a more crowded population in the non-slaveholding states, free labor by degrees will press upon the northern limits of the slaveholding states, and gain a footing within its borders. This will be a different race from the southern non-slaveholder; these will be people who are inured to habits of industry and enterprise; they will bring the means to purchase the worn-out fields, and they will go to work to restore them to fertility by their own industry and skill; they will not use slave labor, and all the land thus purchased and occupied will be so much taken from the occupation of slaves; for it may be safely assumed that when the slaves have once progressed south, they will never return to the north again.

This process has already commenced, and some of the northern counties of Virginia are beginning to attract the attention of their northern neighbors, whose settlement here will no doubt be beneficial to this particular district. But if this emigration should become considerable, it must in time greatly affect the value of slave property in the south.

Thus I have endeavored to suggest to the

public mind such arguments as have occurred to me upon this important subject. I have endeavored to show, that the agricultural system hitherto pursued in the south and southwest has proved ruinous to the country by exhausting the soil, and thereby rendering it every year less and less capable of producing the appliances of human want and human comfort; and that it has a tendency to divide the population into two classes, widely differing from each other in many important respects; that to these and other causes must be assigned the reason of the small increase of the population of the older southern states for the ten years preceding the year 1840, and the great want of education among the poorer classes. On the other hand, I have endeavored to show some of the effects which may be expected from the introduction of manufactures into the southwest; among which I have supposed that the moral condition of the people would be improved, and that by diversifying the employments of the country, the means of human comfort would be greatly increased, and that all classes of the population would share in these benefits; that the value of the exports would be greatly enlarged by the process of manufacturing, and that, instead of a constant drain from the country of the products of all its labor and soil, that wealth would flow into it from every part of the world. I have called the attention of the south and southwest to the rapid increase of labor in this region, and the necessity of finding profitable employment for it; and have taken the liberty of suggesting a plan of introducing manufactures by degrees, as well for the purpose of preventing a shock to the established pursuits of the country, as to avoid the creation of a state of indebtedness. These, with various other topics, I have desired to impress upon the mind of the people of the southwest. Many of these topics are no doubt familiar to many, nor could they be otherwise to those who reside in the country; but we sometimes become familiarized with evils until we cease to observe them, and in such cases a friendly suggestion may be useful. My principal object in this essay has been to arrest the attention of the people of the southwest, and to invite them to the consideration of a subject intimately connected with their prosperity. My conclusions may not in every instance be correct, and although they would seem to be fair deductions from the facts stated, yet the unforeseen events and changes which time alone can reveal, may produce results very different from those which I have supposed. Be this as it may, the amelioration of the condition of the human family is among the great duties of man, and to promote this object we are called to act upon the lights before us; we are not permitted to penetrate the future, and to predict with certainty the result of

any human policy. Nevertheless, it is our duty to march onward, guided by the lights of reason and experience, trusting the events to an overruling Providence.

If this humble effort should in any way be the means of directing the attention of the people of the southwest to the subject of manufacturing, and of inducing them to examine the several topics which I have endeavored to present for their consideration, I trust that individuals possessing more capacity, as well as more time and means for procuring correct information, will take the matter in hand, and afford to the country the benefit of their talents and observation. It will be in the power of such individuals to confer a lasting benefit upon the country, and place their names among those of its benefactors.

MANUFACTURES—INFLUENCE OF ON THE GROWTH OF CITIES.—CANNELTON, INDIANA.—We are indebted to Hamilton Smith, Esq., the distinguished manufacturer of the West, and the man who is doing more at this moment for advancing the manufacturing and general prosperity of this great region than perhaps any other in the nation, for a copy of his elaborate pamphlet, prepared by request, upon the mineral, coal, and manufacturing facilities of Cannelton, Indiana. We have examined it with much interest, as many of the particulars included have from time to time been presented by the author through our Review, and as there are many more which are deserving of the widest circulation and study. The attention of capitalists in particular should be directed to this quarter, which promises them the most prolific returns. Extensive cotton factories are in construction, and the coal mines are in control of a company who solicit capital. The great mill of which a wood-cut representation is given in the pamphlet is intended for 10,800 spindles and 372 looms; it is 287 feet long and 65 feet wide; towers 106 feet high. The attic (220 feet by 40 feet) is lighted by windows in the gable-ends. Corner-stone laid May 21, 1849.

"This town was laid out in 1835, and settled by colliers under the supervision of Rhodes and McLane. In 1836 the American Cannel Coal Company was formed, which owes its origin to the late General Seth Hunt, of New Hampshire; a man whose intelligence was only equalled by the energy of his character, and who, in connection with Messrs. Hobart, Williams and Russell, then wealthy capitalists of Boston, purchased a large tract of land, consisting of about 7,000 acres, and made several entries to the coal strata. The capital stock of this company is \$500,000. From 400,000 to 500,000 bushels of coal are mined here per annum. The site of this town is on a bend of the Ohio, and embraces over

1,000 acres between the river and the coal hills. The landing is very fine. The principal improvements and growth of Cannelton have taken place within the last twelve months. Its population is now somewhere between 1,200 and 1,500 persons.

"A large first class hotel, containing over 70 sleeping-rooms, is now being constructed, and will be ready for occupation by the last of May. Besides the saw and grist-mill of J. C. Porter & Co., referred to on the map, the cotton-mill company have already in operation a fine steam planing-mill, and, connected with the same power, several circular saws, turning-lathes, etc. The establishment of Mr. Z. W. Merrithew, for the manufacture of shaved shingles, is also worthy of notice. A short distance above Castlebury Creek, and upon the bank of the river, Messrs. Ross, Talbott & Co. are erecting a large saw and flouring-mill. Just below the mouth of Dozier Creek Mr. Thomas M. Smith is about building another saw-mill. A building has already been erected by Messrs. Smith and Badger for a foundry, but is not yet in operation. The tin, copper and sheet-iron establishment of J. S. Thayer & Brother is well known to the community. Recently our friend Beacon has commenced the manufacture of brick, and in a short time will be ready to fill all orders in this respect. We have some eight or ten stores of different kinds, and a full supply of professional gentlemen. We have bakers, butchers, shoemakers, tailors and milliners."

We take from the pamphlet the following statistical facts, showing the prodigious advances of manufacturing towns, which should furnish to the people of the south in particular the most salutary lessons. Let us take the old cities of Charleston and Savannah, and ask why they have so long been as it were stationary, while every thing around is in motion? By the introduction of an extensive system of manufactures, it would be easy to advance the population of these cities two-fold in a single decade. We believe their citizens are now beginning to perceive it.

"The causes of the growth of modern cities are the concentration, or assemblage in certain localities, of the materials, or the most useful materials, which afford labor for the hand of industry, and from the products of which the growing wants of mankind are supplied.

"To sustain this position, we submit the following concise statements, showing the causes of the growth and progress of the several cities and towns respectively mentioned:

"*Birmingham, England.*—This city in 1801 had a population of 73,670, in 1831 of 146,986, in 1839 an estimated population of 190,000, and at the present time of probably not less than 250,000. Its opulence, celebrity and magnitude are ascribable to the *iron, stone and coal* with which the district abounds.

"*Bolton, England.*—The rapid growth and

prosperity of this town dates from 1770-'80. Its population in 1773 was 5,604; in 1801, 18,583; in 1811, 25,551; in 1821, 32,973; in 1831, 43,397. It is a seat of cotton manufacture, and the birth-place of Arkwright. Its growth is attributed to its command of *coal*, being situated in a coal district.

"*Bradford, England.*—Township consists of 1,680 acres; population in 1801, 6,393; in 1821, 13,064; in 1831, no less than 23,233, and since that period has increased still more rapidly. Its growth is owing to its manufactures, which are facilitated by its unlimited command of *coal* and its abundance of *iron*.

"*Burnley, England.*—Population in 1801, 3,805; in 1821, 6,378; in 1841, 54,192. A manufacturing town. Cause of growth, abundance and cheapness of *coal* found in the vicinity, with a good supply of freestone, slate, &c. The town is built mostly of freestone.

"*Bury, England.*—A large manufacturing town, consisting of 4,360 acres. Population in 1821, 13,480; in 1841, 77,496. In the parish of the same name, and which includes this town, are *extensive quarries of building stone, and nine wrought coal mines*.

"*Carlisle, England.*—A manufacturing town, supplied with coal from places varying from twelve to twenty miles distant. Population in 1801, 10,221; in 1821, 15,486; in 1841, 36,084.

"*Charleroy.*—An important manufacturing town in Belgium, situated in the centre of the great coal basin of Charleroy. In 1836 it had seventy-two mines in active operation, producing 900,000 tons of coal per annum. Iron abounds, and also quarries of marble and slate. Its furnaces give employment to 3,000 men, and during the winter season 4,000 men are employed in making nails. Its coal, iron and stone have made it what it is.

"*Derby, England.*—A manufacturing town, with both water-power and coal. Population in 1841, 35,015; in 1811 it was only 13,043.

"*Durham, England.*—In 1821 this city had a population of 10,282; in 1831, only 10,520. About this time extensive collieries were opened, and the population immediately increased, so that in 1840 the number of its inhabitants was put down at 40,000. Previous to this it was one of the dullest cities in the kingdom. *Stone, lime, coal and iron* abound.

"*Huddersfield, England.*—The township consists of 3,950 acres, and had a population in 1801 of 7,268, in 1831 of 19,035. The population of the parish in 1840 was estimated at 40,000. It is one of the principal seats of the woollen manufacture, and stands in the midst of a rich coal field. There is also an ample supply of water-power.

"*Johnston, Scotland.*—The rise of this town has been more rapid than any other town in Scotland. The ground on which it stands began, for the first time, to be fuel, or let, on building leases, in 1781, when it contained

only ten persons. Its population in 1840 is set down at 7,000. Its growth is owing to the introduction of manufactures, it being situated on a fine water-power. It has several foundries and machine-shops, and near the town are four collieries.

Leeds, England.—A celebrated manufacturing town, and the great centre of the woollen cloth trade. Population of the town in 1831, 71,602. Its eminence is owing partly to its advantageous situation in a fertile country, intersected with rivers, and partly to its possessing inexhaustible beds of coal.

Leigh, England.—A manufacturing town, with a population in 1841 of 22,229. In 1834, according to Mr. Baines, upwards of 8,000 persons were employed in spinning and weaving cotton and silk, both by hand and power-looms. Its industry and growth is promoted by its abundance of coal and lime.

Lowell, Massachusetts.—Population in 1820, 200; at the present time, 35,000. Cause of growth, its great water-power.

Lawrence, Massachusetts.—Present population, 7,500. Four or five years ago it was but a school district. Its water-wheels have graded streets, and lined these with splendid edifices, on alluvial land so poor that it would not average a crop of fifteen bushels of corn to the acre without artificial enrichment.

Manchester, New-Hampshire, in 1835 was a small hamlet; in 1840 a few mills had increased its population to about 3,000; it is said to contain now about 17,000 souls. Although it is in a hilly and barren country, and receives its materials and sends its products over about sixty miles of railroad, it is still growing with rapidity, because it has the motive-power of the Merrimac.

Manchester, England.—The great centre of the cotton manufacture in Great Britain, and the principal manufacturing town in the world. Manchester and Salford are separated by the small river Irwell, and form one town, covering 3,000 acres. The population of the town and suburbs, including Salford, in 1801, was 95,313; in 1831, 239,388; and in 1841 was estimated at 360,000. Manufacturing has made Manchester. The steam-engine, with other improved machines for working up cotton, have made its manufactures, and the coal from the inexhaustible coal-field, on the edge of which the city is situated, has fed the engine. Hence the modern growth of Manchester is ascribable to its coal.

Merthyr-Tydvil, S. Wales.—Population 27,460 in 1831; in 1841, 34,977. It is remarkable for its iron works, and is wholly indebted for its prosperity to its rich mines of coal, iron ore and limestone. Towards the middle of the last century it was an insignificant village, and in 1755 the lands and mines for several miles around the village, the seat of the great works now erected, were let for ninety-nine years for £200 a year.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne.—Population in 1831, 53,613; in 1841 estimated at 65,000. It owes its importance, if not its existence, to its convenient situation as a place of shipment for the coal wrought in its neighborhood.

Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.—The population of Pittsburg for each decennary period from 1800 was 1,565, 4,768, 7,248, 12,542, 21,115. With its dependencies it has a present population of about 100,000; and although it has lost the greater part of its transportation and commercial business, it is now growing more rapidly than ever. The copper ore of Lake Superior, the lead of Illinois, the wheat of Michigan, the cotton of Tennessee, and even the iron and sand of Missouri, are transported to and combined by the power that lies in the Pittsburg coal.

Oldham, England.—A large manufacturing town, chiefly cotton. Population in 1841, 42,594. In 1760 it comprised only about 60 thatched tenements. In 1839 it had two hundred manufactories, set in motion by a steam-power equal to 2,942 horses, and employing 15,391 hands. It has an abundant and immediate supply of excellent coal.

Rochester, New-York.—Population in 1820, 1,502; in 1830, 9,269; in 1840, 20,191. It owes its great advantages and rapid growth to its vast water-power, created by the falls in the Genesee river.

Sheffield, England.—Noted for its hardware, cutlery, etc. Population of the parish in 1801, 45,755; in 1831, 91,692; and in 1841, 110,801. Its manufactures are extensive, and known the world over. Coal and iron have made the city.

Wolverhampton, England.—This town, or rather the district including the town, comprises 16,630 acres. Its population in 1831 was 67,514. In 1841 the population of the town alone was 36,189. Wolverhampton, and the places in its vicinity, owe their rapid rise to the mines of coal and iron-stone.

“Other illustrations, such as Pottsville, Cumberland, Wheeling, Pomeroy, etc., might be adduced, but those already given are believed to be sufficient to indicate the tendency of men at the present time to cluster around and build their homes in such localities as afford them the great staples and materials upon which they may bestow their labor, and for which they may receive the largest rates of compensation.”—*Cannelton Economist*.

MANUFACTURES.—PROGRESS OF T
COTTON MANUFACTURE IN THE UNITED STATES
—We copy from the last number of the “*Dry Goods Reporter*,” the organ of the manufacturing interest, published in New-York, the following condensed and interesting account of the progress of the cotton manufacture in the United States during the last twenty-three years. The reader will perceive that the greatest amount of increase has actually

occurred during the existence of the present tariff, thus refuting all the pretenses that the cotton manufacturing interest is suffering for want of adequate protection in the shape of a prohibitory tariff, giving it the monopoly of the American market:

SIR:—I have thought it might be interesting and important, both to your subscribers and the public generally, to bring before them at the present time the following statistical information, comprising the annual consumption of cotton in the United States for the past twenty-three years, and the exports of the domestic manufactured cottons for nearly the same period, which, at one view, shows the progressive increase of these exports, and the far more remarkable increase of the annual consumption of the cotton manufactured goods in the United States. And I propose to add such commentary as the examination of these statistics has brought to my mind.

I begin with the apparent annual consumption of cotton in bales for the years respectively named:

Bales.	Bales.
In 1826-27..149,516	In 1838-39..276,018
1827-28..120,593	1839-40..295,193
1828-29..118,853	1840-41..297,288
1829-30..126,512	1841-42..267,850
1830-31..182,142	1842-43..325,129
1831-32..173,800	1843-44..346,744
1832-33..194,412	1844-45..388,006
1833-34..196,413	1845-46..422,397
1834-35..216,888	1846-47..427,967
1835-36..236,733	1847-48..531,772
1836-37..222,540	1848-49..518,039
1837-38..246,063	

Total of 23 years being...6,281,868

These quantities do not include the cotton consumed in the cotton-growing states themselves, which, for the year ending 1st September, 1848, was estimated at 75,000 bales, and 1st September, 1849, 110,000, thus making the real consumption of raw cotton in the United States for the years ending 1st September, 1848, 606,772 bales; 1st September, 1849, 628,039.

Before proceeding to the statistics of exports, let us look at some of the prominent facts exhibited by the foregoing table of annual consumption.

	Bales.
In 1826-27 the consumption stated is	149,516
1827-28 " "	120,593
1828-29 " "	118,853

Making.....388,962
Averaging per annum...129,654

In 1846-47 the consumption stated is	427,967
1847-48 " "	531,772
1848-49 " "	418,039

Making.....1,447,778
Averaging per annum...492,593

Being an increase of consumption, from the three years first named to the last named, of 280 per cent. in twenty-three years; or say the average of 12 per cent. per annum. This, it will be understood, is exclusive of the annual consumption in the cotton-growing states, where the increase may have been even larger. (See Cotton.)

MANUFACTURES.—EXTENSION OF COTTON AND WOOL FACTORIES AT THE SOUTH.—We have been favored by the author (E. Steadman, of Tennessee) with a very able and instructive paper upon this subject, which we regret our inability to publish entire, but from which we shall freely extract. Mr. Steadman recommends the application of slave labor throughout our limits to these purposes. In this we heartily agree, such labor having been found most advantageous wherever adopted.

STATISTICS OF A COTTON AND WOOLLEN MILL OF 5,000 SPINDLES; \$100,000 CAPITAL.

In order that the reader may fully understand us as we go along, we will here lay before him an estimate of one year's operation of the proposed cotton and woollen mill of five thousand spindles, with eighty-eight cotton and twenty-four woollen looms for manufacturing osnaburgs, sheetings, yarns, jeans, and linsey, the estimated cost of which, including lot, buildings and machinery, ready for operation, is \$100,000.

The contemplated mill will annually make the following amount of goods:—1,710 dozen of assorted yarns per day, which in three hundred days will amount to 513,000 dozen, weighing $7\frac{1}{2}$ oz. each, which are now worth by wholesale 9 cents per dozen; making in the whole..... \$46,170 00

Twenty-four osnaburg looms will make $37\frac{1}{2}$ yards each per day, which in three hundred days will make 270,000 yards, weighing $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per yard, worth $11\frac{1}{2}$ cents, amounting to..... \$1,050 00

Sixty-four looms for weaving sheetings, will each make $33\frac{1}{4}$ yards per day, weighing $2\frac{3}{4}$ yards to the lb, which in three hundred days amounts to 640,000 yards, at $8\frac{1}{4}$ cents per yard..... 52,800 00

Twelve linsey looms will make $37\frac{1}{2}$ yards each per day, making in three hundred days 135,000 yards, weighing $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. to the yard, which is worth, plain and colored, on an aver-

age, 30 cts. per yard, amounting to..... 40,500 00

Twelve jean looms will make 28 yards per day, and in three hundred days, 100,800 yards, weighing 1 lb. to the yard, worth, plain and colored, 40 cents per yard, amounting in three hundred days to..... 40,320 00

Total products per annum, \$210,840 00

The above result will cost for cotton, wool, labor, and incidental charges in manufacturing, as follows:

Cotton required, 766,200 pounds, delivered at the mill, including all charges, at 10 cents per pound, amounts in the whole to..... \$76,620 00

Wool required, 157,837½ lbs. delivered at the mill, including all charges, at 31¼ cents per lb., amounts in the whole to..... 49,324 00

Wood required, 2,000 cords delivered at the mill, including all charges, at \$1.75 per cord, amounts to..... 3,500 00

Labor to manufacture the above goods, amounts to..... 25,725 00

Commissions, freights and charges, to include all costs of sale at 10 per cent., amounting to.. 21,084 00

Interest on \$30,000 capital necessary to be invested in stock, on an average one year with another, at 7 per cent. per annum, amounts to..... 2,100 00

Insurance on buildings, machinery, and stock, \$100,000, at 2½ per cent..... 2,500 00

Depreciation on the value of machinery, worth \$75,000, 5 per cent.,..... 3,750 00

Incidental expenses, which is the cost of oil, leather, starch, dyestuffs, &c..... 6,000 00

Total expenses..... \$190,603 00

Total profits..... \$20,237 00

In addition to the styles of goods mentioned in the above estimates, a portion of the machinery and labor can be profitably employed, and no doubt will be, in the manufacture of cottonades, bed-tickings, stripes, checks, and plaids.

In the table of expenses will be found an item of \$25,725 for labor. This item embraces all the labor necessary to carry on the mill, or that is in any way connected with it. For the satisfaction of those who are not familiar with the subject, we have made the following analysis of that item, in order that

every man may calculate for himself the amount paid to each description of operatives, and form his own conclusions as to its sufficiency.

TABLE OF LABOR.

8 Boys, per annum,	\$50 00 each,	\$400
106 Women	" 112 50 "	11,925
23 Men	" 250 00 "	5,750
1 Engineer	" 600 00 "	600
1 Carpenter	" 450 00 "	450
1 Machinist	" 600 00 "	600
4 Overseers	" 600 00 "	2,400
1 Clerk	" 600 00 "	600
1 Superintendent,	1,500 00 "	1,500
1 Agent,	1,500 00 "	1,500
147		\$25,725

These are the amounts proposed to be paid, and they contemplate that each person boards himself or herself, as the case may be.

No question, we presume, will be raised in regard to the liberality of any of the above items, except for the labor of the 106 women and the 23 men. The wages allowed the women, it will be seen, is \$112.50 per annum, which, for fifty weeks, deducting two weeks for holidays and lost time, amounts to two dollars and twenty-five cents per week. The wages allowed the 23 men, who are mostly common hands, is \$250, which, for fifty weeks, amounts to five dollars per week.

"In Lowell, labor is paid the fair compensation of 80 cents a day for men, and \$2 a week for women, while in Tennessee the average compensation for labor does not exceed 50 cents per day for men, and \$1.25 per week for women. Such is the wisdom of a wise division of labor."

We will now briefly recapitulate the advantages we have enumerated in favor of manufacturing here:

766,200 pounds of cotton costs us one cent per pound less than the northern manufacturers..	\$7,662 00
157,837½ pounds of wool costs one and a half cents per pound less than the northern manufacturers.....	2,367 50
Five per cent. on the value of the goods, worth \$210,840...	10,670 00

Sum total of advantage..... \$20,699 50

It will be seen that we have here represented an advantage in favor of southern manufactures of over 20 per cent., and from the facts in our possession, we cannot believe the estimate extravagant. We have now before us a very able work written by Hamilton Smith, Esq., of Louisville, Ky., on this subject, in which he demonstrates that locations on the Ohio river have an advantage over the northern establishments of 21½ per cent.; and as a matter of course, an establish-

ment here in the immediate neighborhood of the cotton fields would have a still greater advantage. Mr. James Montgomery—the author of several standard works on the manufacture of cotton in Europe and America, and very high authority on all subjects connected with manufacturing—recently made the following statements of the advantages of the south and west for manufacturing, after having made a personal examination of their facilities. He says:

“I have read Gen. James’ pamphlet, and the pamphlets written by Mr. Gregg, on the comparative advantages of the south for manufacturing; and yet, after all I have read on the subject, I may say with the Queen of Sheba, half the truth has not yet been told. Cheap living, and, of course, low wages—cheap cotton, coal and iron, constitute the great elements of success in the introduction and prosecution of the cotton manufacture. No country in the world possesses these elements in a degree equal to the southern and southwestern sections of the United States. Great Britain, with her cheap coals and iron, stands at the head of all nations in point of wealth and commerce. She is now making a desperate effort to introduce cheap living, but she can never introduce cheap cotton. The northern states can never equal the south in either of the above-named elements.”

The cotton crop of Tennessee amounts to 200,000 bales, averaging 450 pounds. This will give us 90,000,000 pounds per annum, the average price of which is supposed to be about 6½ cents. The value of the crop, then, is \$5,850,000. To produce this amount of cotton would require 1,440,000 acres of land, averaging 250 pounds to the acre in cotton. The average value of these lands cannot be less than \$15 per acre, which gives us a capital of \$21,000,000 invested in land alone.

To cultivate this amount of land will require 51,430 able-bodied hands, each tending seven acres of cotton, producing 250 pounds to the acre. If we value them at \$500 each, which would be a low estimate, we find a capital invested in slaves to produce this cotton of \$25,715,000.

To these items we must add the amount of capital invested in mules, horses, ploughs, and all other farming implements, estimated at about \$2,695,000, making the total amount of capital employed to produce the 90,000,000 pounds of cotton, \$50,000,000.

To manufacture the 90,000,000 pounds of cotton into cloth would require 500,000 spindles, with all the preparations for weaving, the cost of which, including the powers, (water or steam,) sites and buildings, would be \$10,000,000.

In addition to this \$10,000,000, which would all be consumed in the erection of buildings, purchase of sites and machinery, there would be required the sum of \$2,500,000,

upon which to operate in the purchase of material, payment of operators, &c., which would run up the amount of capital necessary to \$12,500,000.

The 90,000,000 pounds of cotton will make 225,000,000 yards of domestics, the cotton yielding two and one half yards to the pound. The average price of these domestics is not less than 7½ cents per yard, which would make the aggregate value of the goods manufactured from the cotton crop of Tennessee, \$16,875,000.

To operate the above amount of machinery, 25,000 common hands, embracing men, women and children, would be required, at an annual expense of \$3,125,000. Also, 1,000 men, machinists, overseers and superintendents, at an annual expense of \$750,000, making the cost of the labor.....	\$3,875,000
The incidental expenses, embracing repairs, oil, leather, starch, &c., would amount to.....	1,500,000
Five per cent. to be set apart as a sinking fund, to cover the wear and tear of machinery, buildings, &c.....	500,000
Insurance, 2½ per cent., on \$10,000,000.....	250,000
Ten per cent. upon the value of the goods, to cover commissions, freights and losses,...	1,685,500
Cost of 90,000,000 pounds of cotton delivered at the mill, say 6½ cents per pound.....	6,075,000

Making the annual expenses, \$13,885,500

If we deduct this bill of expenses from the value of the goods produced as above, (\$16,875,000,) we have an annual profit of \$2,989,500, or *twenty-four per cent.* upon the capital of \$12,500,000.

Thus it will be seen, that while the agriculturists who produce this cotton make but 11½ per cent. upon their capital, the manufacturers who convert it into fabric clear 24 per cent., or a fraction over double the amount upon their capital. Are there any so blind as not to see the advantages of the system?

SLAVERY AND MANUFACTURING.—We now approach a subject fraught with the most important consequences to the people of the slaveholding states, and which should command their serious consideration.

The events of the last three years must have satisfied every intelligent man that the institution of slavery in the United States has already reached the limits of expansion—that its further extension is a physical impossibility. We have heretofore been excluded from the territory north of the line of the Missouri compromise, and the admission of California

closes the door to any hope of extension of slavery there. The intermediate territory is said to be unfit for slave labor; that both climate and soil are opposed to it; and that, as a consequence, it can never go there.

What, then, has the south to look to, or to hope for? The north is rapidly filling up; the demand for labor is great; capital is abundant, and population is pouring in. They already have the preponderance of political power in the national government, and hold, as it were, our political destinies in the hollow of their hand. There is free territory enough to make fifteen or twenty new states, while the south can only look to the three or four states to be formed out of Texas, to balance the fearful reinforcement to the opponents of our institution.

That the north has the power to oppress, and if disposed, to crush us, no one will deny; and the question is not whether they can do it, but whether they will exercise the power it is acknowledged they possess. Under such circumstances it becomes the interest, ay, the duty of every southern man to inquire if the south cannot be placed in a position to repel assaults upon her institutions, in the event they ever should be made.

The south has for a long series of years permitted the fostering care of the general government to be extended to the domestic manufactures of our country. She has permitted herself to be taxed to support the manufacturing systems of the north, to her own direct disadvantage, in order that our country might be as independent of other nations for her supplies, as federal legislation could make her. She has thus aided in increasing the wealth and population of the northern states, and developing their resources, until they have outgrown her control, and now threaten her dearest rights, if not her very existence.

Under these circumstances, the true policy of the south is distinct and clearly marked. She must resort to the same means by which power has been accumulated at the north, to secure it for herself. She must embark in that system of manufacturing which has been so successfully employed at the north. We hold the raw material, and if we will but go into its manufacture, we can control the world. All civilized nations are now dependent upon our staple to give employment to their machinery and their labor, and they cannot do without it. If, then, we manufacture a large portion of it ourselves, we reduce the quantity for export, and the competition for that remainder will add greatly to our wealth, while it will place us in a condition to dictate our own terms. The manufactories will increase our population; increased population and wealth will enable us to chain the southern states proudly and indissolubly together by railroads and other internal im-

improvements; and these works, by affording
 speedy communication from point to point,
 will prove our surest defense either against
 foreign aggression or domestic revolt.

Our slave population is every day increasing upon us in greater ratio than the white, and it is only by some system that will encourage the emigration of a white population to us, that we can hope to keep up the equilibrium of the two races.

We have seen that this manufacturing system will induce emigration to us; that it will add both to our commercial and political power, and above all, it will enable us to defend successfully those rights guaranteed to us by the constitution; and if the evil day should ever come when the south shall be satisfied that she cannot remain in the Union upon equal terms, or with safety to her institutions, it will place her in a condition to maintain her separate nationality.*

* A correspondent of the *New-York Herald* having visited the Saluda Factory, near Columbia, S. C., thus comments upon the use of slaves for manufactories :

"The factory in question (\$100,000 capital) employs 98 operatives, or 125 including children. They are all slaves; and a large proportion of them are owned by the company. The mill runs 5,000 spindles and 120 looms. The fabrics manufactured are heavy brown shirting and southern stripe, a coarse kind of colored goods for house servants. The superintendent is decidedly of the opinion that slave labor is cheaper for cotton manufacture than free white labor. The average cost per annum of those employed in this mill, he says, does not exceed \$75. Slaves not sufficiently strong to work in the cotton fields can attend to the looms and spindles in the cotton mills; and most of the girls in this establishment would not be suited for plantation work. We dislike the idea of drawing a comparison between the labor of the fair and virtuous daughters of the north and that of the blacks of the south in the cotton mills. It is unpleasant to put them on the same footing even in the cotton mills, though one mill may be, in Massachusetts, exclusively occupied by the amiable, industrious, intelligent, and educated daughters of the old Bay State, and the other may be, in South Carolina, worked by negro slaves. We regret it; we have that sort of respect for the sex of our own race, which makes it painful to bring them to the same level with the colored races, though both may be employed in the same service. At the best, the work in a cotton mill is consumptive of lungs as well as cotton. We have been through the mills of Lowell and other places in the north: the general appearance of the female operatives is neat and cleanly, but their prevailing complexion is an unhealthy pallor. Not many die at the mills, because they are young, and when they fall sick, they, if possible, return home. But the life of an operative in a cotton mill is a consumptive business at best.

“ Mr. Graves is of the opinion that the blacks can better endure the labor of the cotton mills than the whites. The slaves in this factory, male and female, appeared to be cheerful, well fed, and healthy. The mill has been worked by slave operatives (requiring only one white overseer) for two years past, and the result, we are informed, is in favor of slave operatives :

Average cost of a slave operative per annum,	\$75 00
“ “ white operative, at least, ..	116 09

Difference,...\$41 00
Or over thirty per cent. saved in the cost of labor
alone."

MANUFACTURES.—RELATIVE COST OF STEAM AND WATER POWER.—In a pamphlet recently issued at Louisville on "The Relative Cost of Steam and Water Power; the Illinois Coal Fields, and the Advantages offered by the West, particularly on the Lower Ohio, for Manufacturing," there is much information grouped, establishing the superiority of steam over water power, for machinery on a large scale. We extract so much as will give the argument, supported by figures.

We deem the present a suitable time to introduce the subject to our readers, in view of the establishments now in progress in the south and west for manufacturing. Among the cotton mills lately put in operation, under favorable auspices, is one at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, owned by the "Warrior Manufacturing Company." When the building is filled, as it will soon be, it will contain at least 6,000 spindles and 150 looms. The working has begun with a less quantity, but orders are in process of execution at the north for the entire amount. Steam is used, from coal taken from the inexhaustible bed in the vicinity. White labor is alone employed in the establishment.

The satisfaction given by the starting of this mill has encouraged other investments of the same kind; and we learn that a wealthy citizen of Tuscaloosa county has closed a contract for machinery to be delivered next fall on estimates of \$50,000, himself the sole owner. Companies have been formed, and others will follow, under the general charter law of the state for such objects. Individuals have only to specify in writing the name, capital, and purposes of their company, to secure the privileges of incorporation—the instrument to be recorded in the office of the clerk of the county court.

But, we did not intend to dwell on the prospects of any one place in the manufacturing enterprise. Our object mainly was to show that steam was preferable to water as a motive power for cotton mills. To this end, we quote from the pamphlet alluded to, which is based on calculations for the country on the Ohio, but not less applicable to other sections where coal may be obtained cheaply, as in Alabama.

Here are the promised extracts:

A cotton mill of ten thousand spindles will turn out two tons of goods a day—say six hundred tons per annum; 100 pounds of cotton will average 89 pounds of cloth; 666 tons of cotton are therefore required by the mill; 1,266 tons cost, aside from drayage, (a considerable item,) \$2,532 in transportation between the mills and where the goods are sold. Aside from the extra cost of water power, this mill would require a capital of not over \$250,000—perhaps \$200,000 would be sufficient. This item then is 1 or 1½ per cent. on the capital invested. Mr. Montgomery, in his work (published in 1840) on the compar-

ative cost of manufacturing in England and America, says:

"The attention of manufacturers in New-England has been for some time directed to the advantages of steam as a means of propelling machinery, *the advantages of a good location being considered equal to the extra expense of steam power.*"

Another important item of expense avoided by a steam factory, is that of heating the mill. Mr. Montgomery gives the average cost of this at \$467.80 per annum for a mill of say 4,000 spindles. Six hundred dollars per annum may then be put down as cost of heating a mill of 10,000 spindles. And it is not only necessary that the atmosphere in the mill should be at the proper degree of temperature but of the proper dampness, so that the threads shall run smoothly. Both purposes require a large part of the fuel and machinery used in a steam mill.

The foregoing are not all, but are the most important difficulties attending the use of water power for cotton and woollen factories. Most of the difficulties are found wherever this power is applied; and, as a general rule among engineers, at any position where coal can be had at ten cents a bushel, steam is as cheap as water power at its minimum cost. Such is the theory. The facts seem to be beyond this; for in New-England, where water power is so abundant, the largest cotton factories now being erected are to have steam as a motive power: of this character are the Naumkeag mill at Salem, and that at Portsmouth; the first of 40,000, and the last of 50,000 spindles, and these are the largest in the world. At Fall River, Bristol, and Newport, steam factories are in successful operation. The fine goods of the Bartlett steam mills at Newburyport have a wide reputation. The recent erection of the James Mill at the same place, shows the success of the former; and within the last year the escape steam of a new mill at Lowell is drowning the noise of the falls of the Merrimac. Let it be remembered that coal in New-England costs, on an average, twenty-three cents per bushel.

As before stated, the water power at Lowell now costs \$5 a spindle; \$50,000 of capital is to be invested in power to run a mill of 10,000 spindles.

The interest on this per annum is. . .	\$3,000
Now add the cost of heating the mill. . .	600
And the cost of transportation.	2,532

And you have one side of the equation	
as against steam.	\$6,132

I cannot fix with precise accuracy the steam power and fuel required for a mill of 10,000 spindles. The only authority before me gives this estimate for one of 3,700 spindles, with the necessary machinery for preparing the

cotton and manufacturing the cloth. A high-pressure engine of 40 horse power—length of stroke 4 feet, diameter of cylinder 1 foot—makes 40 single or twenty double strokes per minute; three or four round boilers, 15 feet long by 2½ feet in diameter, requiring 200 gallons of water, and consuming 1½ chaldrons (45 bushels) of bituminous coal per day—pressure of steam sixty-eight pounds to the square inch. To do double the work does not, as I am told, require double the power, and nothing like double the fuel. This estimate was made eight or nine years since; within that time very important improvements have been made in the application of steam power and the use of fuel; and probably I may safely say that an engine of 90 horse power, requiring 80 bushels of coal a day, is sufficient for the mill of 10,000 spindles.

Then 80 bushels coal for 300 days, at 23 cents per bushel.....	\$5,520 00
Add salary of engineer.....	500 00
	<hr/>
	\$6,020 00

Showing an advantage in favor of steam, from coal at twenty-three cents a bushel, of \$112 per annum. The cost of an engine of 90 horse power, boilers, belting, pipes, &c., not required for the purposes specified in the other, would be probably not over \$9,000, while the cost of communicating the water power to the machinery would be at least \$17,000. Montgomery, in the work already quoted from, states the cost of two water wheels, equal to eighty horse power, including gearing, gates, shafting, belting, &c., at \$17,000. The Tremont and Suffolk mills at Lowell contain 12,000 spindles, make coarse goods, and have six water wheels, the cost of each wheel between \$3,000 and \$3,500, entirely exclusive of the cost of excavating and walling up the branch canals to and from the mills.

It is a mooted question which will last the longer, the wheels or the engine; but give \$3,000 to equal the difference, and there is the interest of \$5,000 to add to the advantage before stated.

After referring to the cost of working cotton mills in Great Britain and the New-England states, and pointing out the reduced scale of expenses in the coal region, the author of the pamphlet presents the following

SUMMARY

Of the advantages of manufacturing cotton where the seams of the Illinois coal field are cut by the lower Ohio.

We have the following data as elements of the calculation:

A mill of 10,000 spindles will consume 666 tons of cotton, make 600 tons of cloth, and use 24,000 bushels of coal, 2,530 gallons of

oil, and 46,000 lbs. starch per annum; it will require of operatives 25 men and boys and 200 females, whose wages will average the Lowell prices—say males 80 cents per diem, and females \$2 dollars per week, besides board, or males \$6,000, females \$20,800 per annum. The average prices of board at Lowell are per week for males \$1 75, and for females \$1 25—or total per annum \$17,375.

It is safe to assume that the prices of board on the lower Ohio would be one third less than at Lowell, where a sirloin of beef costs from 15 to 16 cents the pound, potatoes from 60 cents to one dollar per bushel, and most of the other articles of food in the same proportion. It will be remembered that the rents of the boarding houses at Lowell are regulated by a "sliding scale," and are dependent on the general prices of food; sometimes these have, as is said, been entirely abated, and the boarding-house keepers have received gratuities from the corporation, so as to make a living without changing the prices of board; and it is fair, therefore, to include the cost of board as a part of the wages paid by the corporations.

We have before, on page 22, average saving in cost of transportation and interest on difference of capital.....	\$44,182 80
Add difference of one third in cost of board on \$17,375.....	5,791 06
Add difference of 19 cents per bushel on 24,000 bushels coal..	4,560 00
	<hr/>
Total saving per annum.....	\$54,533 86

Deduct \$1 50 per ton, supposing the goods are to be sold at Louisville, St. Louis or Memphis.....	900 00
	<hr/>
	\$53,633 86

If, to save all cavil, we deduct 3 per cent. to cover interest, insurance and commission on sales at these cities on 4,000,000 yards at 8 cents—or \$320,000,	9,000 00
	<hr/>
	\$44,633 86

If lard oil is used, we have the advantage of 15 cents per gall.; but if the use of sperm oil is continued, we pay an advanced price of 15 cents per gall., or \$379 50. We should, however, save about 1 cent per lb. in price of starch, or \$460; and in flour, wood, gas (or lard oil for lamps) probably \$600 per annum.

We have a clear saving of over 22 per cent. on \$200,000, which is an ample capital.

I am informed by those who have the means of knowing the fact, that the average dividends declared on cotton mills controlled in Boston have been fourteen per cent. for the last five years; but I am not advised of the amount of

earnings in these mills that has been added to surplus funds, or invested in new machinery, improvements, property, or new stocks.

As the new city of Lawrence is growing with magical rapidity, and new cotton mills are in progress of erection all over the New England seaboard, notwithstanding the changes in the tariff and the desperate struggles of the English manufacturer to drive us out of foreign markets, (so desperate that brown cottons have been sold cheaper at Calcutta than their cost in Manchester;) and as we know that the bank and railroad dividends in New-England will average 8 per cent, it will not be considered an over-estimate to put this average on our capital to the savings above; or \$16,000 plus \$44,633 86 = \$60,633 86, or over 30 per cent. dividends, to be reasonably expected from our mills.

If the *maximum* of advantages is taken and added to 20 per cent. average of earnings of eastern mills, (and it is believed that this calculation would be nearer the truth,) the estimated profits here would be so enormous that western men could scarcely be brought to believe the accuracy of the calculations without the severest tests of experience.

Several months since, and before these articles were written, I sent the results to a friend and practical manufacturer of cotton on the Ohio. His answer was this: "An Irish laborer once wrote home to his friends that he got meat for his meals three times a week. 'Why, you lying dog,' said his employer, 'do you not get meat three times a day, and every day?' 'Yes,' said the laborer, 'but I want my friends to come and join me; meat three times a week will bring them here, but if I promise it three times a day they won't believe a word of it.'"

Another practical manufacturer in the west writes to me that the calculations are substantially correct, and the results within the truth, but that a model mill, on the Lowell system, is required to convince the western capitalists of these truths.

MANUFACTURE OF SHOES AT THE SOUTH.—AMOUNTS WHICH MIGHT BE GAINED TO US BY ABANDONING THE IMPORTS OF SHOES, &c.—There are now many shoe factories in operation or going up at the south. The Richmond Dispatch thus speculates upon the subject:

"It has been estimated that ready-made shoes, to the value of not less than five millions of dollars, are annually imported into the several southern states from the north. We are not aware of the quantity taken in Virginia, but we have no doubt it is very large, since one house in this city (so we learn) imports annually to the amount of \$100,000. We regard it as highly probable that the state of Virginia imports from the north, annually, shoes to the value of \$2,000,000. Much the

larger portion of these shoes, it is believed, is made in Boston; that very city which sets the laws of the United States at defiance, in order to prevent southern gentlemen from recapturing their slaves.

"Now what is to prevent us in this city from manufacturing all the shoes which may be wanted to supply our own state? We have the same facilities that they have in Boston for carrying on the business by wholesale, and there can be no doubt that, provided the merchants, who now import so largely, could obtain their supplies at home, they would greatly prefer it. Many of them, it is believed, own property in the city, and are otherwise interested in its prosperity. They know that by offering additional means of employment, they add to the population of the city, and that every addition of an inhabitant increases the value of their property. We will not take into the account, at present, those merchants from the country who pass by Richmond without stopping, and go to the north for their supplies. We will only suppose that the ready-made shoes imported into this city from the north, and sold here, were manufactured in Richmond—what a great addition would it be to the means of employment! How many boys and females would find means of earning their bread, who are now suffering for a regular supply of the necessities of life!

"We have no means of ascertaining how much of the two millions, which we have supposed to be sent from Virginia to the northern cities, and invested in ready-made shoes for the Virginia market, actually goes from Richmond. We will confine our remarks, therefore, to the \$150,000 sent by the single house, already alluded to. Let us see how many persons these would give employment to, if made in Richmond.

"We see it stated that a case of shoes averages in the northern shoe markets \$40.00; so that this house imports, annually, 3,750 cases of shoes. As each case contains sixty pair of shoes, the whole number of cases contain 225,000 pair, or 450,000 shoes. We are not aware how many shoes a good workman can average a day, but we will suppose three shoes. Allowing three hundred working days to the year, a good workman could make at this rate nine hundred in that space of time. To make the whole number, then, it would require five hundred good workmen, and all these workmen would be fed and clothed here at home. We say nothing of the females employed in stitching and binding, but their number would be considerable, and they too would be fed and clothed in the city.

"By the exercise of a proper economy, this \$150,000 would be kept at home, for the employment of our own people. Let us see how much of our own merchandise and produce these five hundred workmen would take.

"We will allow to each workman twelve dollars a year for clothing. This is a very moderate allowance; far within the mark, we are convinced. Yet it will answer our purpose for the present. Now here would be \$6,000 to be distributed among our merchants for dry goods, and among our tailors and sempstresses for work. How many of these latter would it feed? Again, the food consumed by each of these workmen would amount to at least \$100, giving \$50,000 more to be distributed among our bakers, grocers, millers, &c. This of itself would form no inconsiderable item; but when we take into consideration the number of idle hands it would set in motion, its importance grows upon us. We say nothing of the lodging of these persons, nor of the sheets, blankets, counterpanes, bedsteads, &c., affording employment and profit to merchants, needlewomen, cabinet-makers, upholsterers, &c., nor of the crockery and hardware, and other necessities which they would be compelled to use. Upon a fair average, we think that if these shoes were manufactured here in Richmond, it would cause an additional expenditure here of at least \$250,000, besides giving employment to seven or eight hundred persons. But this one house, it must be recollected, does but a small portion of the shoe importing business, comparatively. We have no doubt that the annual sums expended in this manner, reach, if they do not exceed, \$500,000, and that the employment of it in the way indicated would add to the expenditure in the city 8 or 900,000 dollars, giving employment to more than 2,000 persons.

"That the whole wants of the city of Richmond and its customers might very well be supplied at home, we have not the slightest doubt. That it is time for Virginia to think of doing some such thing, the high-handed measures lately adopted in Boston sufficiently prove. As long as we are dependent upon these people, they will insult us at pleasure. Let us cut loose from them, thus far at least."

MANUFACTURES, GREAT BRITAIN.—MANUFACTURING PROGRESS OF GREAT BRITAIN IN COTTON, WOOL, FLAX AND LINEN, SILK, ETC., WITH PRODUCTIONS AND PERSONS EMPLOYED.—Returns have just been published, in compliance with an order of the House of Commons of the 15th August, 1850, on the motion of Mr. Pilkington, the member for Blackburn, which possess very great interest as an authentic record of several of the most important branches of our national industry. We published in our last the summaries of the returns under each branch of manufacture for the United Kingdom, together with a summary of the whole; and this week we publish the details of the same for the counties of England and Wales, by which the localities of the various manufactures in that part of the kingdom may be

better understood. These are the most complete series of returns ever issued, of the number and power of the factories in the textile manufactures, with the number, age, and sex of the persons employed in them. They are not in exactly the same form as the returns made in 1834, which are to be found in the volume of "Tables of Revenue, Population, and Commerce" for that year. We cannot, therefore, compare the two series at all points. But in the most important particulars they correspond, and thus we are able to institute a comparison, and to show the remarkable progress that has been made, in the space of sixteen years, in these great departments of industry. To a very considerable proportion of our readers it will be interesting to trace the advances made in the branches with which they themselves may be directly or indirectly connected, and to compare the several branches among each other. Of course, these returns apply only to the operations carried on in factories, and under the inspection of the factory inspectors, and they do not, therefore, include the auxiliary branches of the manufactures, such as hand-loom weavers, dyers, manufacturers of lace, hosiery, &c.

COTTON FACTORIES, UNITED KINGDOM.—In 1834 the number of cotton factories was 1,304; in 1850 it was 1,932; increase, 628 factories, or 48 per cent.

In the hands employed there was a somewhat greater increase: namely, from 220,134 in 1834, to 330,924 in 1850; increase, 110,790, or 50 per cent.

The increase in the steam and water-power employed in the cotton mills is much greater. These particulars are not given in the returns published by the Board of Trade for 1834, but they were furnished by the factory inspectors to Mr. Edward Baines, for his "History of the Cotton Manufacture," published at the beginning of 1835, and we extract them from that work, (p. 394.) In 1834, the horse-power was 30,853 of steam, and 10,203 of water—total, 41,056 horse-power. In 1850, the horse-power was 71,005 of steam, and 11,550 of water—total, 82,555; being an increase of 100 per cent.

The number of spindles used in the cotton manufactures was not given in any returns of the factory inspectors in 1834; but it was estimated by Mr. E. Baines, on a comparison of the authorities of Burn, Kennedy, &c., at 9,333,000, (p. 383.) In 1850, the number was 20,977,017; being an increase of 102 per cent.

The number of power-looms was estimated by Mr. Baines, in 1834, at 100,000; it is given in 1850 as 249,627; increase, 149,627, or 150 per cent. In 1834 there were believed to be 250,000 hand-loom weavers; we have no means of stating the number in 1850.

The import of cotton wool increased from

303,656,837 lbs. in 1833, to 755,469,008 lbs. in 1849; being an increase of 451,812,163 lbs., or 148 per cent.*

Thus, as might have been expected from the improvements in machinery, and the speeding of the machines since 1834, the increase in the hands employed is less than the increase in the steam and water power, or in the spindles, and this again is less than the increase in the cotton wool consumed. The increase of hands has been 50 per cent., of steam and water-power 100 per cent., of spindles 102 per cent., of power-loom 150 per cent., and of cotton wool consumed 148 per cent. Thus the extent of the manufacture has immensely increased; but, owing to the mechanical improvements, the productiveness of each workman, and of the machinery, has increased far more; of course, the consumer gains greatly by the reduction that necessarily takes place in the price of the manufactured article; the consumption increases, and this reacts upon and increases the manufacture.

We give the particulars in a tabular form:

	In 1834.	In 1850.	Increase per cent.
Mills.....	1,304	1,932	48
Persons employed.....	320,134	330,924	50
Steam-power, (horses).....	30,853	71,065	100
Water-power, (do.).....	10,203	11,550	102
Spindles.....	3,333,000	20,977,017	150
Power-loom.....	100,000	249,627	148
Cotton wool imported, lbs.....	303,656,837	755,469,008	148

The principal seats of the cotton manufacture are shown by the numbers of factory operatives in different countries. Out of the whole number of 330,924, there are found 215,983 in Lancashire, 35,772 in Cheshire, 18,691 in Yorkshire, 22,759 in Lanarkshire, and 7,884 in Renfrewshire; the rest are scattered over other parts of the kingdom.

WOOLLEN AND WORSTED FACTORIES.—In 1834, these two branches of manufacture,

which are kindred, yet distinct, were put together under the general head of "wool." They are now given separately. In 1834, there were 1,322 mills; in 1850, there were 1,497 woollen mills, and 501 worsted mills—total, 1,998; increase, 676 mills, or 51 per cent.

The hands employed were, in 1834, 71,274; in 1850, there were 74,443 employed in the woollen mills, and 79,737 in the worsted mills—total, 154,180; increase, 82,906 hands, or 116 per cent.

There is no document of authority, so far as we know, giving the steam or water-power of the mills, or the number of spindles employed in either branch of this manufacture, in 1834. The quantity of foreign and colonial sheep's wool retained for home consumption in 1833, was 39,065,620 lbs.; in 1849, the quantity imported was 75,100,833 lbs. of sheep's wool, and 1,655,300 lbs. alpaca wool—total, 76,756,133 lbs., of which 12,324,415 lbs. sheep's wool, and 126,082 lbs. alpaca wool, was re-exported; leaving for home consumption, 64,305,836 lbs. of both kinds. Increase since 1833, 25,239,016 lbs., or 64 per cent. There are no materials for stating the quantity of British wool consumed at the two periods. Mr. McCulloch estimates the quantity of British wool used annually (eight or ten years since) at 110,000,000 lbs.; but we cannot offer any opinion on the comparative quantities in 1833 and 1849; though it may be said that the increase cannot be any thing approaching to the increase in foreign and colonial wool.

It appears, then, that the increase in the number of mills in the woollen and worsted manufactures since 1834, is 51 per cent.; the increase in the hands employed 116 per cent.; and the increase in the consumption of foreign and colonial sheep's wool, which forms less than one half the wool consumed, is 64 per cent.

We give the facts in tabular form, thus:

	In 1834.	In 1850.			Inc. per cent.
		Woollen.	Worsted.	Total	
Mills.....	1,322	1,497	501	1,998	51
Persons employed.....	71,274	74,443	79,737	154,180	116
Steam-power, (horses).....	—	13,455	9,590	23,345	—
Water-power, (do.).....	—	8,689	1,625	10,300	—
Spindles.....	—	1,595,278	875,830	2,471,108	—
Power-loom.....	—	9,439	32,617	42,056	—
Foreign and colonial wool consumed, lbs.....	39,065,620	64,305,636	—	—	64

The woollen mills are scattered over a greater number of counties in England, Scotland, and Ireland, than any other description of mills; but, of 74,443 hands employed, there are found 40,611 in Yorkshire, 8,816

in Lancashire, 6,043 in Gloucestershire, 2,867 in Wiltshire, and 2,175 in Somersetshire.

Of the worsted mills, by very far the largest number are in Yorkshire. Out of 79,737 hands employed, 70,905 are in this county, chiefly in the parishes of Bradford, Halifax, Keightley, and Bingley.

The increase that has taken place in the worsted manufacture since 1834, has been much greater than in the woollen manufacture.

* In this and all the subsequent comparisons of imports, &c., we take the years 1833 and 1849, in order to have an interval of sixteen years, which is the interval between the factory returns; the trade accounts for the year 1850 are not yet made up.

FLAX AND LINEN FACTORIES.—In 1834, there were 347 flax mills; in 1850, there were 393; increase, 46, or 12 per cent.

But the hands employed were 33,283 in 1834, and 68,434 in 1850; increase, 35,151, or 105 per cent.

The raw material imported, flax and tow, or codilia of flax and hemp, was, in 1833, 1,159,633 cwts.; and in 1850, it was 1,806,786 cwts.; increase, 677,153 cwts., or 60 per cent.

	In 1834.	In 1850,	Inc per ct.
Mills	347	398	12
Persons employed	33,283	68,434	105
Steam-power, (horses).....	—	10,905	—
Water-power, (horses)	—	3,387	—
Spindles	—	965,031	—
Power-looms	—	1,141	—
Flax, &c. imported (cwt.).	1,129,633	1,806,786	60

In this manufacture both Scotland and Ireland have the advantage over England; whereas, in 1834, England had nearly as many hands employed in the trade as both Scotland and Ireland. In England, out of 19,001 hands employed, 11,515 are in Yorkshire, and 2,724 in Lancashire. In Scotland, out of 28,312 hands employed, 16,264 are in Forfarshire, 4,300 in Fifeshire, and 2,899 in Aberdeen. In Ireland, out of 21,121 hands employed, 11,657 are in Antrim, (Belfast,) and 4,336 in Down. The soil of Ireland appears to be peculiarly favorable to the linen manufacture, which has existed in Ulster for centuries. Until lately, however, the spinning by machinery was chiefly carried on in England and Scotland; but an amazing start has been made in Ireland in this respect; in 1834 only 3,681 hands were employed in flax mills in Ireland, and in 1850 the number was 21,121; being an increase of 17,440 hands, or 474 per cent. in sixteen years.

SILK FACTORIES.—In 1834, the number of silk mills was 263; in 1850, it is 277; increase, 14 mills, or 5 per cent.

The number of hands employed was 30,682 in 1834, and 42,544 in 1850; increase, 11,862 hands, or 39 per cent.

The quantity of waste silk retained for home consumption in 1833, was 4,417,627 lbs., and in 1850 it was 4,518,132 lbs.; increase, 100,504 lbs., or 2 per cent. The import of thrown silk was 229,119 lbs. in 1833, and 614,689 lbs. in 1849; increase, 168 per cent.

	In 1834	In 1850	Inc per ct
Mills.....	263	277	5
Persons employed.....	30,682	42,544	39
Steam-power (horses).....	—	2,558	—
Water power.....	—	253	—
Spindles.....	—	1,235,560	—
Power-looms.....	—	6,992	—
Silk (raw) imported, lbs.....	4,417,627	4,518,132	2
Do. (thrown) do.....	239,119	614,689	168

The chief seats of the silk factories are in Cheshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, and Yorkshire.

GENERAL SUMMARY.—The view given of our manufacturing industry, in the several departments of our textile manufactures, by comparing the returns of 1850 with those of 1834, is extremely satisfactory. The number of mills has increased within the last sixteen years from 3,236 to 4,330, or 34 per cent.; and the number of persons employed in them from 355,373 to 596,082; being an addition of 240,709 operatives, or 68 per cent.

In England and Wales, the persons employed were 295,629 in 1834, and 495,707 in 1850; being an increase of 200,078, or 67 per cent.

In Scotland, the persons employed were 50,180 in 1834, and 75,688 in 1850; being an increase of 25,508, or 51 per cent.

In Ireland, the persons employed were 9,564 in 1834, and 24,687 in 1850; being an increase of 15,123, or 158 per cent.

PERSONS EMPLOYED IN MILLS.

	In 1834	In 1850	In per ct
In England and Wales.....	295,639	495,707	67
In Scotland	50,180	75,688	51
In Ireland	9,564	24,637	158
Total	355,373	586,082	68

MILLS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1850.

	England and Wales	Scotland	Ireland	Total
Mills.....	3,699	550	91	4,330
Spindles.....	22,850 010	2,256 408	532 303	25,638 716
Power looms.....	272,586	28,811	2,517	298,916
Moving power, Steam (horses).....	91,610	13,857	2,646	103,113
“ Water “.....	13,214	6,004	1,826	26,104

The entire moving power of steam and water is equal to 134,217 horses, which, reckoning the power of a horse to be equal to 54 men, shows an aggregate mechanical power used in the textile manufacture of the United Kingdom equal to 733,103 men. If we add the 596,082 human beings employed in directing this machinery, it would appear that the factories of the kingdom employ a power equal to 1,334,275 persons, besides ministering

to the support of many hundred thousands of persons in dependent and auxiliary branches of manufacture and trade.

Only one other point calls for attention, namely, the ages and sexes of the factory operatives. In 1834 there were under 13 years of age 27,774 boys and 29,681 girls—total, 56,455; in 1850, there were under 13 years 21,137 boys, and 20,638 girls—total, 40,775; showing a *decrease* of 6,637 boys, and

9,043 girls—total, 15,680, or 28 per cent. The effect of the Factory Acts has, therefore, been greatly to reduce the quantity of juvenile labor in the mills. This is considered by some an advantage; but in order to be sure of that, we ought to know how the children who are excluded from the mills are employed or engaged. The number of males from 13 to 18 years of age was 43,482 in 1834, and 67,864 in 1850; increase, 24,382, or 56 per cent.

In 1834, the number of females from 13 to 18 years of age was 64,726, and above 18 years of age, 103,411—total, 168,137. In 1850 no distinction was made, as all females above 13 years of age are subject to the same regulations; their number was 329,577; showing an increase above 1834 of 161,440, or 96 per cent.

The number of males above 18 years of age was 87,299 in 1834, and 157,866 in 1850; showing an increase of 70,567, or 81 per cent.

There has, therefore, been a decrease of 28 per cent. in the number of children employed between 1834 and 1850; an increase of 56 per cent. in males from 13 to 18 years of age; an increase of 96 per cent. in females above 13 years of age; and an increase of 81 per cent. in the male adults. Balance of increase on the aggregate, 68 per cent.

PERSONS EMPLOYED IN MILLS, 1834 AND 1850.

	In 1834	In 1850	Increase or decrease per cent
Children under 13 years of age	56,455	40,775	28 decrease
Males from 13 to 18	43,482	67,864	56 increase
Females above 13	168,137	329,577	96 decrease
Males above 18	37,299	157,866	81 increase
	355,373	596,082	68 increase

Lancashire and Yorkshire are the two great manufacturing counties, and the following are the number and classes of factory operatives found in them respectively:

Operatives in	In Lancashire	In Yorkshire
Cotton mills	215,983	18,691
Woollen "	8,816	49,611
Worsted "	1,821	70,905
Flax "	2,724	11,515
Silk "	8,208	1,688
	237,552	143,410

It may throw some additional light on the progress of our manufactures and commerce, if we state that, in the year 1833, the real or declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported, was £39,667,347, and in 1849, it was £58,848,042—increase, £19,180,695, or 49 per cent.

The shipping engaged in the foreign trade of the United Kingdom in 1833, was 2,648,841 tons entered inwards, and in 1849, it was 6,071,269 tons—increase, 3,422,428 tons, or 125 per cent.

Thus our manufactures and commerce are advancing together; and all the figures we have given afford a very gratifying view of the industrial resources and prospects of the country.

NEW-ORLEANS.

—"The trade and profit of the city
Consisteth of all nations."

In relation to the subject before us—the City—we would occupy a few pages here, as we have occupied over and over again pages in the past. It is so fruitful a theme—so full of interest—so likely to excite enthusiasm and to warm up the fancies of the veriest sleeper, that one may safely approach and touch it. Poetry and plain matter of fact appear to have harmonized for once and blended into an attractive union. Shall we regard the sluggish old "ocean stream," which is winding by us, leaving our levee, leviathan-like, in its pathway to the great deep? It has been working its way onward, that old river, farther than our fancy may trace it—through all climes and lands and peoples—from where its remote source, a sleeping lake, deep set in impenetrable shades, on mountain heights, beyond all haunts of civilized life, mirrors savage and unchased beast,—it has worked itself on, "father of all waters," among mountains

"Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound
Save his own dashing,"

through glades, over crags and precipices—now gaining breadth, now tapering and constrained again, then rushing impetuously forward—here showing limpidly a debbled bottom, there deepened and frowned upon by heights rising upon heights, rugged and snow-capped—onward, gaining in strength and in vigor, as kindred waters meet and blend and sweep on together, leaving the savage, the intractable forest and its inmates, to be cheered by sounds of busy nations of toiling men as the ocean nears at last.

Shall we regard the metropolis which the picture shows in the distance? Does it not carry us back to times long past and memories of them we would not, no never, lose? There were classic days then, when all-hearted and chivalrous Frank struggled with the savage, and won a home amid wastes and wildernesses here, and cherished in his dreams fond visions of success so hardly and so seldom won. Bienville, Iberville, D'Abadie, Baron of Carondelet, or even further still, La Salle! Venerated names—ye have struggled here—here your toils, your defeats and your triumphs—but where are ye now?

Let the gloomier times of Spanish domination come. We see O'Reilly in military power high over all,—an armed soldiery to crush a feigned rebellion. O'Reilly magistrate, the

noble sons of Louisiana are victims of his tyranny; O'Reilly law-giver, the province changes its institutes and its forms, and the customs of Paris yield to the statutes of Alphonso; a new government but not a new people. These times too are all past.

And they, the relics of those times; the antiquated structures which ruin has not wholly seized from us—there are such here; we would not change them, rude peasant cabins though they be. Cathedral or chapel of unclassic architecture, no matter, old Time has marked and associated his incidents with them all.

But these are panoramic scenes, and picture hurries picture on. The First Consul, Bonaparte, trafficking for Louisiana, his policy had gained but his power could not hold; Jefferson in fierce strife of hostile parties; Wilkinson and Claiborne and Burr and Livingston, and that man of iron who won immortal honor at Chalmette; our population so blended, native and foreign—all the earth represented; our commerce growing beyond comparison. Is there no incident or romance in all of this?

Such is New-Orleans, as full-fledged fancy flies; but there are those who see it not thus—men afar off, with opaque glass, discerning nought but marsh and miasma, drear abodes of vice and discomfort, blackened warehouses and mired ways. Let them come here, and we will point them to the old river and to the levee, to the old city and the new, to structures which want no magnificence, to quays which know no rest, and they will warm with us in the scenes we will show them ere they leave again.

But pardon, reader, what has been random wandering. We are not inextricably lost, and return with no great reluctance to plain sober matter of fact, which after all is more sensible.

Whatever we thought could interest in relation to this city, its history, its commerce, its life, manners, statistics, etc., as our numbers were issued, we published during the last fifteen months, and there is abundance for reflection in what we have published. Little on this head remains at this moment, but the subject grows and is not likely to be exhausted soon.

At all events, having perused the lately published works of Mr. Gayarré, we noted some things of which there is but little general knowledge, and which we doubt not, if translated, would be deemed acceptable anywhere. What we have in mind are the allusions to the early days of the city, the site of which, it would appear, was not much regarded at first, except by that wonderfully sagacious man Bienville. We introduce a passage.

Bienville wished, 1719, to remove the seat of government to the banks of the Mississippi, on the present site of New-Orleans, at the

place to which fifty men had been sent the preceding year, for clearing the ground, but was opposed by the officers who shared the command with him, and who were sustained by the commissary, General Hubert, as well as by the directors of the company. A considerable rise of the river which covered the land, the advantages of which were being discussed, determined for a moment the question. The adversaries of the project of Bienville gave as a reason, that the colony had not the necessary means of erecting the dykes with which it would be necessary to surround this settlement. Hubert wished the seat of government to be established at Natchez. L'Archambault, Villardo and Legas, whose views were rather commercial than agricultural, did not wish to leave the shore of the sea, and recommended the east coast of the Bay of Biloxi. This opinion prevailing, a detachment was sent there to build houses and barracks. This place was called New Biloxi, to distinguish it from the first settlement, which was afterwards called Old Biloxi.*

Three years after this, 1722, Bienville being then at Mobile, wrote to the ministry complaining of the position at Biloxi, and showing the advantage of one selected on the Mississippi river. We translate this dispatch:

"I have had the honor of giving the Council information, by my last letters, as to the entrance of the river, and of assuring it that vessels drawing less than thirteen feet of water can enter, full sail, without touching, and that it will not be difficult to make the pass practicable for larger vessels, as the bottom is soft and moving. I would have commenced operations there before, if the engineers specially charged with such work had been of the same opinion; but they are occupied altogether with those of Biloxi, which, I believe, we will be obliged to abandon. If we continue to make our discharges there, the settlement of the colony will be retarded, and we must make great outlays on account of the distance from Ship Island, which is five leagues from the main land where we are settled. We are obliged, in order to discharge the vessels, to send out lighters, which on their return cannot approach the land nearer than three quarters of a league. Then we must send out boats to discharge these lighters, and these boats are grounded a rifle-shot from shore. The Council will thereby know of what importance it will be for all the vessels from France to enter the river, where they may be discharged in two days. I have sent thither two ships, one of three hundred, and the other of four hundred tons, and they have gone in full sail. I would have done the same with others which have just arrived, if precise orders had not been

* Hist. Louis. par Chas. Gayarré.

given for discharging these vessels at Biloxi.*

In the year 1760 the following was a faithful picture of the most important part of the city, the public structures, etc.:

The situation of the public buildings at this time—1760—was as follows: The old Barracks were between Royal and Bourbon, Toulouse and St. Louis streets. The old Government House occupied the ground now comprised between Customhouse and Royal streets. Chartres street stopped at Bienville street, and led to the Government House. The new Government House, in 1760, was at the corner of St. Louis and Levee, towards Toulouse, and took up about one third of the square, but its front on St. Louis street took up one half of the square. At the opposite corner was the Intendance. The present Hospital street, or Bayou road, came no nearer to the river than Royal street, where it ended in the Army Hospital, which extended to Quartier, Ursuline, Levee and Royal.—2d vol.

From a very eccentric volume, published some years ago, which, with not a little that is wild and whimsical, contains much that is sensible and interesting, we take the liberty of transcribing a page or two. The pictures which will be given are truly drawn, and so far as we give them may be relied upon. With the extracts the reader will permit us to retire. And first we have an introduction to the city:

"By whatever route the traveller approaches New-Orleans, whether by the river, the sea or lake, the feature which first attracts his attention is its Levee, where one may meet with the products and the people of every country in any way connected with commerce than its upper or most southern extremity.

"Levee is a French word, of primary importance within the state of Louisiana: it pervades its statute-book, and is daily heard within its halls of justice. 'There is little or no land,' says Judge Porter, 'on the banks of the river, within this state, if we except an inconsiderable quantity in the neighborhood of, and above Baton Rouge, which would not be covered with the waters of the Mississippi in the spring months, were it not for the artificial embankment which the industry of man has raised to exclude them.' Thus the Dutch are not the only people who have won their domain from the watery element. The state of Louisiana, when we consider its recent existence, the paucity of its population, and that population sparsely scattered over a large extent of country, has done more than Holland: yet we overlook the wonder which lies at our own door, to lose ourselves in admiration of the not greater wonder three thousand miles off.

"The traveller from the north, as he

touches the region of the orange and cane, of smiling plantations, bounded in the background by dense forests, and stretching onward to a seemingly illimitable extent towards the south, and looks down upon the planter's mansion, the cluster of white cottages hard by, the slave at his daily task, and the mounted overseer, as one would look down from a balcony upon the busy street below, appears first to be made conscious that the Mississippi, the father of waters, the receiver of so many mighty rivers, is here, near the close of its course, where its stream is most rapid, controlled by the puny hand of man,—that the ocean-stream upon whose bosom he is floating, here restricted, hemmed in, and directed, sweeps down to the sea over an artificial ridge, and that he is passing through a huge aqueduct, which raises the dweller upon water above the dweller upon land! Here the waves do indeed bound beneath him as a steed that knows his rider, yet the traveller sees, admires, and forgets. But if he forgets *the whole*, he cannot forget *the part*: when once seen, once remarked, he cannot forget *the Levee* of New-Orleans, the storehouse of the great Valley of the Mississippi, the receptacle of the products of a hundred climes, of a country extending from the frigid to the torrid zone, illimitable in resources as almost illimitable in extent; the goal of a thousand steamboats, and of more than a thousand merchantmen; the exchange, the place of purchase, of sale, and of barter; the huckster's shop, the news-room, and the Prado of the greatest exporting city in the world."

We have the following graphic sketch of the Levee and of the scenes constantly presented upon it:

"The Levee of New-Orleans is one continued landing-place or quay, four miles in extent, and of an average breadth of one hundred feet. It is fifteen feet above low water mark, or that stage of the river when its waters retire wholly within their natural bed; and six feet above the level of the city, to which it is graduated by an easy descent. Like the river it margins, it holds a serpentine course, advancing or receding, as the Mississippi encroaches upon the city, or falls off towards the opposite bank. It is constructed of *deposit*, a rich alluvion swept from the north, and held in suspension by the waters of the Mississippi until their rapidity is checked by a sudden change of direction, or, swollen to overflowing, they spread over the adjacent swamps, again to retire, and again to bless the land they have visited with an increase of soil. The deposit is so great, and the consequent formation of new land so rapid, immediately in front of that portion of the quay which is most used for the purposes of commerce, that it has within a few years become necessary to build piled wharves, jutting out from fifty to one hundred feet into the river.

* Hist. Louis. I.

The new formation, which is governed as to its locality by what may well be termed the freaks of the Mississippi, is called "batture;" and when it has progressed to such an extent as to be left bare by the retiring water at its lowest stage, is held capable of ownership: a sort of property which has given birth to an indefinite amount of long-continued, intricate, and vexatious litigation, dating from the first appearance of the late Edward Livingston in the courts of Louisiana up to the present moment."

The flat-boat commerce of the city is thus portrayed:

"And here one may see what New-Orleans was before the application of steam to navigation. Hundreds of long, narrow, black, dirty-looking, crocodile-like rafts lie sluggishly, without moorings, upon the soft batture, and pour out their contents upon the quay: a heterogeneous compound of the products of the Upper Mississippi and its tributaries. These rafts or flat-boats, as they are technically called, are covered with a raised work of scantling, giving them the appearance of long, narrow cabins, built for the purpose of habitation, but designed to protect from the weather a cargo often of the value of from three to fifteen thousand dollars. They are guided by an oar at the stern, aided with an occasional dip of two huge pieces of timber, which move on either side like fins, and float with the stream at the rate of three miles the hour. Such was the carriage of the products of the up-country twenty years ago! Their number has not been diminished by the introduction of the steamboat. It is, indeed, a natural, simple, and cheap mode of transportation; and as long as the Mississippi passes with such rapidity from its source to its embouchure in the gulf, the traveller will meet with these unsightly masses floating on its bosom, swayed to and fro by its currents, counter-currents, and eddies, often shifting end for end, like some species of shell-fish, and not unfrequently, like the crab, preferring the oblique to the forward movement. Yet hundreds are at times sunk by sudden squalls, and of the many freighted in the up-country, perhaps not more than two thirds ever reach New-Orleans. The insurance offices look upon them as very unsafe bottoms.

"Of the many which lie before me, grounded upon the batture, some are filled with fat cattle, whose lowing discourses eloquently of the distant pastures of the north. The states of Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana, and the republic of Texas, annually send more than twenty thousand head of horned cattle to this market. Arkansas, Missouri and Texas raise numerous herds, which run wild over their extensive prairies, and are tamed and caught with salt. Kentucky, with greater progress in the arts of husbandry, pastures and stalls its beef,

which consequently bears off the palm for size, condition and general excellence. Others are freighted with horses, mules, and sheep; corn in sacks or in bulk, and upon the cob—a method of transportation which has its advantages, what is lost in stowage being gained in protection from must and rot.

"Here is a boat stowed with apples, inferior enough in quality, cider cheese, potatoes, butter, chickens, lard, hay—coarse, the rank growth of a virgin soil—all offered for sale, in the mass or by the lot. Pork, alive, in bulk, in barrels, fresh, salted, smoked, of all sizes and conditions; the corn-fed fatness of Ohio, and the lean acorn-growth of Illinois. Were Judaism to prevail, where would be the greatness of Cincinnati? Flour from Virginia and Ohio, old and new, sweet and sour; the leading breadstuff, yet the most fickle in price: cotton from Arkansas and Mississippi, lumber from Tennessee, whiskey from Missouri, tobacco from Kentucky, twice foundered, twice drenched, to be here dried, cured anew, disguised and re-packed, close the list.

"But the men who make these things of wood their dwellings; who launch them upon the Ohio, the Illinois, the Upper Mississippi, the Missouri, the Arkansas, and the Cumberland, with all their tributaries, and guide them to this their final resting-place, should not be forgotten. They are a distinct class of beings, lives on the water, known and designated as 'boatmen of the Mississippi,' an expression which embraces all that is strong, hardy, rough, and uncouth, with much that is savage, wild, and lawless. They cannot be supposed to have been born in habitations constructed for so temporary a purpose, yet the congeniality of their dispositions with their situation and employment might justify one in suspecting that their mothers, like Antonia Perez, often visited the scenes of their husband's labors."

The steamboat landing:

"That part of the quay which is peculiarly characteristic of New-Orleans, I mean the steamboat landing. Here all is action: the very water is covered with life. Huge vessels float upon its bosom, which acknowledge none of the powers of air, and wait no tide. One is weighed down to the guards with cotton—a freight of three thousand bales—one hundred and eighty thousand dollars! Twenty more lie side and side, laden with the same precious, gambling, national, ruinous commodity. The twenty-first has just arrived, and is puffing, blowing, and wheeling in the stream, seeking a mooring. She is covered all over; a mountain of cotton! Does its consumption keep pace with its growth? What will be the effect of bringing into cultivation all the productive land of Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas? Terra ingens et interminata! The southerner may well tremble for the future: a market glutted without the possi-

bility of a recovery from the surfeit. The planter can never grow silk; that requires a poor, dense, white population; and he can never grow wine, for his soil will produce none but an inferior grape, which will not cover the cost of slave labor.

"Huge piles, bale upon bale, story above story, cover the Levee. A gang of negroes is still adding to a heap of ten thousand, unguarded, unprotected; the winds fan it, the rains beat upon it, the sun bleaches it, the bagging and the rope rot and fall off; a consignee at Liverpool, who is accustomed to handle the commodity so preciously, would run stark mad with imagining one half of what is here to be seen.

"Pork without end, as if Ohio had emptied its lap at the door of New-Orleans. Flour by the thousand barrels; rolled out upon the quay, heaped up, pounced upon by the inspector, who pierces each through and through with a long hollow tube, well calculated to bring away his perquisites. A large area is covered with these two products of the up-country, and still appears seemingly undiminished, although the seller, the buyer, and the drayman are busy in the midst of it.

"Here is a boat freighted with lead from Galena; another brings furs and peltry from the head waters of the Missouri—three thousand miles to the northwest! When I contemplate the vast region of country which is now just opening to cultivation, and of which New-Orleans is the natural mart, I find it impossible to set limits to the city's future increase; how can I resist the conclusion that at some, and not very distant day, northern products will be here collected in such quantities as will reduce its present great staple of export to an inferior rank in mercantile importance?"

The ship Levee at twilight:

"The sun is just dipping into the west, and the broad bosom of the Mississippi is bright with its departing rays, which dance upon its surface, as upon a mirror quivering in the breeze. The busy hum of life is hushing to repose, the whole scene grows mellow, and man, with all of nature, puts on a softer aspect with the closing in of night. A light south wind comes gently from the gulf, scented with the sea. All that man has done, and all that man is, is before me. The merchantman and the steamship tell the whole story of art, of science, and of luxury; of discovery and invention; of the interchange between nations, imparting knowledge, harmonizing manners, creating refinement; of the exchange of the products of distant climes, supplying nature, and feeding artificial wants; of all that has been since 1492. The Cathedral bells are chiming to vespers; the flags of every nation—our own, the English, the French, the Spanish, the Dane, the Russian, the Swede, the Hollander, the Free Cities—are run to the mast-

head to salute the setting sun. That custom speaks; the most ignorant sailor understands it; and, as he sees the shade cover the hull, and creep upward till the colors of his country are alone bathed in light, while all beneath is dark, his better feelings gush forth in worship without form.

"I have chosen this hour to visit that portion of the quay which is appropriated to foreign and coastwise shipping, because it is at this hour that the *wharf* partially changes its character, and assumes the appearance of a *prado*. The dull, dusty, dirty routine of business is the same throughout its whole extent. The interminable chant of the negro, with its full, sonorous chorus, is here supplied by the hearty 'Heav-yeo-up!' of the sailor; and the cotton-bale, tobacco-hogs-head, and whiskey-barrel yield to bales of foreign and domestic manufactures, pipes of wine, and crates of ware.

"The shipping stretches away from the point at which I stand as far as the eye can reach, two miles in extent, three tiers deep, with their heads to the current, curving with the river—a beautiful crescent. The bosom of an American heaves with honest pride as he looks upon the city, and this its chiefest ornament—the work of only thirty years! The last of sunlight has disappeared; the merchant, weary with the day's activity, thoughtful, stooping, his eyes bent upon the ground, hurries homeward, calculating his profits. "Y-augh! y-augh! y-augh!" a gang of negroes, ever merry—there is not a surer test of happiness than uniform hilarity. Next come some half dozen sailors, in tarred hats, clean check shirts, white trousers and slippers. They have just arrived, have just received the little money due them, and are just starting into the city with a sober gait, and an honest, open face, to see life, and get rid of their sealegs.

"There is no twilight at the 30th degree north latitude. That sweetest of the sister-hours—that hovering between light and darkness, in summer so mild, in winter so brilliant, at all seasons of the year so tranquillizing to those whose feelings have been set on edge by the past day's homely labors, is here unknown; and already the stars begin to twinkle forth, one by one, bright and unobscured by vapor. New-Orleans, though lapped in swamp, possesses a pure atmosphere."

The habitation of the dead,—for this is life, —to die:

"New-Orleans has five cemeteries; of these the Catholic and two Protestant are unique in plan and method of interment. Each is inclosed with a brick wall of arched cavities or ovens, as they are here called, made just large enough to admit a single coffin, and raised, tier upon tier, to a height of about twelve feet, with a thickness of ten.

"The whole inclosure is divided into plats, with gravel paths intersecting each other at right angles, and is densely covered with tombs, built wholly above ground, and from one to three stories in height. This method of sepulture is adopted from necessity, and burial under ground is never attempted, excepting in the 'Potters' Field,' where the stranger without friends, and the poor without money, find an uncertain rest, the water with which the soil is always saturated, often forcing the coffin and its contents out of its narrow and shallow cell, to rot with no other covering than the arch of heaven.

"The cemetery in which I now stand looks as if modelled after a growing city. The tombs have an air of freshness about them which betrays their newness—nothing seems of yesterday; the peculiarity of their structure, their close juxtaposition filling the plats like blocks of buildings, the well-gravelled paths between, the wall about the whole, with its numerous receptacles for the dead rising story above story, check the fancy, and almost persuade the visitor to believe he stands in the midst of a panorama of what the great mart

which feeds it is to be. Even the little slabs of black and white marble, affixed like door-plates to the mouths of the tombs, carved with the names of their occupants, giving dates of birth and death, help out the illusion—they were all so young, one can hardly believe them to be of the dead! Yet that fact tells a world of sorrow, and discourses more eloquently than could the most gifted tongue, of the true character of that city, which here finds its final resting-place—its comparative newness, its advantages of trade, the great influx of aspiring youth, the periodical visit of the destroyer; the periodical passing away of thousands in the bloom of life, while more than thousands rush in to fill their places, again to pass away—again to be more than supplied by new adventurers: thus running a continual round; a race after death, while New-Orleans, unchecked, strides onward towards the goal of its destiny. Is man, with all his intellect, a play-thing in the hands of fate? Mephistopheles would laugh till his sides cracked amid the tombs of the cemeteries of New-Orleans."

NEW-ORLEANS.—CUSTOM-HOUSE REVENUES, &c.

EXPENDITURES ON THE NEW-ORLEANS CUSTOM-HOUSE EDIFICE.

In 1807-8-9.....	\$19,200 00
In 1820.....	80,081 33
In 1840.....	5,500 00

\$104,781 33

MINT AT NEW-ORLEANS.

Buildings, machinery, contingent expenses, and machinist, &c.,	\$507,463 55
Officers and clerks.....	118,860 51
Laborers.....	152,306 72

\$778,630 78

MARINE HOSPITAL AT M'DONOUGH.

Expenditures thereon.....\$88,121 07

I append to these topics of local interest a statement of the mileage allowed to members of Congress, at different periods, and in the aggregate.

First Congress, ending 3d March, 1790.....	\$325,202 97
Fifteenth Congress, ending 3d March, 1819.....	626,242 5
Twenty-ninth Congress, ending 3d March, 1847.....	1,309,437 00

Aggregate mileage of members of Congress, from the First to the Twenty-ninth Sessions, both inclusive, \$19,100,445 48.

LAND OFFICE, NEW-ORLEANS.

	Receipts.	Expenditures.	Net Receipts	Rate per cent. of exp. on amt. of receipts.	Excess of exp. over receipts
1821.....	\$48,200 00.....	\$733 46.....	\$47,466 54.....	1.52.....	—
1822.....	100,132 03.....	1,904 67.....	98,227 36.....	1.90.....	—
1823.....	432 25.....	1,783 03.....	—.....	412.94.....	\$1,351 63
1824.....	—.....	1,000 00.....	—.....	—.....	1,000 00
1825.....	500 00.....	831 31.....	—.....	166.26.....	331 31
1826.....	746 37.....	1,514 92.....	—.....	203.07.....	768 55
1827.....	134,451 00.....	4,316 03.....	130,134 07.....	3.21.....	—
1828.....	—.....	2,931 79.....	—.....	—.....	2,931 79
1829.....	400 00.....	1,008 00.....	—.....	252.00.....	608 00
1830.....	9,101 37.....	1,823 09.....	7,278 28.....	20.03.....	—
1831.....	13,910 00.....	2,519 73.....	11,390 27.....	18.11.....	—
1832.....	1,552 75.....	1,076 58.....	476 17.....	69.36.....	—

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES OF PUBLIC LANDS, FROM MARCH 4, 1789, TO JUNE 30, 1845.

		Receipts.
Receipts during said period.....		\$127,144,320 67
		Expenditures
Pertaining to General Land Office.....		\$1,877,574 24
“ to Surveys.....		3,941,121 28
On account of private land claims.....		422,932 64
For sundry purposes pertaining to lands.....		1,273,726 40
For surveyors general, repayments and patents.....		1,174,133 58
Miscellaneous.....		51,690 34
Relating to treaties for Indian lands.....		44,599,902 15
Under the Convention with France, of the 30th April, 1803, &c., for Louisiana.....		15,000,000 00
For interest on stock thereupon issued.....		8,529,353 43
Under treaty with Spain, of 20th February, 1819, for the Floridas.....		5,000,000 00
For interest of stock thereupon issued.....		1,429,768 66
Amount of 3 and 5 per cents., estimated upon the proceeds of public lands within their borders, and paid to the states for aiding them in internal improvements, in consideration of the U. S. not having paid taxes on the public lands, &c.....		3,361,847 63
Amount of proceeds of public lands, paid to the several states and territories, under the Act, 4th September, 1841.....		543,858 79—87,265,909 14
Net proceeds		\$39,878,411 53

OPERATIONS OF N. O. CUSTOM-HOUSE FROM 1801 TO JUNE 30, 1847, BOTH INCLUSIVE.

		Receipts.
Duties on merchandise.....		\$47,132,567 03
“ on Mediterranean fund.....		217,525 32
“ on tonnage.....		668,867 05
Passports and clearances.....		20,416 00
Light money.....		246,348 39
Fines, penalties, and forfeitures.....		182,494 31
Surplus of official emoluments.....		45,279 19
Unclaimed merchandise.....		10,076 95
Marine hospital money.....		131,300 81
Amount received from captors, being net proceeds of prize vessels and goods.....		3,495 37—48,658,370 42
		Disbursements.
Debentures issued, and drawbacks on foreign merchandise exported.....		11,688,664 81
Drawback on Mediterranean fund.....		24,973 39
“ on domestic refined sugar exported.....		138,788 16
Bounties on salted provisions and fish.....		944 55
Expenses attending prosecutions.....		40,793 00
Total tonnage and light money.....		35,213 86
All other duties refunded.....		957,584 33
Expenses of collection.....		2,802,887 94—15,689,800 94
Net revenue.....		\$32,968,569 48

Statement of the Receipts, Expenditures, Net Revenue, and excess of expenses of Collection of all the Custom-houses in the Union, from March 4, 1798, to June 30, 1846.

		Receipts.
Duties on merchandise....		\$1,130,326,705 08
“ on Mediterranean fund.....		8,703,530 30
“ on tonnage		7,121,531 92
“ on passports and clearances.....		457,023 70
“ on light money.....		1,222,348 93
Fines, penalties, and forfeitures.....		1,949,323 19
Unclaimed merchandise.....		153,979 81
Interest received on treasury notes.....		90,346 01
Custom charges on British vessels.....		1,932 95
Sales of revenue cutters.....		10,444 17
Debentures over issued.....		221 63
Surplus of official emoluments.....		303,242 48
Expenses on collection of the revenue, and allowances to vessels employed in the fisheries overpaid.....		937 49
Marine hospital money.....		2,549,460 95
Amount received from captors, being net proceeds of prize vessels and goods.....		218,822 14
Amount for lands set off to the U. S. on account of bonds, &c.....		5,101 42—1,143,114,952 17

Expenditures,	
Debenture issued, and drawback on foreign merchandise exported.....	193,105.577 56
Drawback on Mediterranean fund.....	1,041 262 98
“ domestic distilled spirits exported.....	1,154,926 41
“ “ refined sugar exported.....	2,862,795 70
“ “ manufactured snuff exported.....	20,547 26
Allowances to vessels employed in the fisheries.....	8,634,175 96
Bounty on salt provisions and pickled fish.....	721,532 48
Expenses attending prosecutions.....	644,558 43
Interest paid on treasury notes.....	45,890 42
Duties refunded on unclaimed merchandise, insolvencies, &c.....	5,205 21
“ on Mediterranean fund.....	46 08
“ under the Act to remit duties on goods destroyed by fire in New-York.....	176,307 75
Duties refunded on railroad iron.....	3,324,047 17
“ on all other articles.....	10,219,864 30
“ on total tonnage and light money.....	110,261 02
Total expenses of collection.....	46,527,825 78— 268,594,824 51
Net revenue.....	\$874,520,127 66
Net revenue.....	\$882,894,038 05
Deduct excess of expenses of collection.....	8,373,910 39
True amount of net revenue.....	\$874,520,127 66

NEW-ORLEANS.—VITAL STATISTICS.

Our friend, Dr. Fenner, of this city, who has been preparing some able and most laborious articles for the *Medical Journal* upon Yellow Fever, furnishes the following statistics. They are taken from the books of the Charity Hospital, which he considers “the most extensive fever hospital in the world.”

ADMISSIONS IN THE CHARITY HOSPITAL.

	Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total.
1841.													
Intermittent Fever...	3	27	35	39	28	65	187	151	18	66	93	712	794
Yellow Fever.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	174	642	252	37	8	1,113
1842.													
Intermittent Fever...	45	29	35	39	45	124	160	169	144	140	110	61	1,092
Remittent Fever.....	4	—	1	3	4	8	12	34	41	35	11	3	155
Yellow Fever.....	—	—	1	—	—	—	47	247	93	23	—	—	410
1843.													
Intermittent Fever...	31	30	35	31	19	40	70	98	128	136	149	76	843
Remittent Fever.....	1	—	—	1	—	9	40	75	49	12	8	10	205
Yellow Fever.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	188	365	351	111	15	1,053
1844.													
Intermittent Fever...	66	49	41	32	44	75	176	258	255	261	216	116	1,589
Remittent Fever.....	2	4	2	1	4	24	30	47	67	55	5	3	244
Yellow Fever.....	2	2	—	—	—	1	1	1	68	52	25	—	152
1845.													
Intermittent Fever...	7	75	57	44	79	112	145	96	279	196	189	124	1,403
Remittent Fever.....	2	1	—	1	11	17	38	34	33	17	—	—	154
Typhoid Fever.....	7	6	5	2	10	8	11	14	18	20	15	23	139
Yellow Fever.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
1846.													
Intermittent Fever...	79	58	75	76	85	138	214	227	359	376	310	81	2,078
Remittent Fever.....	3	3	5	—	7	6	2	9	22	36	7	3	103
Typhoid Fever.....	30	13	7	5	10	12	14	17	5	7	23	52	195
Yellow Fever.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29	83	32	4	148
1847.													
Intermittent Fever.....	144	117	98	153	140	211	223	74	53	258	380	341	2,192
Remittent Fever.....	4	1	4	9	17	38	69	64	25	12	18	8	269
Typhus and Typhoid.	40	23	54	180	231	389	64	3	1	10	160	347	1,502
Yellow Fever.....	—	—	—	—	—	5	148	1,611	777	219	49	2	2,811

Whole number of diseases admitted into the Hospital, 1841, 4,380; of fevers, 1,991. 1842, 4,404; of fevers, 1,758. 1843, 5,013, 2,222. 1844, 5,846, 2,207. 1845, 6,136, 1,768. 1846, 8,044, 2,603. 1847, 11,890, 6,901 fevers.

NEW-ORLEANS.—VITAL STATISTICS, ETC.
—The average age at death, in the northern cities (doubtless owing in a great measure to the large mortality in infantile life) is from nineteen years nine months to twenty years three months; and in some of the cemeteries, where destitute foreigners from the crowded city of Boston are buried, it is reduced to 13.49. In the south, where it is so much more favorable to infantile life, the average age is much

greater. In Charleston, the average age at death is near thirty-six. In Vera Cruz 24.6, and in the City of Mexico 27.7; while in New-Orleans, the average age at death for the last year was 26.69, and in a series of years the aggregate of all the cemeteries was 22.63. But to show the different influence of our climate upon the various classes of the population, the following table was constructed at great labor, (being all the data it was possible to procure :)

Cemeteries.	Years embraced.	Tot. No. deaths.	Ratio av. age at death.	No. above eighty.	No. above one hun.	Gen. av.
Catholic cemetery.....	1841—'4,	442	26 y. 3 m. 1 d.	51	10	22.63
Protestant do.....	1841—'9,	1,445	24 9 1	15	1	
Potter's Field do.....	1841—'6,	8,566	23 10 4	33	9	
Cypress Grove do.....	1841—'8,	906	23			
St. Vincent de Paul do....	1842—'6,	1,152	20 5 14	16	2	
St. Patrick's do.....	1841—'7,	1,287	19 1			
Jews' do.....	1847—'9,	70	14 1			

"Of all countries on record, the rural parts of England and Massachusetts are, probably, most favored with respect to infantile life; and yet, in Massachusetts forty per cent., and in England forty-seven per cent. die while they are going through the process of development, and before they enter upon self-sustaining life, in their sixteenth year. In New-Orleans we have not the data to institute an exact comparison at these ages, but very near it; and we find that here only 36.98 per cent. die under twenty. In this city data of all kinds are very defective; we have, nevertheless, been able to construct a chart to show the real value of life here at successive ages, and at different periods of the year. It is too lengthy for this report. We may, however, state that it shows the extremely mild character of the climate at all periods of life under twenty and above fifty, and during all months of the year, and that the chief fatality occurs from twenty to forty, (the ages of the emigrating population,) and the period the latter part of summer. Notwithstanding all this, the following statement shows, that we have a larger proportionate population at the productive age, that is, from twenty to fifty, than the most favored parts of the world. Thus, in the United States, there are 3,708; in Louisiana, 3,753; in England, 4,028; in New-Orleans, 4,924*"

MORTALITY OF NEW-ORLEANS, 1849.

AGGREGATE OF ALL THE AGES KNOWN OF THE MORTALITY OF 1849.

	White.		Colored.		Total.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1 mo.,...	300	179	74	65	618
1 yr.,...	248	225	84	57	614
5 yrs.,...	367	336	98	102	903

* Dr. Barton is wrong in attaching any importance to this, as a few moments' reflection will satisfy him.—Ed.

	White.		Colored.		Total.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
10 yrs.,...	154	117	36	35	342
20 yrs.,...	255	139	78	58	530
30 yrs.,...	1,352	435	126	78	1,991
40 yrs.,...	1,125	330	87	61	1,603
50 yrs.,...	561	159	54	59	833
60 yrs.,...	222	84	23	48	382
70 yrs.,...	102	37	19	34	192
80 yrs.,...	38	31	13	19	101
90 yrs.,...	8	14	11	15	48
100 yrs.,...	7	4	2	13	29
105 yrs.,...			1		1
110 yrs.,...				1	1
120 yrs.,...				1	1
Unknown,...	813	338	325	206	1,862
Total,.....					9,862

PLACE OF BIRTH.

Foreign,.....	3,569
United States,.....	505
Louisiana,.....	29
New-Orleans,.....	774
Unknown (including negroes),.....	4,985

UNKNOWN.

As to age,.....	1,682
" disease,.....	645
" country,.....	4,985
" residence, either as to length, or what part of the city, etc., so few as to be useless.	

BURIALS AT THE CEMETERIES.

Protestant,.....	371
Catholic,.....	985
Cypress Grove,.....	182
Odd Fellows',.....	5
St. Vincent de Paul,.....	2,438
St. Patrick's,.....	1,145
Potter's Field,.....	1,451
Charity Hospital,.....	2,304
Lafayette,.....	981

NEW-ORLEANS.—IMPORTS FROM THE INTERIOR, FOR TEN YEARS,* FROM THE 1ST SEPTEMBER TO THE 31ST AUGUST, IN EACH YEAR.

ARTICLES.	1850-1.	1849-50.	1848-9.	1847-8.	1846-7.	1845-6.	1844-5.	1843-4.	1842-3.	1841-2.
Apples.....bbls.	54808	37244	54987	39518	39612	29775	26515	43969	67803	26443
Bacon, asst. cnsks. &c.	48602	38336	320'6	45119	36932	25213	12892	19503	16568	13505
Bacon...bbls. & boxes	9274	28941	32156							
Bacon Hams.....hhds.	44478	19335	19831	18539	14518	12092	8358	19'70	13588	9220
Bacon in bulk.....lbs.	235000	209045	217000	381140	425163	492700	350000	1203821	1453798	1288109
Bagging.....pieces.	72304	58321	72941	77682	60082	96601	111324	100216	89721	60307
Bale Rope.....coils.	107224	86104	93322	74325	76201	56678	67600	83684	80932	63307
Beans.....bbls.	4236	9307	13157	20485	24536	16585	7006	7619	8878	10993
Butter.....kegs.	54907	51058	57972	45213	51384	44172	30319	18831	18530	11791
Butter.....bbls.	2720	1772	2144	1156	872	1494	396	500	894	284
Butterwax.....bbls.	230	367	481	698	1109	1900	1464	1911	985	343
Beef.....bbls. & tierces.	48066	65271	70590	50260	53968	62231	32674	49303	17549	17455
Beef, dried.....lbs.	15300	48219	20309	56100	49000	98200	58200	55610	51400	60812
Buffalo Robes.....packs.	155	358	23	14	55	1031	1915	5445	5135	3122
La. & Mi.....bales.	618156	474411	811205	883144	453842	765315	682244	627769	824045	583328
Lake.....	14399	10902	15781	17374	43'6	14276	19533	13234	14280	8967
N. Al. & Ten. " "	236821	249683	217078	227561	211502	222677	198246	169334	191410	118629
Arkansas. " "	62793	44290	46733	61294	35279	34676	23103	21835	30511	16734
Montgomery, &c. " "	18051	17501	9839							
Mobile.....	24473	23647	25325	10857	16379	6356	12123	47596	10687	4565
Florida.....	11091	10601	5065	4208	16966	5884	12830	19216	3381	2831
Texas.....	9252	6088	11356	10007	2345	4249	25159	18170	15328	5101
Corn Meal.....bbls.	3662	5187	12097	47543	88159	3905	7917	3769	5415	6023
Corn in ears.....	42536	42719	295711	509583	619756	358573	139686	165354	255058	240675
Corn, shelled.....sacks	129832	1114897	1706312	1083465	2380510	1166120	390964	360052	427552	238709
Cheese.....boxes	78894	62890	54287	52362	57429	57392	39091	12583	3502	2710
Candles.....	80748	55306	28362	16750	8496	10461	5170	3913	1201	3593
Cider.....bbls.	245	903	1189	344	477	135	385	1419	1026	1130
Coal, western.....	700000	600000	315000	320000	356500	262800	281000	227788	255568	140582
Dried Peaches.....	2685	934	469	385	3009	137	474	1112	718	863
Dried Apples.....	4168	2065	2495	1173	5761	930	1758	829	958	1115
Flaxseed.....tierces.	204	217	1188	4393	962	823	2181	4273	13480	863
Flour.....bbls.	1941106	591986	1013177	706958	1617675	837985	533312	502507	521175	439688
Furs...hhds, bxs, bbls.	1289	444	200	411	328	637	699	539	363	1837
Feathers.....bags.	3645	5000	3939	2594	3408	4607	5403	4568	1484	1737
Hemp.....bales.	25116	34792	19856	21584	60238	30980	46274	38062	14873	1211
Hides.....	140338	43542	30570	47662	98342	112913	117863	76490	45957	26169
Hay.....bales.	48281	56258	54241	61934	95231	71270	37296	35132	28059	20166
Iron, Pig.....tons.	162	20	413	701	1151	1083	207	100	211	322
Lard.....hhds.		215	790	459	143	45	167	212	1433	74
Lard.....tes. & bbls.	115570	228019	214362	216031	117077	107639	60078	119717	104540	18207
Lard.....kegs.	151931	302366	275485	303661	275076	334969	245414	373341	307871	366694
Lime, western.....bbls.	37738	32060	10410	14920	5994	8387	6233	3767	1159	830
Lead.....pigs.	325505	415400	508557	606966	650129	785394	732125	639269	571949	472556
Lead, bar.....kegs.	629	631	949	787	1291	1431	788	851	701	1084
Lead, white.....	1930	5979	7795	9203	11686	7853	888	30	50	592
Molasses.....bbls.	184483	189813	155807	159460	91710	132363	105086	64852	66183	69104
Oats.....bbls. & sks.	479741	325795	206559	467217	588337	269386	144262	130432	120430	63281
Onions.....bbls.	14279	13024	6898	7960	7185	6979	7499	6443	4614	3338
Oil, linseed.....	178	1098	1409	2327	3637	1135	1356	2660	1356	305
Oil, castor.....	4145	2091	2628	1199	1439	2379	3385	2757	4976	3666
Oil, lard.....	17157	14712	8842	5401	2573	2606	2413	2647	1818	
Pickles.....kegs & bbls.	893	243	639	505	648	1316	218	1154	445	140
Potatoes.....	162922	166003	146116	161861	142888	107058	53779	56587	49060	26201
Pork.....tes. & bbls.	286084	543694	550643	356480	302170	369601	216960	412928	204643	24442
Pork.....boxes.	1980	15695	18279							
Pork.....hhds.	1231	13968	18499	14201	9452	9988	6741	8800	2371	946
Pork in bulk.....lbs.	10513805	15263431	10273680	13564430	8450700	9740732	4079600	7792000	6814750	4051800
Porter and Ale.....bbls.	384	804	1838	3492	1'63	231	86	604	1050	514
Packing Yarn.....reels.	4190	4131	2211	3333	2193	1180	110	1164	1465	2099
Skins, Deer.....packs.	1119	1375	1301	136	1784	4264	2729	1939	1496	3419
Skates.....kegs.	2044	4485	4377	5258	3992	3103	4105	4714	1588	3416
Sugar.....hhds.	125753	143912	125392	128112	82011	93109	93288	51816	65036	50920
Sugar.....bbls.	18675	17395	5879							
Soap.....boxes.	9484	9930	6520	5580	4361	3633	6076	7399	2627	1932
Shingles.....	50000	70000	80000	60000	147000	13000	144006	361561	147000	114000
Staves.....	9000000	6000000	3800000	2000000	2000000	5679000	2500000	1362678	1165400	425000
Tallow.....bbls.	6164	4862	5622	4357	6658	8'55	7828	7323	6995	5071
Tobacco, leaf.....hhds.	64030	60304	52335	55882	55588	72896	71493	82455	92609	67555
Tobacco, chew.....kegs.	4115	2021	2315	6300	3930	3040	5309	7695	4902	3618
Tobacco.....bales.	220	153	33	118	1001	1105	3799	4771	3008	3298
Twine.....bundles.	3156	2118	2067	2264	1285	734	1951	2099	1903	1175
Whiskey.....b'ls.	157741	117733	125029	133333	126553	117104	97651	86947	83597	63345
Window Glass.....boxes.	16428	4887	575	4200	3805	2831	3071	2166	2342	2761
Wheat.....bbls. & sacks.	88797	57508	238911	149181	83949	403786	64'59	86014	118248	24886

* For the Commerce of 1851-2, see Appendix.

NEW-ORLEANS.—EXPORTS OF FLOUR, PORK, BACON, LARD, BEEF, WHISKEY, CORN, FOR TWO YEARS, FROM 1ST SEPTEMBER TO 31ST AUGUST.

PORTS	1850-51.						
	Flour, barrels	Pork, barrels	Bacon, hhds	Lard, kegs	Beef, barrels	Whiskey, bbls	Corn, sacks
New-York	72,584	55,849	9,856	209,825	3,055	1,381	160,728
Boston	88,925	77,806	6,503	224,333	13,435	2,242	32,461
Philadelphia	418	5,538	2,763	41,045	421	268	9,477
Baltimore	—	13,421	1,843	32 585	955	1,542	—
Charleston	6,175	1,003	2,872	2,769	119	11,514	23,978
Other coastwise ports.	150,960	22,890	19,972	40,046	3,785	50,883	150,125
Cuba	206	970	1,513	122,268	71	—	94,193
Other foreign ports ..	264,150	15,260	919	66,085	20,574	62	64,420
Total	583,418	192,737	46,241	738,956	42,415	67,892	533,382

In the above, the exports to Mobile, &c., via the Pontchartrain Railroad and New Canal, are included.

2.—EXPORTS OF FLOUR, PORK, BACON, LARD, BEEF, WHISKEY, AND CORN, FOR THREE YEARS, FROM 1ST SEPTEMBER TO 31ST AUGUST.

PORTS	1849-50.						
	Flour, barrels	Pork, barrels	Bacon, hhds	Lard, kegs	Beef, barrels	Whiskey, bbls	Corn, sacks
New-York	8,625	202,708	28,031	372,451	8,404	1,104	9,377
Boston	65,694	157,380	8,142	306,689	17,003	698	41,558
Philadelphia	500	17,186	5,256	80,087	—	171	—
Baltimore	202	34,036	4,895	72,290	3,391	1,279	—
Charleston	2,034	4,059	4,246	2,098	229	8,057	1,501
Other coastwise ports.	107,264	20,395	10,423	24,975	5,151	33,289	65,023
Cuba	366	1,260	1,359	109,524	10	—	—
Other foreign ports ...	27,065	33,213	2,577	586,735	21,654	306	338,648
Total	211,750	470,237	64,929	1,554,849	55,842	44,904	456,057

In the above, the exports to Mobile, &c., via the Pontchartrain Railroad and New Canal, are included.

3.—EXPORTS OF COTTON AND TOBACCO FROM NEW-ORLEANS, FOR FIVE YEARS—COMMENCING 1ST SEPTEMBER AND ENDING 31ST AUGUST.

WHITHER EXPORTED	COTTON, BALES.				TOBACCO, HHDS.			
	1850-51	1849-50	1848-49	1847-48	1850-51	1849-50	1848-49	1846-47
Liverpool	562,277	378 155	603,455	619,618	367,810	6,457	6,662	6,120
London	—	1,367	305	—	48	6,192	6,723	5,362
Glasgow and Greenock..	15,418	10,857	27,533	27,996	10,598	—	—	10,008
Cowes, Falmouth, &c...	4,678	3,741	11,237	6,270	6,102	574	3,435	2,535
Cork, Belfast, &c.....	—	3,769	2,488	—	810	—	—	1,153
Havre	125,067	112,159	139,910	123,856	90,103	659	718	6,998
Bordeaux	1,164	1,006	3,424	3 178	330	517	579	2,201
Marseilles	4,131	3 6 8	11,313	8,659	3,323	3,006	759	1,450
Nantz, Cette, and Rouen.	—	630	—	5,275	1,963	—	2,102	2,625
Amsterdam	489	—	—	1,831	—	—	—	2,006
Rotterdam and Ghent...	1,468	572	9 659	304	595	712	824	—
Bremen	12,905	1,801	12,137	8,716	4,369	7,071	7 719	75
Antwerp, &c.....	10,366	11,994	24,338	14,170	2 912	570	4 841	5 252
Hamburg	3,235	112	5 321	7 091	7 466	75	2,244	3,371
Gottenburg	8,180	5,021	7 303	4 887	4 376	941	1,077	3,371
Spain and Gibraltar ..	41 018	46 296	42 823	32,565	17,705	7 454	1,041	80
Havana, Mexico, &c...	565	2 292	16 328	25,468	9 376	—	573	239
Genoa, Trieste, &c....	42,537	36 362	41,614	45 228	20,542	5,613	1,436	403
China	—	—	—	1,490	—	—	3,845	945
Other foreign ports....	11,143	6,496	9 304	13,057	6 579	816	5,620	949
New-York	52,393	84 891	67 611	67,578	53,187	10,087	617	11,795
Boston	82,540	109,089	111,584	143,989	75 546	1,594	3,388	5,046
Providence, R. I.....	—	—	360	3,566	470	—	—	—
Philadelphia	14 867	15 616	18 486	16,213	13,582	1,118	1,291	1,369
Baltimore	2,511	4,017	4 959	12,328	7 288	754	1,436	1,369
Portsmouth	—	—	—	5 733	3 491	—	277	301
Other coastwise ports...	1	230	511	3 132	1 437	291	337	—
Western States.....	500	—	23 0	1,500	2,500	—	135	228
Total	997,458	838,591	1,167,363	1,201,897	724,508	54,501	57 955	50,37

WHITHER EXPORTED	COTTON, BALES.					TOBACCO, HEDS.				
	1850-51	1849-50	1848-49	1847-48	1846-47	1850-51	1849-50	1848-49	1847-48	1846-47
Great Britain.....	582,373	397,189	645,018	654,083	385,368	13,223	16,820	14,017	19,867	9,695
France.....	130,362	117,413	154,647	140,968	95,719	4,182	2,056	10,640	4,954	3,497
North of Europe.....	47,786	25,196	61,062	50,056	26,297	9,393	12,725	7,039	10,475	8,018
So. of Europe and China.	84,120	84,950	100,765	104,751	57,623	13,859	11,975	10,347	12,79	17,849
Coastwise.....	152,817	213,843	205,811	252,039	150,501	13,844	14,379	10,853	12,989	11,317
Total.....	997,458	838,591	1,167,303	1,201,897	724,508	54,501	57,955	52,896	60,364	50,376

4.—EXPORTS OF SUGAR AND MOLASSES, FROM NEW-ORLEANS, FOR TWO YEARS, (up the river excepted,) FROM 1ST OF SEPTEMBER TO 31ST OF AUGUST.

WHITHER EXPORTED	1850-51.				1849-50.			
	Sugar, hhd.	Sugar, barrels.	Molasses, hhd.	Molasses, barrels.	Sugar, hhd.	Sugar, barrels.	Molasses, hhd.	Molasses, barrels.
New-York.....	13,595	655	509	22,646	42,523	2,229	2,078	42,776
Philadelphia.....	10,264	867	—	7,735	18,344	3,074	—	14,636
Charleston, S. C.....	3,517	660	9	7,031	5,014	683	—	10,531
Savannah.....	1,702	89	—	2,981	1,981	300	82	4,379
Prov. and Bristol, R. I.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	247	37
Boston.....	733	27	—	2,172	3,929	961	—	2,792
Baltimore.....	3,670	237	—	2,862	8,101	2,225	—	13,432
Norfolk, Richmond, and Peters- burg, Va.....	4,072	130	—	2,313	6,600	882	30	6,134
Alexandria, D. C.....	552	—	—	631	649	—	—	600
Mobile.....	3,840	2,266	—	10,398	2,876	1,526	—	8,850
Apalachicola and Pensacola.....	1,071	254	—	4,578	1,830	460	—	5,70
Other ports.....	1,131	3,469	118	3,677	873	1,602	305	3,327
Total.....	44,147	8,644	636	67,024	92,720	13,942	2,742	112,674

5.—MONTHLY ARRIVALS OF SHIPS, BARKS, BRIGS, SCHOONERS, AND STEAMBOATS FOR THREE YEARS, FROM 1ST OF SEPTEMBER TO 31ST OF AUGUST.

MONTHS.	1850-51.						
	Ships.	Barks.	Brigs.	Schrs.	St. Ships.	Total.	St. Boats.
September....	31	23	12	54	17	136	175
October.....	49	17	18	32	15	131	152
November.....	77	34	40	66	13	230	259
December.....	61	39	43	64	12	219	408
January.....	68	48	29	67	15	227	336
February.....	42	34	38	71	13	198	311
March.....	88	32	34	90	17	261	336
April.....	54	21	27	79	17	198	272
May.....	50	29	31	53	24	187	243
June.....	43	21	16	50	18	148	159
July.....	34	13	17	47	12	128	152
August.....	18	10	10	31	12	81	125
Total.....	615	320	315	704	190	2,144	2,918

MONTHS.	1848-49.						
	Ships.	Barks.	Brigs.	Schrs.	St. Ships.	Total.	St. Boats.
September....	27	9	11	32	7	86	164
October.....	45	23	24	33	13	138	215
November.....	96	47	44	37	14	238	288
December.....	87	57	60	45	10	259	381
January.....	71	62	47	50	11	241	325
February.....	101	62	39	39	10	251	313
March.....	70	61	53	54	15	253	321
April.....	132	56	34	53	11	286	257
May.....	74	32	19	43	15	183	191
June.....	40	22	25	31	8	126	153
July.....	12	19	10	21	12	74	135
August.....	2	12	9	18	10	51	130
Total.....	757	462	375	456	136	2,186	2,873

MONTHS.	1846-47.						
	Ships.	Barks.	Brigs.	Schrs.	St. Ships.	Total.	St. Boats.
September....	37	12	19	42	7	117	141
October.....	78	30	31	80	7	226	177
November.....	67	35	63	63	9	237	281
December.....	72	45	62	43	8	230	337
January.....	78	64	91	99	6	338	346
February.....	42	34	63	85	5	229	298
March.....	83	53	72	105	1	314	317
April.....	86	41	45	86	6	264	293
May.....	77	51	87	106	11	392	284
June.....	51	38	54	101	19	263	251
July.....	53	30	52	67	16	218	174
August.....	45	18	24	52	14	123	123
Total.....	769	451	663	989	109	2,981	3,022

NEW-YORK AND NEW-ORLEANS.—RECEIPTS OF BREADSTUFFS.—The following is a most interesting table, in showing how New-York is increasing her annual receipts of western produce, and how she already compares with New-Orleans:

Receipts at New-Orleans by river, in 1848, 1849, and 1850, to September 31—3 years.		Receipts at the Hudson River by canals, in 1843, 1849, and 1850, to close of navigation—3 years.	
Flour.....	2,312,121	bbls.....	8,636,207
Pork.....	1,536,817	bbls.....	211,018
Beef.....	200,901	bbls.....	264,072
Wheat.....	852,497	bu-h.....	8,708,759
Corn.....	9,758,750	bush.....	1,78,228
Other grains.....	5,350,151	bush.....	11,210,239
Bacon.....	135,622,515	lbs.....	26,364,156
Butter.....	6,215,970	lbs.....	61,695,64
Cheese.....	8,955,880	lbs.....	97,596,632
Lard.....	292,110,060	lbs.....	27,137,175

VALUE OF PRODUCE OF THE INTERIOR.

A Table showing the receipts of the principal articles from the interior, during the year, ending 31st August, 1851, with their estimated average and total value.*

ARTICLES.	Amount.	Average.	Value.
Apples.....bbls.	54,808	\$3 00	\$174,424
Bacon, res'd., hds & cks.	48,602	60 00	2,916,120
Bacon, assorted...boxes.	9,274	30 00	278,220
Bacon Hams...hds. & tcs.	44,478	60 00	2,668,680
Bacon in bulk.....pds.	235,000	7	16,450
Bagging.....pieces.	72,304	12 50	903,800
Bale Rope.....coils.	107,224	7 50	804,180
Beans.....bbls.	4,236	5 00	21,180
Butter...kegs and firkins.	54,967	5 00	274,835
Butter.....bbls.	2,720	25 00	68,000
Beeswax....."	230	45 00	10,350
Beef....."	36,164	10 00	36,164
Beef.....tierces.	11,902	15 00	178,800
Beef, dried.....pounds.	15,300	7	1,071
Buffalo Robes.....pks.	155	70 00	10,850
Cotton.....bales.	995,636	49 00	48,756,764
Corn Meal.....bbls.	3,662	3 00	10,986
Corn in ear....."	42,526	90	38,273
Corn, shelled.....sacks.	1,298,932	1 30	1,688,608
Cheese.....boxes.	78,894	3 50	276,129
Candles....."	80,748	6 00	484,488
Cider.....bbls.	245	3 00	735
Coal, western....."	700,000	50	350,000
D'd App's & Peach's "	6,853	3 00	20,559
Feathers.....bags.	3,645	35 00	127,575
Flaxseed.....tierces.	204	12 00	2,448
Flour.....bbls.	941,106	4 50	4,234,977
Furs...hds., bds., & bxs.	1,889	—	800,000
Hemp.....bales.	25,116	18 00	452,088
Hides....."	140,338	1 00	140,338
Hay.....bales.	48,281	3 00	144,843
Iron, pig.....tons.	152	25 00	3,800
Lard.....bbls. & tcs.	115,570	24 00	2,773,680
Lard.....kegs.	151,931	4 00	607,724
Leather.....bundles.	8,490	25 00	212,250
Lime, western.....bbls.	37,738	1 50	56,607
Lead.....pigs.	325,505	3 20	1,041,616
Lead, bar...kegs & bxs.	629	20 00	12,580
Lead, white.....kegs.	1,930	7 00	13,510
Molasses, (est'd cp).....gls.	10,500,000	25	2,625,000
Oats.....bbls. & sks.	479,741	1 00	479,741
Onions.....bbls.	14,279	2 00	28,558
Oil, linseed....."	178	35 00	6,230
Oil, castor....."	4,145	50 00	207,250
Oil, lard....."	17,157	26 00	446,082
Potatoes....."	162,922	2 00	325,844
Pork.....tcs. & bbls.	286,084	12 00	3,433,008
Pork.....boxes.	1,980	25 00	49,500
Pork.....hhds.	1,231	60 00	73,860
Pork, in bulk.....pds.	10,513,895	5	578,264
Porter and Ale.....bbls.	384	10 00	3,840
Packing Yarn.....reels.	4,190	7 00	29,330
Skins, deer.....packs.	1,119	25 00	27,975
Skins, bear....."	7	15 00	105
Shot.....kegs.	2,044	25 00	51,100
Soap.....boxes.	9,484	3 00	28,452
Staves.....M.	9,000	35 00	315,000
Sugar, (est'd crp).....hds.	211,303	60 00	12,678,180
Spanish Moss.....bales.	5,974	6 00	35,844
Tallow.....bbls.	6,164	24 00	147,936
Tobacco, leaf.....hds.	52,830	120 00	6,327,600
Tobacco, strips....."	9,100	150 00	1,365,000
Tobacco, stems....."	2,200	20 00	44,000
Tobacco, chewing...kegs and boxes.	4,115	30 00	123,450
Twine...bundles & boxes.	3,156	10 00	31,560
Vinegar.....bbls.	89	6 00	534
Whiskey....."	157,741	8 00	1,261,928
Window Glass.....boxes.	16,428	5 00	82,140
Wheat.....bbls. & sks.	88,797	2 00	177,594
Other various articles, estimated at...			5,000,000
Total value.....dollars			106,924,083
Total in 1849-50.....			96,897,873
Total in 1848-49.....			81,928,692
Total in 1847-48.....			79,779,151

* For 1851-52, see Appendix.

STATEMENT OF THE RECEIPTS AND EXPORTS OF COTTON AND TOBACCO AT THE PORT OF NEW-ORLEANS IN EACH YEAR, FROM 1822-23 TO 1848-49, A PERIOD OF TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS.*

	COTTON.	
	Receipts	Exports
1822-23.....	\$161,959	\$171,872
1823-24.....	141,524	143,843
1824-25.....	206,358	203,914
1825-26.....	248,981	259,681
1826-27.....	336,573	326,516
1827-28.....	295,853	304,073
1828-29.....	268,639	367,736
1829-30.....	362,977	351,237
1830-31.....	429,392	423,942
1831-32.....	345,646	358,104
1832-33.....	403,833	410,524
1833-34.....	467,984	461,026
1834-35.....	536,172	536,991
1835-36.....	495,442	490,495
1836-37.....	605,813	588,969
1837-38.....	742,726	738,313
1838-39.....	578,514	579,179
1839-40.....	954,445	949,320
1840-41.....	822,870	821,288
1841-42.....	740,155	749,267
1842-43.....	1,089,642	1,088,870
1843-44.....	910,854	895,375
1844-45.....	979,238	984,616
1845-46.....	1,053,633	1,054,857
1846-47.....	740,669	724,508
1847-48.....	1,213,805	1,201,807
1848-49.....	1,142,383	1,167,302
1849-50.....	887,723	838,591
Total.....	\$17,114,696	\$16,883,307

	TOBACCO.	
	Exports	Receipts
1822-23.....	\$16,292	\$28,624
1823-24.....	25,262	25,910
1824-25.....	17,759	16,849
1825-26.....	18,242	18,231
1826-27.....	29,684	26,540
1827-28.....	29,443	35,098
1828-29.....	24,637	25,288
1829-30.....	32,438	28,028
1830-31.....	32,098	33,872
1831-32.....	31,174	35,056
1832-33.....	20,627	23,637
1833-34.....	25,871	25,210
1834-35.....	35,059	33,831
1835-36.....	50,558	41,604
1836-37.....	28,501	35,821
1837-38.....	37,588	35,555
1838-39.....	28,153	30,852
1839-40.....	43,827	40,436
1840-41.....	53,170	54,667
1841-42.....	67,555	68,058
1842-43.....	92,509	80,891
1843-44.....	82,435	81,249
1844-45.....	71,493	68,679
1845-46.....	72,896	62,045
1846-47.....	55,588	50,876
1847-48.....	55,882	60,364
1848-49.....	52,335	52,896
1849-50.....	60,304	57,955
Total.....	\$1,191,374	\$1,196,622

* For 1851-52, see Appendix.

Upon the supposition that the average value of cotton and tobacco for the twenty-seven years above stated may be fairly estimated at \$40 per bale for the former, and \$70 per hogshead for the latter, it would give a total value for these two articles alone of \$778,806,370.

NEW-ORLEANS.—Table exhibiting the Mortality of the City of New-Orleans since 1787, (with exceptions as stated,) with the ratios, the relative proportion dying at the Charity Hospital, and the dates of great physical changes in and about the city.—By Dr. E. H. BARTON.

Years Embraced.	Average Population.	Average Mortality.	Ratio 1 to —	Ratio per cent.	Average Charity Hospital Mortality to City Mortality per cent.	Dates of Physical Alterations and Improvements in the City and Neighborhood.
10 years, 1787-97.	7,020	438	14.53	6.95	—	1785-91-99—Crevasses above, affecting the city. 1796—Fortifications made around the city, and surrounded by trenches. 1794-97—Canal Carondelet dug.
6 years, 1811-15.	28,741	989	30.82	3.42	—	1811—Canal Carondelet cleaned out. 1816—Crevasse.
1816-20.	37,985	1,517	29.15	3.95	17.77	1817—First pavements commenced. 1820—Wooden sidewalks and curbing removed, and replaced with stone.
* 4 years, omitting 1821. 1821-25.	44,539	2,085	21.17	4.72	17.60	1817-20—Large inclosures of the batture. 1824-32—Gormley's Canal and Basin dug about 1824-28. 1824-32—Extensive paving done.
1826-30.	47,834	1,707	27.68	3.61	21.82	1825-28—Melpomene Canal adapted from a natural drain, cleaned out and deepened.
* 4 years, omitting 1832. 1831-35.	58,570	3,503	18.22	5.92	27.11	1831—Violent storm inundated back part of the city, to Dauphin street. 1832-35—The Bank Canal of the Second Municipality dug to the lake—7 miles. 1832-34—Extensive paving. 1835-39—Forest growth cut down in rear of city; First Municipality.
* 4 years, omitting 1837. 1836-40.	74,922	2,942	25.39	3.96	27.11	1836—Draining machine on Bayou St. John, drained the section in the rear of First Municipality.
1841-45.	90,000	3,933	23.29	4.48	21.20	1837, October—Violent storm inundated the rear of the city. Draining company continued their operations
1846-50.	109,693	7,662	15.33	6.93	24.71	1844—Violent storm inundated the city up to Burgundy street. 1845-50—That section of the rear of the city, between the canals Carondelet and Bank, in the rear of the central parts of the city, ditched, drained, and forest growth removed.
N. O. and Lafay- ette, for the last year.						1849, May and June—Extensive inundation from Sauve Crevasse, extending as high up as Carondelet street.
TOTALS.			53.19	4.87	92.38	

* The total mortality of these years could not be procured.

+ Extract from the Report of the Physico-Medical Society on the epidemic yellow fever of 1820, by Drs. Randolph, Davidson, and Marshall: "We would remind the Society of the evident co-existence existing between the inclosure of the batture and the recent unusual consecution of epidemic fevers in this city."

P. S.—I intended to have added a column embracing the average annual immigration from abroad, but the record has not been retained at our Custom-house anterior to 1845, since when it has averaged about 30,000 per annum; but very few arriving in the summer and fall months.

NEW-ORLEANS.—HEALTH.—There are causes influencing our meteorological condition, which, in a proper estimate of our climate, we cannot overlook. I allude to the great modifying power of *large inland bodies of water* upon it. I am indebted to my friend, Professor Forshey, for the interesting computation. The whole area of the state of Louisiana is.....48,972 sq. m. Of this—

Marsh alluvion, west of delta, (or Vermilion River).....	2,880	"
Mississippi delta, south of Red River (Lyell's limit of delta).....	12,514	"
Mississippi delta, north of Red River (within Forshey's delta).....	3,420	"
Red river alluvion above Avoyelles.....	1,656	"

Ouachita alluvion, above Boeuf River..... 900 sq. m.

Making an aggregate, including flat lakes, of.....21,370 "

All this is not constantly under water, but it is so more or less, and *constantly* subject to it. This does not include the alluvions of the smaller streams, and some, he admits, may have been reclaimed by levees. He further states, that of the whole alluvion, there is uncultivable more than half, say 12,000 square miles, including shallow lakes.

You see, then, that about *one eighth* of the state is constantly under water, and that more than *two fifths* of it are subject to inundation.

NEW-ORLEANS.—COMMERCE, 1850-51.

MONTHLY ARRIVALS OF FLAT-BOATS.

MONTHS.	Ohio.	Kentucky.	Indiana.	Virginia.	Pennsylvania.	Illinois.	Missouri.	Iowa.	Arkansas.	Alabama.	Tennessee.	Mississippi.	TOTAL.
September.....	12	2	2	2	11	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	42
October.....	2	2	8	1	9	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	25
November.....	3	..	7	..	13	2	..	..	..	..	4	..	33
December.....	27	3	22	..	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	80
January.....	72	3	28	1	12	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	119
February.....	19	4	9	1	27	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	70
March.....	35	6	111	..	15	9	..	..	..	..	1	2	179
April.....	10	7	44	3	29	5	..	..	..	..	27	7	132
May.....	11	11	40	1	32	3	..	..	..	..	10	1	109
June.....	21	3	16	1	17	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	65
July.....	2	6	2	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	14	..	40
August.....	4	2	8	2	13	..	..	..	..	..	17	..	47
Total.....	213	58	298	12	222	19	..	..	..	..	104	10	941

COMPARATIVE PRICES OF FLOUR AT NEW-ORLEANS ON THE FIRST OF EACH MONTH, FOR FIVE YEARS.

	1850-51.	1849-50.	1848-49.	1847-48.	1846-47.
September.....	\$4 62½ a 5 12½	4 50 a 5 75	4 00 a 4 75	4 75 a 6 00	3 50 a 4 00
October.....	4 00 a 5 12½	5 00 a 5 62½	5 00 a 5 25	4 00 a 5 00	4 00 a 4 62
November.....	4 25 a 5 25	4 75 a 5 50	4 75 a 5 12½	5 25 a 5 62½	5 00 a 5 50
December.....	4 50 a 5 12½	5 00 a 5 50	4 62½ a 5 00	5 12½ a 6 00	4 87½ a 5 37
January.....	4 25 a 5 00	5 00 a 5 62½	4 25 a 4 75	5 50 a 6 00	4 37½ a 5 25½
February.....	4 25 a 5 00	5 12½ a 5 75	4 12½ a 5 00	4 75 a 5 25	6 00 a 6 50
March.....	4 00 a 4 75	5 25 a 6 00	4 50 a 5 25	5 00 a 5 75	5 50 a 6 25
April.....	4 00 a 4 87½	5 62½ a 6 75	4 12½ a 5 00	5 25 a 5 87½	6 00 a 6 25
May.....	4 12½ a 5 00	5 37½ a 6 75	3 87½ a 5 00	4 25 a 5 25	5 75 a 6 50
June.....	3 75 a 4 75	6 75 a 7 37½	4 50 a 5 25	4 25 a 4 75	6 75 a 7 50
July.....	3 25 a 4 75	5 50 a 7 25	3 87½ a 5 00	4 25 a 5 00	6 00 a 7 00
August.....	4 00 a 5 25	4 00 a 6 75	6 00 a 7 50	4 00 a 4 62½	4 00 a 5 50

COMPARATIVE PRICES OF MESS AND PRIME PORK.

	Mess, 1850-51.	Prime, 1850-51.	Mess, 1849-50.	Prime, 1849-50.
September.....	\$10 25 a 10 50	8 50 a 9 00	9 25 a 9 50	8 25 a 8 37½
October.....	10 25 a 10 37½	8 75 a 9 00	9 75 a 10 00	8 37½ a 8 50
November.....	11 25 a 12 00	8 25 a 8 75	9 37½ a 9 50	8 25 a 8 50
December.....	11 37½ a 11 75	8 12½ a 8 50	9 37½ a 9 50	8 50 a 8 75
January.....	11 75 a 12 00	9 00 a —	10 50 a 11 00	8 00 a —
February.....	12 50 a 13 00	10 50 a 11 00	9 25 a 9 50	7 37½ a 7 62½
March.....	12 50 a 13 00	11 00 a 11 50	9 50 a 10 00	7 37½ a 7 50
April.....	13 00 a 13 50	10 75 a 11 25	9 37½ a 9 62½	7 37 a 7 50
May.....	14 00 a 14 75	11 75 a 12 25	9 50 a 9 75	7 75 a 8 00
June.....	44 50 a 14 75	12 00 a 12 50	9 75 a 10 00	8 25 a 8 50
July.....	14 00 a 14 37½	12 00 a 12 50	— a 12 00	9 50 a —
August.....	15 00 a 15 25	12 50 a 13 00	11 50 a 11 75	— a 9 75

COMPARATIVE PRICES OF CORN, IN SACKS.

	1850-51.	1849-50.	1848-49.	847-48.	1846-47.
September.....Cents.	53 a 63	35 a 46	52 a 57	50 a 55	36 a 40
October.....	50 a 60	42 a 48	48 a 53	50 a 75	60 a 65
November.....	70 a 75	50 a 55	52 a 58	41 a 50	58 a 75
December.....	70 a —	46 a 52	42 a 51	45 a 50	60 a 70
January.....	60 a 65	— a 47	35 a 40	54 a 60	55 a 60
February.....	60 a 68	45 a 50	34 a 43	40 a 55	80 a 90
March.....	52 a 58	50 a 57	30 a 41	36 a 42	75 a 97
April.....	50 a 58	50 a 56	20 a 40	30 a 38	80 a 95
May.....	46 a 54	76 a 83	30 a 45	22 a 28	55 a 70
June.....	38 a 61	64 a 70	50 a 55	32 a 36	65 a 80
July.....	34 a 57	75 a 85	50 a 53	33 a 39	65 a 75
August.....	34 a 60	75 a 85	50 a 56	36 a 42	40 a 55

FOREIGN EXPORTS AT NEW-ORLEANS.

AMERICAN PRODUCE.

American Vessels to Foreign Countries.

Third quarter, 1850.....	\$6,078,397
Fourth quarter, 1850.....	7,983,399
First quarter, 1851.....	11,431,425
Second quarter, 1851.....	12,529,388
	<hr/>
	\$38,022,609

Foreign Vessels to Foreign Countries.

Third quarter, 1850.....	\$2,103,110
Fourth quarter, 1850.....	2,719,728
First quarter, 1851.....	7,692,659
Second quarter, 1851.....	3,449,90ff
	<hr/>
	\$15,965,404

Coastwise.

Third quarter, 1850.....	\$2,859,567
Fourth quarter, 1850.....	6,177,128
First quarter, 1851.....	11,707,593
Second quarter, 1851.....	6,484,624
	<hr/>
	\$27,228,912
Total Foreign.....	53,988,013
“ Coastwise.....	27,228,912
	<hr/>
Grand total.....	\$81,216,925

FOREIGN PRODUCE.

American Vessels to Foreign Countries.

Third quarter, 1850.....	\$55,192
Fourth quarter, 1850.....	153,316
First quarter, 1851.....	91,313
Second quarter, 1851.....	83,445
	<hr/>
	\$388,265

Foreign Vessels to Foreign Countries.

Third quarter, 1850.....	\$14,616
Fourth quarter, 1850.....	18,255
First quarter, 1851.....	13,140
Second quarter, 1851.....	11,674
	<hr/>
	57,685
	<hr/>
Grand total.....	\$445,950

UNITED STATES BRANCH MINT.

Statement of the Deposits and Coinage of the Branch Mint, New-Orleans, from the 1st of August, 1850, to the 31st of July, 1851, inclusive:

GOLD DEPOSITS.

California gold	
bullion.....	\$8,152,878 82
Other gold bul..	132,758 32
Total gold dep't.....	<hr/> \$8,285,637 14

SILVER DEPOSITS.

Silver extracted	
from Califor-	
nia Gold.....	\$57,571 61
Other silver bul.	764,513 64
Total silver dep't.....	<hr/> \$822,085 25
Total value of gold and silver	
deposits.....	<hr/> \$9,107,722 39

GOLD COINAGE, 1850-51.

	Pieces.	Value.
Double Eagles, 333,500		\$6,670,000
Eagles.....	149,500	1,495,000
Half Eagles....	33,000	165,000
Quarter Eagles.	204,000	510,000
Gold Dollars..	154,000	154,000
	<hr/>	<hr/> \$8,994,000

SILVER COINAGE.

	Pieces.	Value.
Dollars.....	3,000	\$3,000
Half Dollars...	1,712,000	856,000
Quarter Dollars.	276,000	69,000
Dimes.....	530,000	53,000
Half Dimes....	1,030,000	51,500
Three Cent Pcs.	600,000	18,000
	<hr/>	<hr/> 4,151,000
Total coinage...	5,025,000	<hr/> \$10,044,500

IMPORTS OF SPECIE AT NEW-ORLEANS FOR FOUR YEARS FROM 1ST SEPTEMBER TO 31ST AUGUST.

1850-51.....	\$7,937,119
1849-50.....	3,792,662
1848-49.....	2,501,250
1847-48.....	1,845,803
1846-47.....	6,680,050

DIRECT IMPORTS OF COFFEE, SUGAR, AND SALT

AT NEW-ORLEANS.

	1850-51.	1849-50.	1848-49.
Coffee, Havana, bags.....	10,367	20,627	16,341
Coffee, Rio, bags.....	274,690	225,013	299,129
Sugar, Havana, boxes.....	29,293	18,843	14,775
Salt, Liverpool, sacks.....	420,838	468,932	508,517
Salt, Turk's Isld, &c., bush.	419,685	583,183	249,001

FOREIGN COMMERCE OF NEW-ORLEANS.

TONNAGE CLEARED.

July to September, 1850.

	No. of vessels.	Tonnage.
American for foreign ports.	109	44,549 63
Foreign.....	52	19,866 96
Coastwise.....	199	57,442 80

306 121,858 94

October to December, 1850.

American for foreign ports.	114	53,946 18
Foreign.....	66	20,937 40
Coastwise.....	275	76,789 20

455 151,672 78

January to March, 1851.

American for foreign ports.	188	85,747 51
Foreign.....	119	53,761 56
Coastwise.....	424	121,862 03

731 260,871 15

April to June, 1851.

American for foreign ports.	234	108,715 82
Foreign.....	88	34,383 15
Coastwise.....	329	97,579 68

651 240,678 72

RECAPITULATION.

Total third quarter, 1850...	360	121,858 94
" fourth " " ..	455	151,672 78
" first " 1851...	731	260,871 15
" second " " ..	651	240,678 72

2,197 775,081 69

Total to June, 1851.....775,081 69

The year previous.....773,783 19

Difference..... 1,298 50

Comparative Arrivals, Exports, and Stocks of Cotton and Tobacco at New-Orleans, for ten years, from 1st September each year to date.

COTTON—BALES.

Years.	Arrivals.	Exports.	Stocks.
1850-51.....	995,036	997,458	15,390
1849-50.....	837,723	838,591	16,612
1848-49.....	1,142,382	1,167,303	15,480
1847-48.....	1,213,895	1,201,897	37,401
1846-47.....	740,669	724,508	23,493
1845-46.....	1,053,633	1,054,857	6,332
1844-45.....	979,258	984,616	7,556
1843-44.....	910,854	895,375	12,934
1842-43.....	1,089,642	1,088,870	4,700
1841-42.....	740,155	749,267	4,428

TONNAGE ENTERED.

July to September, 1850.

	No. of vessels.	Tonnage.
American from foreign ports.	61	16,176 94
Foreign.....	42	14,347 29
Coastwise.....	205	63,083 40

308 93,607 62

October to December, 1850.

American from foreign ports.	158	61,487 57
Foreign.....	106	40,827 33
Coastwise.....	303	124,585 02

567 226,899 92

January to March, 1851.

American from foreign ports.	178	64,104 41
Foreign.....	97	45,207 51
Coastwise.....	365	125,032 82

640 234,344 79

April to June, 1851.

American from foreign ports.	146	53,368 22
Foreign.....	88	36,617 58
Coastwise.....	305	123,189 65

539 213,175 50

RECAPITULATION.

Total third quarter, 1850...	308	93,607 68
" fourth " " ..	567	226,899 92
" first " 1851...	640	234,344 79
" second " " ..	539	213,175 50

2,054 768,028 04

Total to June, 1851.....768,028 04

The year previous.....763,634 58

Difference..... 4,393 41

The arrivals at New-Orleans, for the last five years, have stood :

	Ships.	Barks.	Brigs.	Schoo- ners.	Steam Ships.	Total.	Steam Boats.
1846-7.....	764	451	663	939	109	2,981	3,022
1847-8.....	955	509	462	795	206	2,927	2,977
1848-9.....	757	462	375	456	136	2,186	2,873
1849-50.....	654	363	362	666	147	2,192	2,784
1850-51.....	615	320	315	704	190	2,144	2,918

A gradual decline will be observed in almost every description of vessels. The flat-boat arrivals during 1850-51 were 1,261; also a decline, as will be seen by our previous volumes.

TOBACCO—HHDS.

Years.	Arrivals.	Exports.	Stocks.
1850-51.....	64,030	54,501	23,871
1849-50.....	60,304	57,955	14,842
1848-49.....	52,335	52,896	13,293
1847-48.....	55,882	60,364	14,851
1846-47.....	55,588	50,376	22,336
1845-46.....	72,896	62,045	17,924
1844-45.....	71,493	68,679	7,673
1843-44.....	82,435	81,249	4,859
1842-43.....	92,509	69,891	4,873
1841-42.....	67,555	68,058	2,255

Comparative prices of Middling to Fair Cotton at New-Orleans, on the first of each month, during a period of Five Years, together with the Total Receipts at New-Orleans, and the Total Crops of the United States.

	1850-51, Cents.	1849-50, Cents.	1848-49, Cents.	1847-48, Cents.	1846-47, Cents.
September.....	9 a 11	9½ a 11½	5½ a —	10½ a 12	7½ a 9
October.....	13½ a 13½	9½ a 12	5½ a 7	10 a 11	8½ a 10
November.....	13½ a 14½	9½ a 11	5 a 6	7½ a 8½	9 a 10½
December.....	13½ a 14	10½ a 11½	5½ a 6½	6½ a 7½	9 a 10½
January.....	12½ a 14½	10½ a 11½	5½ a 6½	6½ a 7½	10 a 11½
February.....	12½ a 13½	11½ a 12½	6½ a 7½	6½ a 8	11½ a 13
March.....	10½ a 13	10½ a 12½	6½ a 7½	6½ a 7½	9½ a 11
April.....	10½ a 12½	10½ a 12	6½ a 7½	6½ a 7½	10½ a 11½
May.....	9½ a 11½	11½ a 13	6½ a 7½	5 a 6½	10½ a 11½
June.....	8½ a 11	11½ a 13½	7 a 8½	5½ a 7½	9½ a 11½
July.....	8 a 10½	11½ a 13½	7 a 8½	5½ a 7½	9½ a 10½
August.....	7 a 9½	12½ a 13½	9 a —	5½ a 7½	10½ a 12
Receipts at New-Orleans.	1,053,633	797,387	1,100,636	1,188,733	707,324
Crop of United States....	2,350,537	2,096,706	2,700,900	2,350,000	1,800,000

Comparative Prices of Sugar on the Levee, on the first of each month, for Five Years.

	1850-51, Cents.	1849-50, Cents.	1848-49, Cents.	1847-48, Cents.	1846-47, Cents.
September.....	4½ a 6½	3 a 5½	2½ a 4½	5 a 7½	4½ a 7½
October.....	4½ a 6½	4 a 6½	2½ a 4½	5 a 7½	6½ a 9
November.....	5 a 6	3 a 6	3 a 4½	3 a 5½	5½ a 7
December.....	3 a 5½	3 a 6	2½ a 4½	2½ a 5	4½ a 7
January.....	3½ a 6½	2½ a 5	2½ a 4½	2 a 5	5 a 7½
February.....	3½ a 6½	2½ a 5	2½ a 5	2½ a 5½	5 a 7½
March.....	3½ a 6	2½ a 5	2½ a 5½	2½ a 5	5½ a 7½
April.....	3½ a 6	2½ a 5	2½ a 5½	2½ a 5	5½ a 7½
May.....	3 a 6½	2½ a 5	2½ a 5½	1½ a 4½	5 a 7½
June.....	3½ a 6	3½ a 5½	2½ a 5	1½ a 4½	5 a 7½
July.....	3½ a 6½	4 a 6	2½ a 4½	2½ a 4½	5 a 7½
August.....	4½ a 6½	4½ a 6½	3 a 5½	2½ a 4½	5 a 8

Comparative Prices of Molasses on the Levee, on the first of each month, for Five Years.

	1850-51, Cents.	1849-50, Cents.	1848-49, Cents.	1847-48, Cents.	1846-47, Cents.
September.....	20 a 32	10 a 20	15 a 20	28 a 32	15 a 22
October.....	20 a 32	10 a 20	17 a 21	28 a 32	20 a 25
November.....	25 a 25½	24 a 24½	23½ a 24	22½ a 23	26 a 26½
December.....	23½ a 24	20½ a 20½	19½ a 20	19½ a 19½	23 a 23½
January.....	18 a 24	17 a 19½	18 a 19½	17 a 17½	24½ a 25
February.....	23 a 27½	15 a 20½	20 a 21½	17 a 19	27 a —
March.....	22 a 30½	12 a 21½	15 a 19	15 a 21	29 a 29½
April.....	25 a 33	10 a 21	15 a 19	15 a 21	25 a 29
May.....	25 a 32	10 a 23	12½ a 18	12 a 16	26 a 30
June.....	25 a 30	21 a 27	12 a 18½	15 a 20	26 a 30
July.....	22 a 30	25 a 33	8 a 18	15 a 20	26 a 30
August.....	20 a 28	20 a 33	10 a 20	15 a 20	28 a 31

NEW-ORLEANS. — IMPORTANCE OF INCREASING HER FOREIGN COMMERCE — HER BANKING CAPITAL.—Mr. President, I now pass to another subject of great interest to New-Orleans, and one intimately connected with the progress and completion of railroads in the valley of the Mississippi. One of the chief drawbacks to New-Orleans is the absence of an import trade; and why are we without imports? Why is it, that a city exporting eighty or ninety millions of dollars annually, is so insignificant in that important branch of commerce? Because of the remoteness and uncertainty of our market—our being without a speedy, rapid, and cheap communication with the interior country that seeks New-Orleans as a market for its agricultural productions. It is

in our power to make New-Orleans a large importing city, by carrying out the objects of this Convention, and facilitating access between New-Orleans and every portion of the valley of the Mississippi, which is tributary to our trade; and without railroads this communication cannot be established to compete successfully with the active enterprise of our northern rivals. Under present and past circumstances, this city could not pretend to carry on importing extensively, when imports from those countries we trade with, were such here, were either cut off by distance from the country that would become customers for these imports by delays or uncertain navigation; or, when these facilities were at command, the goods imported had either become unsaleable or un-

fashionable, leaving the importer the alternative of waiting for the return of another season, at the expense of interest and multiplied expenses, which, under any circumstances, takes away all chance of profit. But, build the proposed railroads, place it within our power to travel to Nashville in twenty hours, Memphis in twenty hours, and all the important points of the eastern valley of the Ohio and Mississippi in a like quick time, and our own western borders and Texas in a few hours, then New-Orleans will be a city of imports, the produce of this rich agricultural empire will flow into her lap, not as a mere place of transit, but to be exchanged for the productions of other countries; then will New-Orleans begin the fulfilment of her destiny, and become renowned and famous among the cities of the world.

I propose to illustrate the advantages of an importing trade over one of mere export. We all know that the agencies employed in receiving, selling, and shipping fifty thousand bales of cotton are very small, and yet fifty thousand bales of cotton, at present cost, would produce \$1,500,000. Suppose the proceeds of this cotton were brought back in the manufactures of Birmingham, Manchester, Lyons, or any European city, how many agencies would be required to distribute it through all the channels between the importer and the consumer? Judging from the subdivisions of such employments in northern cities, the number would be very great; but these people not only want storehouses and shops, but want houses to live in; and with the demand for stores, shops, and houses, would spring up a demand for builders, artisans, and laborers, and agents of every description; our vacant lots would soon be covered by improvements, our vacant houses tenanted by an active and industrious population, that would become permanent and progressive. These are the elements of a solid prosperity, and what New-Orleans most needs. A mere city of transit commerce can never be a great city. You may talk of receipts of cotton, sugar, and tobacco—they have done all for you they ever will do. You must now rely on something else; and this reliance is mainly dependent on increased local pursuits and increased interior communication, such as New-York and every northern city has established.

I fear I tax your patience, but our present circumstances demand from every citizen an attention to facts; and your time cannot be better employed than in listening to those I am detailing. It is a constant subject of complaint that New-Orleans has an insufficient banking capital—that money commands a high price. The error on this subject is very prevalent at home and abroad. Boston, which is constantly rung in our ears as an example of wealth and enterprise, divided from her commerce and manufactures, has about eighteen

millions of banking capital, whilst New-Orleans has about seventeen millions of fixed capital, or about ten millions of active capital. The cities of New-York and Brooklyn have a banking capital of twenty-eight millions, Philadelphia under ten millions, and Baltimore under seven millions. New-York and Brooklyn have nearly six times the population of New-Orleans, and less than three times an excess in banking capital. Philadelphia has a population nearly four times greater than New-Orleans, and her banking capital is not so great. Baltimore, that has a population near fifty per cent. greater than New-Orleans, has three millions less banking capital than New-Orleans. Cincinnati has not more than one eighth, and St. Louis not more than one twentieth of the banking capital of New-Orleans; and yet these cities have advanced with astonishing progress, and have almost doubled their populations, whilst New-Orleans is comparatively stationary.

The deposits of the banking institutions of New-Orleans bear a proportion to those of other cities, equally favorable with that of their capitals; and I assume that fixed capitals and deposits in any city are an index of its aggregate capital and means. With these facts, I proceed to make another statement, warranted by my knowledge of the facts: that the average price of money in New-Orleans since 1842 has been 33 per cent. cheaper than the average price in Boston; 25 per cent. cheaper than the average price in New-York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore; and 50 per cent. cheaper than in Cincinnati and St. Louis. When I speak of the average price or the dearth or cheapness of money, I mean the current price demanded and paid on good and undoubted security; and I am particular on these points of comparison, as intending to show that the circulation of capital depends on the manner of its employment, and that small capitals, actively circulated where employments are multiplied and various, achieve a great deal more than large capitals, located in a city with her whole dependence founded on a mere export commerce. The operation of unwise laws affecting capital will, in all countries, restrain and embarrass its free circulation; and when the laws are not such as to endanger the safe employment of capital, it will certainly disappear.

We have more capital in the southern states for our wants, than any portion of the confederacy. The absence among us of the prosperity so manifest in the northern and middle states, does not arise from any want of capital, but proceeds from the utter neglect of the south to her true and substantial interests, and the discouragements that stand in the way of investments. The unfortunate circumstances of the public credit of Mississippi and Arkansas, and the overthrow of confidence, public and private, when public obligations are dis-

regarded, visit on the whole southwest penalties that are fatal to the spirit of enterprise, and, above all, to that confidence which nourishes and protects it. The demoralizing influence of blighted public faith weakens the attachment of the people to the government, and capital and property will never trust its protection to a government without this moral support. Capital will never flow into a state that neglects the fulfilment of her public engagements; but all the savings of capital, derived from industry and economy, in such a state, will leave it—take wings and fly away to places of greater security. At this time, and within the last year, the chief buyers of stocks, for investment in New-York, were southern people—yes, Mr. President, people from Mississippi and Alabama; and yet, if capital is so scarce and money so dear as is daily announced, why does it happen that this country is furnishing capital to buy northern stocks? furnishing capital to enable our active and enterprising rivals to extend their high-ways and power? furnishing the aid that transfers to them supremacy, and weakens and impoverishes us? If you are true southerners, and I believe you all are, go to work and change all this by ordaining such laws as will inspire confidence at home and abroad; go to work and imitate your victorious rivals, build roads, and create stock at home, give the guarantee of honesty and security, and my word for it, you will not only entice back the capital that is leaving you, but invite it from abroad.

Whilst regarding our pursuits and laws as unfavorable to that circulation of capital known in other sections of the Union, there is another cause that is dealing out its influences. Lately, there has sprung up, in consequence of the slavery agitation, an uneasy feeling. The wicked and insane meddling of the enemies of our institutions, of our peace and tranquillity, and the perpetual discussion of the question, north and south, contributes largely to unsettle confidence, and to work on the fears of the timid. I am not among the number to believe this evil is not to be overcome. The south, united in policy and interest, united by the ties of closer inter-communication, united by an extended and combined system of railroads, united by the development of her vast resources, and the building up of a manufacturing interest, will soon be in circumstances of power and prominence that will put at naught all the distractions that have threatened her peace, and endangered the security of the Union.

The building of railroads, the erection of manufactories, and the demand for the skill and labor that they every where create, will attract emigration to the south, will augment our white population, who will become more permanent and settled in their pursuits; and this tendency to localizing population will

prove an element of increased security to the south, one which will hasten the recovery of her lost power.

Attention to these interests will achieve far more for the south than the discussion of the platforms of political quackery, invented to advance the pretensions of their projectors.

I again repeat that the cry of deficiency in capital is unfounded; we have it in abundance for all our purposes, if it can be concentrated and circulated as it is in Wall street. There has been no period in the last five years, notwithstanding its being marked with great revolutions in trade, that money was not obtainable in New-Orleans, on good security—I mean available and convertible security, such as is recognized and current in Amsterdam, London, and New-York; I do not mean security with the incumbency of notarial pledges, tacit mortgages, appraisement laws, fees to lawyers for collecting, and vexatious delays in realizing them. The money-lender is always the most timid of men; he has what you want, and is always willing to supply your wants, provided he is sure of escaping trouble and vexation, and the security you offer is good; but when you ask him to employ attorneys to investigate any titles, and expose himself to any uncertainty, his compliance is at an end. It is unreasonable to suppose a money-lender would be attracted by the securities and forms of law known in Louisiana; that he would hazard the profit on his loans by the fees paid to the agents of the law, and their punctual recovery by the delays of an appraisement law that extends the payment twelve months, when the property does not bring two thirds of its cash value. It is the doubt and uncertainty produced by such a condition of laws, that curtail the circulation of capital, and make it dear to the agricultural classes of the country.—*Speech of James Robb.*

NEW-YORK.—COMMERCIAL GROWTH AND GREATNESS OF NEW-YORK.—POSITION OF CITIES—ORIGIN OF NEW-YORK—EARLY HISTORY, ADVANCES, IMPROVEMENTS, POPULATION, RESOURCES, COMMERCE, PROSPECTS, ETC.—The growth of large cities depends upon the development of the mechanic arts, and the facilities they possess for communication with tracts of country around them. The larger the extent of agricultural country, which by means of avenues of communication, natural or artificial, can be brought into contact with a city, the more rapid will be its growth, and the greater the magnitude to which operating causes may carry it. While the mechanic arts and the business of exchange are unknown, it results from the regular and irresistible operation of a natural law, that large cities cannot exist. The condition of society would furnish neither the elements of their growth, nor of their preservation. The bulk of the population being agricultural—inasmuch as that food is the

first necessary—is scattered over the face of the earth, regulated by the attractions of soil and climate. The supply of wants beyond those of food, must come from cities, either manufactured or imported there; and such cities will rise in localities fixed by the natural avenues of the country. It frequently happens that the fortunes of a city change through the discontinuance of the operation of causes from which its existence was derived—as in the case of a particular manufacture which will no longer find a market. But with the decline of that trade, another may spring up to sustain the existence of the city; as, for instance, a large manufacturing town in the interior of a country may lose its market for the article which gave it importance, but may have acquired commercial habits during its prosperity, and continue a *dépôt* for inland trade when its manufactures are no longer profitable.

The city of New-York had its origin entirely in commercial interests. The discoverer, Henry Hudson, is said to have sold the title to the Dutch West India Company, in 1609, and they located the first permanent establishment, which was forcibly broken up in 1618 by the English South Virginia Company, who claimed the title under the discoveries of the Cabots. The Dutch having been reinstated in 1620, by order of James I., the growing importance of the place induced their government to erect it into a province in 1629, under the name of New-Netherlands. It retained this form until the government of Charles II. took forcible possession in 1664. He transferred it by letters patent to the Duke of York—afterwards, as James II., driven from the English throne for his despotic follies. From him it received the title of “New-York.” In 1673, when the Dutch ruled the ocean, entered the Thames, and burnt the British shipping—at the moment Charles and his court were playing at romps at the house of the Duchess of Portsmouth—New-York passed into their hands. It was restored to the British by treaty in 1674. Through all these changes the colony preserved its commercial character. The causes of its origin had little analogy with those of other settlements. New-England, Pennsylvania, and the southern states, had more the character of religious asylums for the oppressed than New-York, which was located purely by commercial adventurers with a view to trade, and this distinctive character it has retained to the present day. The first charter of the city was granted by James II. April 22, 1686. The mayor, recorder, sheriff, town clerk, and clerk of the market, were appointed by the king, directly or indirectly; aldermen and assistants were chosen annually by the inhabitants of each ward. The corporation, styled “The Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the city of New-York,” were authorized to make improvements, *but not to*

interfere with vested rights, but by consent of the owners. In 1708, Queen Anne confirmed the charter, and gave power to establish ferries. In 1732, George II. confirmed the charter, with modifications. The city was made free, and the power of the corporation increased, particularly in respect to the right of making improvements without the limitation or assent of private owners, required by the grant of James. Since then, the changes in the city charter, by acts of legislation and by state constitution, have been mostly modifications of the charter of George II. The charter, as it now stands, is a singular illustration of the changes which have been wrought in the government of the United States, by their transition from a state of colonial subjection to national independence, and by the general progress of opinion throughout the country. It is a fabric of arbitrary powers resting upon a popular basis. Almost all the grants of English kings have been retained, but in confirming and extending the authority of the municipal government, its organization has been subject to the popular principle of representation, and the citizens have, directly or indirectly, a voice in the election of officers. The most arbitrary and oppressive existing power is that of taxing property *beyond its value*, for purposes of improvement. Did this not rest on forms of popular sanction, insurrection and revolution would be the immediate result. Another is the power of police justices to arrest and imprison an individual at their own discretion, without the form of trial by jury, for six months. That this extraordinary power exists, is the best proof that it has never been abused.

The police of New-York has been rather remarkable for success in detecting, than for vigilance in preventing, crimes. There are few instances of a crime of any magnitude having been perpetrated, in which the actors have eluded punishment. Still, the city has had the reputation of having the worst police of any northern city. Of late it has been organized on a new footing, which has been found four times as expensive, if not more efficient, than the old.

POPULATION OF NEW-YORK.—The population of the city has progressed with remarkable rapidity. The aggregate numbers of the city and state, from remote periods, compare as follows:

	State.	City.
1696.....	30,000 ..	4,302
1731.....	50,000 ..	4,622
1756.....	100,000 ..	10,381
1773.....	163,000 ..	21,870
1786.....	301,100 ..	24,614
1790.....	340,121 ..	33,131
1800.....	586,756 ..	60,489
1810.....	959,049 ..	96,372
1820.....	1,372,812 ..	123,706
1825.....	1,616,458 ..	166,080

	State.	City.
1830.....	1,918,608 ..	202,589
1835.....	2,174,517 ..	270,089
1840.....	2,428,921 ..	312,710
1845.....	2,604,495 ..	370,102
1847*.....	2,674,763 ..	394,457

Prior to the first regular enumeration of 1790, the figures depend upon uncertain data, but thus given as from the best authorities.

We have remarked that the origin and growth of New-York have depended, in an eminent degree, upon commerce; accordingly, the ratio of increase of the population has always fluctuated with the course of events in regard to general commerce. Whenever the general trade of the country, from whatever cause, increased in magnitude, the resources of the city of New-York, which early began to assume the character of a general market for the whole country, was brought into full operation. An increased demand for men and money arose, which was supplied rapidly from other quarters. The first great increase in the city population, was from 1790 to 1800—according to the ratio of which, the population would have doubled in twelve years. That decade was one of unexampled commercial prosperity. The old world, involved in wars, was making constant demands upon the industry of the new; and the produce of the interior and of the neighboring states was pressing to the Atlantic, whence the shipping of New-York carried it abroad, and returned with goods for distribution. The amount of business transacted in New-York wonderfully increased, and its attendant profits drew thither capital and men to participate in them. The decade 1800 to 1810 presented a change in affairs. More than half of that period was fraught with reverses. Captures, condemnations, embargoes, and acts of nonintercourse, diminished the capital of the place, as well as the profits. They discouraged enterprise, and the general depression of business relaxed the stimulus that had drawn numbers to the city in the previous decade. In the succeeding ten years, actual war destroyed the commerce that before languished. From 1812 to 1815 foreign trade was extinct, and no principle of income was in operation. From 1815 to 1820, trade again revived; but the rate of increase from 1810 to 1820 was far below that of any other decade, while the increase in the population of the whole state was more rapid than

ever; a fact which, in an extraordinary degree, evinces the importance of commerce to the prosperity of New-York. From 1820 to 1825, commerce was prosperous, and the population of the city swelled in proportion. This is to be remarked, however, that commerce did not recover the degree of prosperity it had enjoyed from 1790 to 1800, for the obvious reason, that European wars had ceased, and industry and navigation had revived, to deprive America of the sort of monopoly she had previously enjoyed. In the year 1825, a new element of prosperity was brought into operation, in the construction of the Erie canal, which opened to the command of the city not only the agricultural products of the fertile valley of the Genesee, but also of the whole coast of the northern lakes. The prosperity growing out of this accession of wealth, added to the general speculative disposition apparent throughout the world, conspired to make New-York the focus of financial and commercial operations; and from 1830 to 1835, the largest actual increase in numbers took place, which ever occurred in the space of five years. From 1835 to 1837, the speculative fever continued to rage, and the population of the city to increase. From 1837 to 1840, the revulsion took place, and with it a desire to leave the city for western enterprise returned. Farms which had been turned into building lots for paper cities, were again put under the plough. During the speculative mania real estate rose in price, and the island was laid out in town lots to its utmost limits. Large quantities of goods were manufactured on credit for southern and western consumption; importations were immense on credit, sales as large, likewise on time. All these operations gave employment to, and created a demand for, work-people, whom the high wages drew into the city. Business and capital also flowed thither, and the numbers of the people, as well as the sale of real and personal estate, rapidly augmented. When the revulsion took place, the reverse of this picture was presented: building stopped, real estate fell in value, large operations failed, people were thrown out of employ, and many left the city to seek, through the exercise of industry in the western country, the fortunes they had hoped to realize in city speculation. The income from 1835 to 1840 was much less than in the previous term of ten years; and for the decade ending with 1845, the increase was something less than that ending with 1835. The growth of the city by wards, since 1835, has been as follows:

* Estimated according to the ratio of increase in the preceding five years.

CENSUS OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK.

Wards	1825	1830	1835	1840	Males	Females	Total
1st.....	9,929	11,331	10,380	10,629	6,549	5,681	12,230
2d.....	9,315	8,203	7,549	6,394	3,947	3,015	6,962
3d.....	10,201	9,599	10,884	11,581	6,449	5,451	11,900
4th.....	12,210	12,705	15,349	15,770	12,138	8,682	21,000
5th.....	15,093	17,722	18,495	19,149	9,501	10,861	20,362
6th.....	20,061	13,570	16,827	17,193	9,716	44,907	19,545
7th.....	14,192	15,873	21,481	22,982	14,239	16,607	38,846
8th.....	24,285	20,729	28,570	29,073	14,295	16,612	30,907
9th.....	10,916	22,810	20,618	24,795	10,010	10,983	20,993
10th.....	23,932	16,338	20,926	29,026	13,339	13,920	27,259
11th.....	7,344	14,915	26,845	17,552	6,879	6,499	13,378
12th.....	7,938	11,808	24,437	11,652	10,750	11,661	22,411
13th*		12,593	17,130	18,517	10,065	11,438	21,103
14th*		14,228	17,306	20,235	8,142	11,310	19,423
15th†			13,202	13,754	18,723	20,614	48,337
16th‡				22,273	12,566	14,591	27,147
17th§				18,619			
Total	166,086	202,589	270,089	312,712	180,365	190,737	371,120

There is now an Eighteenth Ward, constituted in 1846, from the others. The great increase in the population is in the up-town wards; and it has been promoted, or in fact made possible, only by increased facilities of locomotion.

Manhattan Island presents somewhat the form of a boot—whereof the toe is the Battery, and the heel Corlear's Hook, on the East river. Broadway runs from the Battery longitudinally, dividing the island in nearly equal halves. On the East river side are the Bowery and East Broadway, forming two main arteries through which the population circulates to the upper wards. The Harlem railroad, commencing at the Park, one mile from the Battery, runs up Centre street, through Bowery, continuing on the Fourth avenue eight miles to the Harlem river, and forms a great artery for the city travel. About the year 1830, when the city had about half the population that it now contains, the difficulty of living at a distance up town, when nearly all the business is transacted in the triangle formed by a line drawn from East to the North river, at three fourths of a mile from its apex to the Battery, was very great. That difficulty operated much against the growth of the city, and favored the growth of Jersey City and Brooklyn, across the ferries. About that time the Harlem railroad was projected, and the omnibuses introduced. Thus, a number of gentlemen doing business down town, employed a coach, at 12½ cents each, to take them home to dinner. From that beginning the omnibus business has grown until this year the number licensed is 361, and the license money paid, \$5,910. The capital employed is, for vehicles, \$200,000; horses, \$180,000; harness, &c., \$100,000; building, &c., \$250,000. Total capital, \$730,000. These omnibuses form eighteen lines, that run from

all parts of the city to the Battery, bringing down thousands to their business, and thence diverging to all parts of the city, in a fan-like form, running to Twenty-seventh street, which is 3½ miles from the Battery. They, as also the Harlem railroad, take passengers this distance for 6½ cents each. These constitute the means of the increase of the city. They make the up town lots available for the dwellings of those doing business down town, and have therefore greatly raised the value of real estate in the upper parts of the city.

The streets are laid out irregularly below Fourteenth street. Commencing with Fourteenth, they run two miles in straight lines from East to North river, and at equal distances from each other, being numbered up to 155th street, which is 9½ miles from the Battery. Longitudinally, run ten avenues from Fourteenth street to 155th, being numbered from 1 to 10 from East to North river.

One of the greatest elements in the growth of New-York, has been the development of the coal trade of Pennsylvania, which affords an ample supply of cheap fuel to meet the growing demand. Where wood is in common use as fuel, a great augmentation in price inevitably follows an increase in the number of the consumers, to say nothing of the demands of steamboats and factories. Forests are limited in their power of production. A large and increasing population will consume more rapidly than nature can produce; and the demands of an augmenting population upon new lands for agricultural purposes are constantly narrowing the limits within which the powers of nature are in operation. Old countries have, therefore, of necessity, penetrated the bosom of the earth for those supplies which could no longer be found upon its surface. The importance of coal mines to manufacturing industry

* These two Wards were constituted in 1826—the Thirteenth from the Tenth, and the Fourteenth from the Sixth and Eighth.

† Set off from the Ninth Ward in March, 1832.

‡ Taken from the Twelfth Ward in 1836.

§ Taken from the Eleventh in 1837.

is quite as great, as there is no country of full population where furnaces, if dependent upon the productions of the forest, would not yield to such an extension of agriculture as would be necessary to supply its inhabitants with the means of subsistence.

About the year 1825, when the Erie canal was about to give such an impulse to the business of New-York, the mining of the great Pennsylvania coal basin commenced a supply of fuel, which has become one of the most remarkable features in our national industry. The great coal valley of Pennsylvania is 60 miles long and 5 miles wide—covering 300 square miles, or 192,000 acres. The several mines discovered and probed amount in thick-

ness to 70 feet—which, according to the usual estimate of coal, gives 119,000 tons per acre. If half of this region should be worked, it would supply an annual demand of 11,000,000 tons for 1,000 years.

This is the ample depot of fuel for the service of Atlantic cities, opened in 1825, when the export was 34,593 tons. There have been since constructed five great avenues to bring that coal to market, viz.: the Lehigh canal, the Schuylkill, the Delaware and Hudson, the Morris canal, and the Reading railroad. These five works costs, in round numbers, \$28,000,000, and the quantity of coal brought down has been as follows:

	Schuylkill Canal	Reading Railroad	Lehigh	Lackawanna	All others	Total tons
1830	89,984		41,750	43,000		174,734
1835	339,508		131,250	90,000		560,758
1840	452,251		225,288	148,470	39,365	865,444
1842	491,602	49,290	272,129	205,253	84,727	1,108,001
1847	130,142	1,256,567	635,015	352,144	238,986	2,702,857

Before the construction of the Reading railroad, the Schuylkill canal had a monopoly, and the price in New-York was held as high sometimes as \$14 per ton—a price which greatly retarded the bringing of it into general use. When the railroad was completed, it speedily took the business, and now delivers one half the supply. By this competition the price was reduced, and at retail in New-York varies from \$5 50 to \$6 per ton. It is now \$6. At this rate the value of the product this year is \$16,217,142. A large proportion of this fuel is consumed in the city of New-York. It is manifest how great an influence the development of this trade has had upon the prosperity of the city.

As we have stated elsewhere, the population of New-York is exceedingly diversified, and has perhaps less of national character than most other cities. Indeed, its floating population is largely supplied from immigration. The number of immigrants that have arrived in New-York for four years, ending July 31, is as follows:

1843-4	51,307
1844-5	70,330
1845-6	91,280
1846-7	152,166

The whole number of arrivals for twelve years was 855,360. The large immigration of the last year was mostly owing to the distress and famine abroad. Of the arrivals in 1846, 54,226 were from British ports; and in 1847, 88,733 came from the same quarter. The constant influx of strangers produces a mixed population, inasmuch as that a large portion of each arrival remains in the city. Thus, according to the census of 1845, the nationality of the inhabitants was as follows:

Born in New-York State	194,916
" New-England States	16,079
" Other United States	25,572
" Mexico and South America..	508
" Great Britain	96,581
" France.....	3,710
" Germany.....	24,416
" Other places.....	3,277

This gives a total of 365,059—which shows a discrepancy of 6,043 from the return in the above table. This arose from the fact that the returns of the 15th ward, as first made, were not received by the commissioner, and a re-enumeration was made of that ward, without describing the nationality.

This population, numbering in round numbers 400,000, now densely covers one third of Manhattan Island; and at the same rate of increase that has been carried on in the last 30 years, the year 1880 will find the whole island densely settled to Harlem river, with a population of 1,200,000 souls. The increase of New-York and Brooklyn, compared, has been as follows:

NEW-YORK.		
	Population	Increase
1820.....	123,706	
1830.....	202,587	63.8 per cent.
1840.....	312,710	44.7 "
1845.....	371,102	17.3 "
BROOKLYN.		
	Population	Increase
1820.....	7,175	
1830.....	15,396	114.6 per cent.
1840.....	36,233	135.3 "
1845.....	59,566	64.3 "

This great increase of Brooklyn, which has raised it nearly to half what New-York was in 1820, has grown out of the fact that, to be near business, and to escape the high taxation of New-York on personal property, many persons do business in the city, and reside across the ferry.

ASSESSED VALUE OF PROPERTY.—The value of property in New-York has fluctuated greatly in those years of speculation and revulsion to the influence of which, on the prospect of population, we have alluded.

AGGREGATE VALUE OF ASSESSED PROPERTY IN NEW-YORK.

1816.....	\$82,074,250
1817.....	78,895,735
1818.....	80,254,091
1819.....	79,113,061
1820.....	69,530,753
1821.....	68,285,070
1822.....	71,289,144
1823.....	83,431,170
1824.....	87,480,026
1825.....	101,160,046
1826.....	107,447,781
1827.....	112,211,926
1828.....	111,130,240
1829.....	112,526,016
1830.....	125,238,518
1831.....	139,280,214
1832.....	140,302,618
1833.....	166,495,187
1834.....	186,548,511
1835.....	218,723,703
1836.....	309,500,920
1837.....	263,837,350
1838.....	264,152,941
1839.....	266,789,130
1840.....	252,843,163
1841.....	251,777,702
1842.....	237,806,901
1843.....	228,001,889
1844.....	235,960,047
1845.....	239,995,517
1846.....	244,952,404
1847.....	247,152,303

This gives the taxable value for thirty-two years, from the close of the war, through all the vicissitudes of the revolution in 1820-21, when the late United States Bank came near its suspension, the recovery of business and the impulse given to it by the opening of the Erie Canal, until trade ran into the wildest speculation, carrying values to their highest point, in 1836. From that year, as speculation subsided, valuations fell year by year, until 1843, when they reached their lowest point, at a fall of \$81,499,031, equal to the whole value at the close of the war. Since 1843, the values have again been in advance. This recovery has been, however, altogether on the side of real estate, the valuation of personal estate

having continued to decline. The mode of valuation, however, and the high rate of taxes imposed, have conspired to make the assessment a very uncertain criterion of the real increased personal property.

For the last few years a law has been in force requiring the valuation to be made in each year between the second Tuesday in May and the fifteenth of August; and giving to the inhabitants who may at that season of the year be residing out of the city, the option of being assessed for personal property either in the city, or in the places of their summer residence. For several years past the rate of taxation has been so high in the city, that these citizens, who are both numerous and wealthy, find it for their interest to pay their personal tax in the country, by which they make a saving, commonly, of more than one half. If they reside out of the state during the period between the second Tuesday in May and the fifteenth of August, the chance is, that they pay no personal tax any where.

The following table shows the relative increase of real and personal property with the annual taxation of the city, which includes the county:

ASSESSED PROPERTY OF NEW-YORK CITY, WITH THE ANNUAL TAX LEVIED.

Foreign Goods.

Year	Real	Personal	Total	Taxes
1835..	143,732,425	75,758,617	218,723,703	850,000
1836..	233,742,303	74,991,278	309,500,920	1,065,130
1837..	196,540,109	67,297,241	263,837,350	1,175,109
1838..	194,543,359	69,609,582	264,152,941	1,151,130
1839..	196,778,434	70,010,706	266,789,130	1,352,832
1840..	187,121,464	65,721,699	252,843,163	1,376,280
1841..	186,347,246	65,430,456	251,777,702	1,394,136
1842..	176,512,342	61,294,559	237,806,901	1,498,630
1843..	164,953,314	63,046,573	228,001,889	1,753,487
1844..	171,936,591	64,023,456	235,960,047	1,988,818
1845..	177,207,990	62,787,527	239,995,517	2,096,194
1846..	183,480,934	61,471,470	244,952,404	2,520,146
1847..	187,314,336	59,837,917	247,152,303	2,542,261

Thus we see that real estate has increased since 1843, which was the point of lowest depression, \$22,359,072, and in the same time personal property has declined \$3,200,000, while the amount of taxes has increased \$788,875, thus throwing an enormous burden upon real estate. The aggregate taxation amounts to 102.8 cents per \$200 of valuation. This includes the state tax of one mill per \$100 imposed by the law of 1842, to make good any deficit that might arise in the means of paying the state debt. In consequence of the diminished debt and the enhanced canal tolls, one half this tax has been remitted, and the remainder will be so. A new law has also been passed to make persons doing business in New-York pay taxes on the capital employed here—a law that will have a tendency to restrain the growth of Brooklyn.

The business of the city has so improved during the past year, and with it the profits of

trade have been so enhanced, as much to lighten taxation. The following is a table of the foreign commerce since 1821:

FOREIGN COMMERCE OF NEW-YORK.

Calendar year	Foreign Arrivals	Tons	Foreign Imports	Exports
1821.....	912	171,963	\$26,020,012	\$12,124,645
1822.....	1,172	226,790	33,912,453	15,504,694
1823.....	1,217	226,789	30,601,455	21,089,698
1824.....	1,364	252,769	37,785,147	22,309,362
1825.....	1,436	280,179	50,024,973	34,032,979
1826.....	1,329	274,997	34,723,664	19,437,229
1827.....	1,414	292,872	41,441,832	24,614,035
1828.....	1,277	275,677	39,117,016	25,135,487
1829.....	1,310	281,512	34,972,493	17,609,600
1830.....	1,489	314,715	38,656,064	17,666,624
1831.....	1,634	337,009	57,291,727	26,142,719
1832.....	1,808	401,718	50,995,924	22,792,599
1833.....	1,926	430,918	56,527,976	24,723,903
1834.....	1,932	444,904	72,224,390	22,196,061
1835.....	2,044	464,464	89,304,108	29,035,755
1836.....	2,285	556,730	118,886,194	27,455,923
1837.....	2,071	539,372	68,374,558	23,534,610
1838.....	1,790	468,890	77,214,729	22,182,248
1839.....	2,159	565,335	97,078,687	36,662,223
1840.....	1,953	527,591	56,845,924	30,186,470
1841.....	2,118	549,025	75,268,015	30,731,519

Calendar year	Foreign Arrivals	Tons	Foreign Imports	Exports
1842.....	1,962	555,315	52,415,555	23,090,199
1843.....	1,832	491,494	50,036,667	23,440,326
1844.....	2,208	593,373	75,749,220	34,622,440
1845.....	2,043	613,349	72,108,111	32,891,662
1846.....	2,293	612,040	70,269,811	36,423,762
1847, 11 months.			93,262,440	49,726,441

The imports of the speculative year, 1836, the same in which the assessed value of real estate was the highest, were larger than ever before. The year 1839 again presented a high figure, but the trade was of a speculative character, and ended in great revulsions. The business of 1847, in the aggregate, is, however, larger than ever before, the exports having swollen to a very important figure, reaching 50 per cent. of the imports. This has arisen from the great export of farm produce, which has been supplied in swelling volumes from that great source of commercial wealth, the Erie canal. The progress of the receipts of produce from the canals for the last ten years has been as follows:

VALUE OF PRODUCE LEFT AT TIDE WATER FROM THE NEW-YORK CANALS.

	Produce of the Forest	Animals	Vegetable Food	Other Products	Manufactures	Merchandise	Sundries	Total
1837.....	4,460,137	3,621,295	10,074,075	383,386	1,878,456	118,188	1,286,817	21,562,354
1838.....	4,875,730	4,439,552	10,847,566	355,527	1,574,715	89,428	855,992	20,384,510
1839.....	5,256,391	4,217,825	7,650,625	236,849	1,621,762	134,818	1,044,929	20,163,199
1840.....	4,518,293	5,167,906	10,888,917	237,140	1,312,231	33,289	1,055,506	23,213,753
1841.....	6,645,578	5,582,133	10,766,408	646,407	2,159,832	55,782	1,369,192	23,225,322
1842.....	3,741,059	4,827,615	10,340,427	494,847	1,949,541	55,432	1,342,092	22,751,013
1843.....	5,956,474	6,357,344	11,237,625	616,660	2,561,159	56,224	1,667,922	28,453,408
1844.....	7,716,032	7,788,922	12,634,616	596,527	3,489,070	86,153	2,328,526	34,640,440
1845.....	7,759,596	9,002,196	17,579,581	630,404	6,432,259	88,497	3,559,658	45,452,301
1846.....	8,529,291	10,633,820	22,226,905	742,093	4,805,799	276,872	3,770,476	51,104,256

In these ten years it is observable that the materials of commerce, derived from a work not in operation in 1825, have doubled, adding \$51,105,256 to the value of articles which sought New-York for a market twenty years

previously. The accounts for 1847 are not yet made up; but the amount will far exceed that of 1846. The following shows the quantities of four articles that sought tide water in several years:

	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847
Flour, bbls.....	2,073,708	2,222,204	2,517,250	3,068,441	3,693,270
Wheat, bushels.....	827,346	1,262,249	1,620,033	2,950,636	3,801,931
Corn, ".....	186,016	17,661	35,803	1,610,149	5,986,776
Barley, ".....	543,996	818,472	1,137,917	1,427,953	1,243,372
Bacon, lbs.....			965,200	2,034,600	3,562,030
Butter, ".....			21,709,705	21,194,030	22,653,861
Lard, ".....			3,097,067	7,347,966	5,237,460
Cheese, ".....			27,366,779	35,007,393	40,659,005
Wool, ".....	6,216,400	7,672,300	9,417,500	8,553,826	11,221,384

These large supplies of vegetable food go to swell the external commerce of the city, and are capable of meeting almost any demand which the exigencies of Europe may require, while they furnish the means of paying for the large importation from abroad; they also

create the credits in New-York, through which the producers are enabled to pay for increased supplies of goods, both domestic and imported, received through the Erie canal. The shipping interest of New-York has progressed in the manner indicated in the following table:

	1833	1836	1840	1843	1846
Registered tonnage.....	123,032	192,030	203,536	236,970	259,242
Whaling, ".....	6,255	934		370	279
Steam, ".....					1,375
Total registered tonnage.....	129,307	192,964	203,536	236,340	260,896
Coasting ".....	148,302	192,996	166,805	214,360	264,782
" steam ".....	13,113	19,681	34,754	35,317	45,182
" under 20 tons ".....	7,974	8,999	9,441	9,745	1,429
Codfishery ".....	135	171	280	302	303
Total tons.....	298,831	404,814	414,817	496,965	572,522

According to the laws of the United States, no vessel can be engaged in the foreign trade without being registered; and no vessel can be employed in the coasting trade without being enrolled or licensed. The registered tonnage, therefore, gives the amount engaged in foreign commerce, showing, comparatively, its progress, and the enrolled, the same in regard to the coasting trade. The shipping of New-York is mostly employed in direct trade, while the carrying trade, so called, is mostly conducted by eastern vessels. The business of navigation is in some degree distinct from that of commerce, inasmuch as the former may be carried on by a country that has no productions, while the latter depends upon surplus productions. Of this latter character is New-York commerce, and it thrives most in those years in which the national exports are largest. Not until 1846 had New-York any steam tonnage engaged in the foreign trade. The new line of Bremen steamers is the first enterprise of the kind, and the business of 35,000,000 Germans is by it brought in closer connection with New-York. The steam tonnage engaged in the coasting trade has more than tripled since 1833. The tonnage engaged in the foreign and coasting trade appears to have progressed in each branch in nearly an equal degree.

In the progress of population, trade and value of property belonging to the city, it has necessarily resulted that the active moneyed capital has progressed also. To take the increased capital employed in all as a guide in estimating the amount of existing wealth, would be incorrect; for the reason that although insurance capital amounts to \$31,000,000, it consists, for the most part, in bonds and mortgage upon real estate, and is, therefore, only a representation of the property already considered under the assessed values. In New-York almost every species of fixed property, by means of hypothecation in one form or another, becomes circulating capital, which is constantly changing its form and yielding at every conversion a profit to its employers. In regard to calculation connected with the activity of commercial transactions, the amount of bank capital becomes a more direct guide. In 1826 there were fourteen banks in operation in the city, with an aggregate capital of \$13,600,000, exclusive of the branch of the United States Bank, which was authorized to employ \$2,500,000. At this time there are in New-York twenty-five banks, with an aggregate capital of \$24,311,760, and the capital of twenty-three of these institutions is assessed as follows:

Owned in New-York city.....	\$13,872,183
“ state	2,052,453
“ other states.....	4,025,871

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Owned by the state.....	271,704
“ foreigners.....	2,634,445
Total.....	\$22,856,659

The capital employed in banking* at any one time is not, however, a precise indication of the activity of business, as thus—in November, 1843, the same capital was the basis of \$65,314,129, which had loaned \$80,278,529 in November, 1847, showing that the activity of business as indicated in the table of imports and exports, was one third greater this year than in 1843.

The city of New-York has a large debt contracted for the construction of the Croton aqueduct, by which the city is now supplied with water. The Croton river is a stream of wholesome water running into the North river, and is tapped at a point called Croton lake, covering 400 acres, and containing 500,000,000 gallons, by the aqueduct, at a distance of 33 miles from Harlem river. That whole distance is connected by an uninterrupted conduit of stone and brick masonry. The valley of the Harlem river is 1,460 feet across, and the aqueduct is brought over in iron pipes, laid upon a bridge constructed of arches, 114 feet above high water mark, at Yorkville, or 79th street, on 7th Avenue, five miles from City Hall. The pipes discharge into a reservoir 1,826 feet long and 836 feet wide, having an area of 35 acres and a capacity of 150,000,000 gallons. From the receiving reservoir a double line of iron pipes, three feet in diameter, convey the water two miles, to the distributing reservoir, on 42d street. It is 420 feet square, contains 4 acres, and has an elevation of 44 feet above the streets, and a capacity of 20,000,000 gallons. From this reservoir are led the serving pipes which supply the city, and are about 170 miles in length, or 1 mile to 2,240 inhabitants. This will supply 35,000,000 gallons of water per day, or 24 gallons to each person when the population shall have reached 1,500,000. This stupendous work cost in the neighborhood of \$14,000,000, and was undertaken by a direct vote of the people on the question—“water” or “no water.” The water is supplied to dwellings at a general rate of \$10 per head, beside 600 free hydrants and 1,500 fire hydrants. The income of the water is specially pledged as a sinking fund for the redemption of the debt. The number of water takers in 1844 was 7,171 private dwellings, paying \$72,123, and 2,421 public buildings and factories, paying \$59,660, making together 9,582 water takers, paying \$131,784. In 1846–7, the number of takers had increased to 15,000, and the revenues to \$194,561. The public debt created chiefly for this object is as follows:

PUBLIC DEBT, CITY OF NEW-YORK, 1847.

		Annual Interest
5 per cent. city stock of 1820 and 1829, due in 1850.....	\$250,000 00	13,500
5 " fire loan stock, due in 1851.....	500,000 00	25,000
5 " public building stock, due in 1856.....	515,000 00	25,750
5 " fire indemnity stock, due in 1858.....	375,088 00	18,754
	<u>\$1,640,088 00</u>	<u>82,004</u>
Water debt as follows:		
7 per cent. water loan stock, due in 1852.....	890,297 00	62,314
7 " " " 1857.....	989,488 00	69,264
5 " " " 1858.....	3,000,000 00	150,000
5 " " " 1860.....	2,500,000 00	125,000
5 " " " 1870.....	3,000,000 00	150,000
5 " " " 1880.....	1,375,577 00	68,773
5 and 6 per cent. Croton water stock, due in 1890.....	385,000 00	15,100
6 per cent. temporary water loan, before 1849.....	757,910 00	45,474
	<u>\$12,898,182 00</u>	<u>767,929</u>
Deduct proceeds of water stock in banks, to the credit of the water fund.....	110,166 33	\$12,788,015 67
Nominal amount of debt.....		\$14,428,103 67
Less stocks and bonds in sinking fund, from sales of real estate and revenues specially pledged for the redemption of the city debt, and cash in bank, to credit of the fund.....		\$ 2,679,724 28
Actual amount of city debt on the 30th April, 1847.....		\$11,748,379 39

An ample sinking fund is in active operation to redeem this debt completely in a period of forty years. The expenditure of the city, as indicated in the above table of annual tax imposed, is, for 1847, \$2,542,361; out of this \$147,000 was for state tax. The leading general heads of city expenditures are—common schools, \$261,000; police, \$400,000; alms house, \$343,000; interest city debt, \$767,000; lamps and gas, \$129,137; cleaning streets, \$135,000; water pipes, \$54,403; salaries city officers, \$233,000, and the balance for sundry expenditures.

The city of New-York has paid much the largest portion of the state tax, as thus: in 1842, when the mill-tax was imposed, it amounted for the state to \$619,693; of this New-York city paid \$237,807, or two fifths of the whole. The census of 1840 gives the state population at 2,428,921, and the city at 312,932—or one eighth only of the population. The property owned by the city of New-York consists of two descriptions, viz: property embracing town lots, common lands, quit-rents, and various real estates, valued at \$2,638,682, and yield \$64,240 per annum; city real estate, in use for city purposes—City Hall, parks, grounds, schools, markets, &c., valued at \$22,468,397, and producing \$403,355 per annum, as follows:

	Value	Income
Available property... \$ 2,638,682		\$ 64,241
Not saleable..... 21,468,398		403,356
Total.....	\$25,107,080	\$467,597

Although New-York, through force of geo-

graphical and external circumstances, has grown thus rapidly, there have been many causes in operation to retard its progress. These have grown mostly out of vicious legislation, general and local. In recurring to what we have pointed out in the fluctuation of the city's prosperity with the flourishing or decaying state of the external trade, it becomes evident the welfare of the city depends, in an eminent degree, upon the entire freedom with which capital, in the shape of goods, produce or money, can flow securely in and out to profit by the current state of events. New-York holds a relation to the whole trade of the Union different from that of any other city—and also far superior in regard to it, than that held by any commercial city in Europe, in regard to the interior country. All the other cities of the United States are centres of local business. Mobile concentrates that of Alabama; Charleston of South Carolina; Georgia and Baltimore of the tract watered by the tributary streams. Philadelphia looks mostly to her own state, having, however, stretched forth an arm through her canals to western tracts. Boston is the common centre for New-England business, and well has she improved her local advantages by means of railroads—of which 700 miles open every remote section of the New-England states, and converge within every trade and travel upon Boston; she has also greatly enlarged her connection with the west, by overcoming natural difficulties by means of the Western railroad. New-York, however, by its canal, makes tributary the whole northern and western states, and her shipping commands the coasting trade to New-Orleans.

NEW-YORK—COMMERCE, 1849-52.

EXPORTS FROM NEW-YORK TO FOREIGN PORTS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1852.

MONTHS.	Domestic Produce.	Foreign Dutiable.	Foreign Free.	Specie.	Total.
July.....	\$3,188,027	\$284,397	\$2,311	\$6,004,170	\$9,478,905
August.....	3,259,594	334,549	22,974	2,673,444	6,290,561
September.....	2,593,986	316,047	134,271	3,490,142	6,534,446
October.....	2,702,382	358,292	106,626	1,779,707	4,947,007
November.....	2,451,511	397,597	62,368	5,033,996	7,945,472
December.....	2,512,436	351,428	21,918	5,668,235	8,554,017
January.....	2,419,296	358,244	26,693	2,868,958	5,673,191
February.....	3,352,943	322,272	93,932	3,551,543	7,320,690
March.....	4,313,245	357,230	100,557	611,994	5,383,026
April.....	4,244,044	353,262	67,719	200,266	4,865,291
May.....	4,249,924	545,973	106,818	1,834,893	6,737,608
June.....	3,566,369	482,594	125,500	3,556,355	7,730,818
Total.....	\$38,853,757	\$4,461,885	\$871,687	37,273,703	\$81,461,032

Those items for several years compare as follows:

	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.
Domestic Produce.....	\$33,638,844	\$33,226,419	\$33,227,676	\$47,496,978	\$38,853,757
Foreign, dutiable.....	2,693,597	3,614,915	5,433,761	6,107,498	5,333,572
Specie.....	12,028,794	4,629,873	5,885,103	26,622,731	37,273,703
Total of Exports.....	\$38,361,235	\$41,471,207	\$44,546,540	\$80,227,207	\$81,461,032
“ Imports.....	91,668,883	89,464,540	112,968,593	126,270,705	98,801,134

This presents a gradual increase in the exports of the port, and to a greater extent than the imports. It also shows the influence of California in developing the trade. That new region has absorbed a large amount of produce and domestic manufactures that would not sell readily in Europe. The in-

dustry of California has given a product in exchange which sells readily at all times; and the United States domestic productions have been raised by the addition of gold which Europe will take when she does not want foreign produce. The importations at the port have been as follows:

	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.
Specie.....	\$2,807,637	\$10,502,115	\$10,390,501	\$2,528,391
Free Goods.....	8,028,581	7,890,878	8,321,042	11,926,912
Dry Goods.....	36,417,112	46,342,271	58,065,611	48,900,935
Other Dutiable.....	42,166,210	48,233,329	49,493,551	35,444,896
Total.....	\$89,464,540	112,968,593	126,270,705	98,801,134

The following table gives the quantity of goods entered for consumption, and the quantity entered for warehousing, being the gross imports; also the aggregate withdrawn

from warehouse, and that entered for consumption, being the quantity put on the market:

IMPORTS ENTERED AT NEW-YORK FROM FOREIGN PORTS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1852, COMPARED WITH THE PREVIOUS YEAR.

MONTHS.	Entered for Consumption \$	Entered Warehouse \$	Free Goods. \$	Specie. \$	Total, \$	Withdrawn from Warehouse.	Total thrown on the Market.
July.....	12,374,701	1,022,725	1,027,481	81,143	14,506,050	1,167,644	14,650,969
August.....	11,279,004	1,358,089	638,334	186,503	13,461,930	1,252,245	13,356,086
September.....	8,384,172	894,916	366,153	115,550	9,730,791	1,669,304	10,535,179
October.....	5,790,795	1,204,994	1,558,720	23,165	8,577,674	1,602,436	8,975,116
November.....	4,393,085	938,056	415,838	218,473	5,971,452	1,377,100	6,410,496
December.....	5,073,162	1,050,185	575,601	25,376	6,724,324	1,117,456	6,791,595
January.....	8,584,311	1,281,594	1,041,456	104,736	11,012,097	1,584,652	11,315,155
February.....	7,024,952	1,003,383	1,110,949	110,293	9,249,577	1,788,997	10,035,191
March.....	9,302,024	916,519	1,843,938	525,421	12,587,902	1,605,849	13,277,232
April.....	8,410,448	732,422	1,496,449	327,400	10,966,719	1,255,429	11,489,726
May.....	6,006,996	453,109	789,046	380,584	7,719,735	1,380,371	8,646,997
June.....	7,626,181	640,722	1,062,947	429,747	9,759,597	911,479	10,030,354
Total.....	94,345,831	11,466,714	11,926,912	2,538,391	120,267,848	16,712,962	125,514,096
Do. 1850-51.....	107,559,164	14,802,824	8,321,043	10,390,501	141,073,531	12,201,313	133,472,020

Last year, under the large imports, there was an excess of goods warehoused. This year there is an excess withdrawn, making together a difference of nearly \$8,000,000. The dry goods, as compared with others, seem to have been as follows.

	Entered Warehouse.		Withdrawn.	
	1851.	1852.	1851.	1852.
Dry Goods.....	\$6,940,219	\$8,471,478	\$5,700,816	\$7,474,659
All other	7,862,605	2,995,236	6,500,497	9,238,323
Total.....	\$14,802,824	\$11,466,714	\$12,201,313	\$16,712,982

The diminution in warehouse stock seems to have been almost altogether of merchandise other than dry goods. The warehouse operations are annually becoming more important, being already 16 per cent. of the goods passed into consumption.

RELATIVE VALUE OF THE REAL AND PERSONAL ESTATE IN THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW-YORK, AS ASSESSED IN 1851 AND 1852.

Wards.	ASSESSMENTS OF 1851.		ASSESSMENTS OF 1852.		TOTAL.	
	Real Estate.	Personal Estate.	Real Estate.	Personal Estate.	1851.	1852.
I.	\$29,782,583 00	\$39,361,364 42	\$39,828,183 00	\$40,671,573 76	\$69,143,947 42	\$71,499,686 76
II.	15,477,300 00	2,063,663 19	15,999,725 00	2,947,672 50	17,540,963 19	18,947,397 50
III.	14,409,650 00	8,821,745 54	16,656,300 00	9,769,472 86	23,231,395 54	26,425,772 86
IV.	8,238,620 00	1,352,045 00	8,407,420 00	1,571,567 00	9,590,665 00	9,978,987 00
V.	10,242,950 00	2,783,664 00	10,738,400 00	2,490,550 00	13,026,814 00	13,228,950 00
VI.	7,857,250 00	1,127,850 00	8,104,850 00	1,303,250 00	8,985,100 00	9,418,100 00
VII.	11,121,726 00	2,990,440 00	11,757,490 00	2,746,575 00	14,112,166 00	14,504,065 00
VIII.	11,985,200 00	2,036,939 00	12,939,960 00	1,706,573 00	14,022,139 00	14,646,533 00
IX.	11,437,250 00	1,918,593 38	11,795,800 00	1,727,643 38	13,355,843 38	13,523,443 38
X.	6,622,200 00	1,269,450 00	6,851,300 00	1,106,250 00	7,891,650 00	7,957,550 00
XI.	6,600,450 00	626,321 52	6,897,200 00	539,831 46	7,186,771 52	7,437,031 46
XII.	3,274,400 00	511,600 00	3,888,896 00	518,100 00	3,786,000 00	4,406,996 00
XIII.	4,561,800 00	639,705 73	4,699,900 00	552,505 73	5,201,505 73	5,252,405 73
XIV.	7,877,801 26	2,519,893 19	8,133,500 00	2,335,927 00	10,397,694 45	10,469,427 00
XV.	18,347,594 00	15,275,270 00	19,245,250 00	15,826,945 84	33,622,864 00	35,072,195 84
XVI.	14,870,000 00	1,020,950 00	11,375,139 20	1,608,225 00	15,890,950 00	12,983,364 20
XVII.	12,479,325 00	2,970,529 00	13,186,850 00	2,436,900 00	15,449,845 00	15,623,750 00
XVIII.	25,255,600 00	5,400,187 00	33,886,010 00	8,194,800 00	30,745,787 00	42,030,810 00
XIX.	6,614,157 00	314,800 00	9,878,380 00	255,400 00	6,928,957 00	10,133,380 00
XX.	.....	.....	7,916,200 00	210,750 00	With 16th Wd.	8,126,950 00
Total..	\$227,015,855 26	\$193,095,001 97	\$252,186,753 20	\$298,520,042 53	\$320,110,868 53	\$351,706,795 73
Total valuation in County.....						\$351,706,795 73
Total valuation in Lamp District.....						337,529,246 73
Total valuation south of centre of Forty-second street.....						335,086,019 73

NORTH CAROLINA.—COLONIAL, REVOLUTIONARY AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY.—PHYSICAL CONDITION.—PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY AND RESOURCES.—POPULATION.—CHIEF TOWNS.—EDUCATION.—RELIGIOUS SECTS.—COURTS.—CANALS AND RAILROADS, &c. &c.

COLONIAL HISTORY.—The first English settlement made in America was planted in the summer of 1585, on Roanoke, an island situate in the passage between the sounds of Pamlico and Albemarle, North Carolina. The patron of the infant colony, which numbered one hundred and seven, was Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom Queen Elizabeth had granted, in 1584, a patent for such lands as he might discover in America, "not possessed by any Christian people." The same year he dispatched two small vessels to make discoveries; and these dropped their anchors early in July in Ocracoke Inlet. The adventurers landed on an island near

Roanoke, called by the natives Wocoon, where they were received by the inhabitants with every mark of hospitality. After visiting the region immediately around Wocoon, they returned to England, and gave a highly favorable account of the salubrity of the climate, and fertility of the soil. The name *Virginia* was bestowed upon the country, and Raleigh's patent was confirmed by act of Parliament. Sir Walter sent out at once, under Ralph Lane as governor, the colony above mentioned. Soon, however, the settlers became entangled in difficulties with the natives; difficulties which, originating in the imprudent conduct of Grenville, the commander of the vessels in which the colonists had come from England, kept increasing under subsequent tyrannical acts on the part of the governor, befitting a conqueror rather than the head of a peaceful colony. Hostilities broke out. The English, who had been

occupied chiefly in exploring the country, suffered soon from the want of provisions. They became discouraged, and finally, in 1586, returned home on board the fleet of Sir Francis Drake. A few days after their departure, Grenville arrived; and finding the colony gone, left fifteen men, with provisions for two years, to keep up the settlement. Undeterred by his first failure, Raleigh sent out another colony early in 1587, with orders to settle on Chesapeake Bay, where they were to build the projected "city of Raleigh." The new colonists, however, were put ashore at Roanoke. They found no traces of Grenville's party, which had, no doubt, fallen victims to the Indians' revenge. Scarcely had the new settlers landed, when they were engaged in petty combats with the natives. Their governor, White, returned, on solicitation, to England, to hasten certain promised supplies. But owing to the troubles consequent upon the threatened Spanish invasion of England, he was detained from re-visiting the colony until the autumn of 1590. On arriving, he found the site of the settlement inclosed by a strong palisade; but not a colonist remained. To the present day their fate is only a subject of conjecture. Thus ended Raleigh's attempt to colonize Virginia, in which he had spent fruitlessly upwards of \$180,000. North Carolina remained untenanted henceforth by Englishmen till the middle of the next century.

Early in the reign of Charles I., (1630,) a tract of land south of the Chesapeake, designated as *Carolina*, was granted to Sir Robert Heath; but as he planted no colony upon it, it was, after a time, declared forfeited. Out of the same territory Charles II. formed, in 1663, the province of *Carolina*, and conveyed it by charter to eight distinguished royalist noblemen of England. This charter, as amended in 1665, defines the limits of the province to be the 29th parallel of latitude on the south, the Pacific on the west, the Atlantic on the east, and on the north the parallel of 36 deg. 30 min., afterwards, and now, better known as the line of the Missouri compromise. The eight grantees were made joint proprietors of the soil, and were intrusted with powers of jurisdiction over its colonists.

Already, previous to this conveyance, settlers had located in the northern part of the province. For some years, parties from Virginia, mainly dissenters seeking escape from religious persecution, had been coming, a few at a time, into the neighborhood of the sound, afterwards called Albemarle, and forming small settlements on the banks of the Chowan river. To this district the new proprietors gave the name *Albemarle*, in honor of one of themselves, the duke of that title, more extensively known in history as General Monk, the parliamentary commander, to whom Charles II. owed his restoration. Sir William

Berkley, Governor of Virginia, in connection with one of the proprietors, was authorized to assume jurisdiction over the district. A little colony had, also, been planted by adventurers from New-England, near the mouth of Cape Fear river. The soil, however, proved very unproductive, and the colony dwindled slowly away. It would soon have totally disappeared, had not some planters from Barbadoes, under Sir John Yeamans, removed thither in 1665, and formed the settlement of *Clarendon*, by which the few remaining New-Englanders were rapidly absorbed. These new settlers supported themselves with difficulty by shipments of boards, shingles and staves, yet the staple production of that region, to the West Indies. Gradually, by numerous migrations southward, the colony again became reduced, until at length, before 1690, it was entirely exhausted. The proprietaries, in 1670, sent out emigrants, under the command of William Sayle, to form a new settlement, to be known as the county of *Carteret*. The colonists located themselves first at Port Royal, (S. C.) but they soon removed, and formed a settlement between the rivers Ashley and Cooper, which they called Charleston. Sayle dying in the following year, Sir John Yeamans, of Clarendon, was appointed Governor of Carteret, the southern province. Thus were there, in 1671, two permanent settlements in Carolina—*Albemarle* and *Carteret*. These two constituted the nuclei of North and South Carolina as now existing.

At the request of one of the proprietors, the celebrated John Locke framed a scheme of government for the whole province of Carolina. "The Grand Model," as it was called, though complete of its kind, was too complicated, if not too monarchical, for an infant colony; yet the proprietaries adopted it as the fundamental law of the province, and such, for twenty-three years, it nominally remained. As a matter of fact, however, it was never brought into operation, though the governor of each district in the province strove hard to comply with its requisitions, in spite of the continued and ultimately successful opposition of the colonists.

The settlement at Albemarle was augmented by accessions from Virginia, New-England, and the Bermuda islands. William Drummond was appointed the first governor. He was succeeded by Samuel Stevens, under whom were enacted the first laws of the colony, by an assembly composed of the governor, the council, and twelve delegates; of which the last branch was chosen by the people, the two former by the proprietors. Every encouragement was given by these laws to whomsoever proposed settling in the colony. Bounty lands were granted at a moderate quit-rent, (half-penny an acre;) taxes could be imposed only by consent of the assembly; and religious liberty was promised to mem-

bers of every Christian denomination. Intestine commotion, proceeding partly from discontent with the "Model System," and partly owing to a general feeling of restlessness prevalent sometimes in new colonies, soon disturbed the peace and welfare of Albemarle. Stevens, on his death, was succeeded by Cartwright. The latter soon retiring, Eastchurch, at the time in England, was appointed to fill the vacancy. The proprietors, to atone for a grievance which he had received from the colonists, nominated Miller, a turbulent, but talented person, then also in England, Secretary of the Government, and a member of the council. Eastchurch being detained on his way out, Miller proceeded to Albemarle, to rule as deputy-governor until the governor should arrive. His strictness in collecting the revenue excited general discontent. In consequence, in 1667, an insurrection broke out, under the lead of Culpepper, a fugitive demagogue from the southern province, and Gillingham, a New-England trader, who was about to be prosecuted for violating the revenue laws. Miller and part of the council were seized and thrown into prison. The successful insurgents assumed the government, and exercised its powers for two years. Death put a stop to Eastchurch's efforts to obtain his legal rights. Miller, escaping from prison, fled to England, whither Culpepper had also gone to justify himself before the proprietors. The latter was arrested and tried for treason, but escaped on a legal technicality. The proprietors thought it best to overlook, in a great measure, the late insurrectionary movements, and to receive the nominal submission of the insurgents. Seth Sothel, now a proprietor by purchase, was appointed governor. For six years Sothel filled the gubernatorial chair; at the end of which time, the inhabitants, exasperated by his continued tyranny and misrule, seized, and were about sending him to England. Tried, however, at his own request, by the colonial assembly, he was removed from the government and banished from the country. Sothel retired to Carteret, where the spirit of insurrection was rife, and was placed at the head of the government. He was succeeded in Albemarle by Philip Ludwell, whom Thomas Harvey soon followed in the administration as deputy-governor.

The discontent and turbulence of either province were not removed, until the arrival (1695) of John Archdale, one of the proprietors, as governor, invested by his commission with unusually extensive powers. Sagacious, and possessed of rare prudence, the Quaker Archdale succeeded, by his skilful management, in reducing both provinces to comparative order. During the late disturbances, North Carolina had received a decided check to her prosperity. Many fled the country. At the beginning of the Culpepper insurrection, the province contained 1,400 taxable inhabitants;

in 1694, 787 were all that could be found within its limits. Under Archdale, however, the colony began again to flourish. On his retirement, under Harvey, reappointed deputy governor, (1695,) under Walker, president of the council, (1699,) Daniel, in the same office, (1703,) and Thomas Carey, deputy governor, (1705,) the province was replenished with inhabitants. Settlements were made on the Pamlico river, (1698,) upon the Tar and the Neuse; and Bath county was set off to the southward. Rice and tar, two of the staples of North Carolina, began now to be exported. Churches were for the first time erected, and provision was made for sustaining a regular ministry. Religion began to receive the support of the authorities, given, however, in an illiberal and sectarian spirit, inconsistent with the promise of religious liberty made at first to the colonists. The Episcopalians, as in Virginia and South Carolina, had a majority in the legislature, which they failed not to use to the disability and attempted repression of all dissenters.

North Carolina was soon to feel the scourge of another rebellion. Carey, not giving satisfaction to the proprietors, was removed from office, and William Glover appointed to conduct the administration. Carey endeavored, at the head of an armed force, to usurp the government; and persisted in the attempt even after the arrival, in 1710, of the new deputy governor, Edward Hyde. Hyde promised to redress every grievance of which Carey complained, but the insurgent heard nothing save the wild promptings of ambition. Attacking Edenton, he was repulsed and forced to retire. Finally, Hyde, by this time (1711) governor, succeeded, with the help of regular troops from Virginia, in putting down the malcontents.

Meanwhile, the province was involved in a general war with the Indians. Since the settlement of Albemarle, uninterrupted peace had existed between the whites and the natives. As the settlement increased in numbers and extent, however, the Indians began, not without reason, to fear for their future safety. In 1707, a colony of French Huguenots had removed from Virginia, and settled on the river Trent; and in 1709, a colony of Germans, from Heidelberg and its vicinity, founded, under Baron Graffenried, the settlement of New Berne, (now Newbern,) at the confluence of the Trent and Neuse. They received a liberal grant of land from the proprietaries. It was the surveying of these lands, for Graffenried, that led to the outbreak of the Indians. Regarding the surveys a direct encroachment on their independence, the Tuscaroras, who lived on the Neuse, Contentney and Tar rivers, seized upon Lawson, the surveyor-general, on a favorable opportunity, and, after consultation, put him to death. An immediate attack was made upon the white settlements south of

Albemarle Sound, (1711,) and whole families were unsuspectingly butchered. Other tribes joining the Tuscaroras, the war became general. Bath county was exposed almost defenseless to the ravages of the enemy. All Carolina did not contain at the time 2,000 men able to bear arms; yet, when assistance was sought from the southern province, it was at once obtained. Col. Barnwell was dispatched with a small body of white men and a strong force of friendly Indians. The enemy were worsted in several encounters, and finally compelled to betake themselves to a fort near the Neuse. Here they would soon have been forced to surrender at discretion; but Barnwell concluded a hasty and disadvantageous peace. In a few days after Barnwell had returned to South Carolina, the same Indians renewed hostilities. The situation of the province had now become truly critical. Hyde dying, (1712,) he was succeeded by Pollock, by whom, as president of the council, aid was asked from Virginia and South Carolina. The governor of the latter province sent out a party of 40 white men and 800 Ashley Indians, under Col. Moore. Overtaking the Tuscaroras in January, (1713,) he attacked them in their fort near the Cotechney, and took 800 of them prisoners. His own loss was small. The captives were given to the Ashley allies as a reward for their services, by whom they were all sold into slavery. The power of the Tuscaroras was broken. Suing for peace, they obtained it on ignominious terms. The greater part of the nation, too weak to fight, and too proud to submit, removed to the north, and confederated with the Senecas, together with whom, and other tribes, they afterwards formed the "Six Nations." The other hostile Indian tribes (the Cores, Mattamuskeet, etc.) were soon compelled to submit to the rule of the victors. In 1715 peace was partially, and in 1717 finally concluded. The sufferings of the province during Carey's rebellion and the Indian war were extreme. Not a few of the settlers abandoned their homes altogether. Notwithstanding the accession of new colonies and the natural increase of the population, the whole number of taxable inhabitants in the province in 1717, did not exceed two thousand. In 1676 they numbered, as we have seen, about fourteen hundred.

Succeeding gubernatorial administrations were, for some years, unfortunate. Charles Eden, who assumed the administration in 1714, rendered himself, by his imprudence, if not criminality, obnoxious to the charge of countenancing piracy. His private and public character alike suffered, and his administration was unquiet and disturbed. He died in 1722, and was succeeded in 1723 by George Barrington, a man totally unfit for the office. Possessed only of inferior talents, imprudent in his choice of measures, and himself a street brawler and notorious rioter, he relaxed all

the bonds of wholesome government, misruling the country, till he was displaced, in 1725, by the appointment of Richard Everard to his much-abused station. The new governor was more circumspect in his conduct; but his administration was not as firm and energetic as the disturbed state of the colony required. During the term of his office, Carolina became a royal government. In July, 1729, the king purchased, for £17,500, seven eighths of the whole province from the proprietors; the remaining eighth was retained by Lord Carteret, and was laid off for him (not, however, till 1743) adjoining the Virginia line. Previous to this (1728) the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina had been settled upon its existing basis. In 1731, Everard was removed by the crown, and Barrington again made governor. This appointment was unfortunate. Barrington could agree neither with his council, the assembly, nor the people. Incessant disputes excited incessant dissatisfaction. Justice was administered irregularly, and, it was said, not always impartially. His enemies were numerous; no party gave him its support. At last, in 1734, troubles pressing on every hand, he retired from the administration, and returned to England. Under Gabriel Johnstone, Barrington's successor, whose management was judicious, the colony prospered. The spirit of anarchy and resistance to legal authority, hitherto prevalent, was brought more under control. Still, justice and obedience to the laws were by no means universal.

During the Indian troubles, paper money had been issued by the assembly, to pay the expenses of the war; but, though gradually sunk by taxes, it depreciated. In 1729, £40,000 were issued, in bills of credit; and in 1734, £10,000 additional. Depreciation went on, until, in 1739, the bills passed at the rate of seven and a half for one. This depreciated currency the assembly endeavored in 1738 to circulate, by making it a legal tender at par for quit-rents, which heretofore had been, and now were, only payable in sterling money, foreign coin, and certain articles of produce, at a rate fixed by law. In the disputes that ensued, the governor, who opposed the issue of paper money, dissolved two successive assemblies. Other acts, equally unjust and impolitic, were passed, at various times, by the legislative body; nor was the governor himself wholly free from the imputation of irregular and partial administration. These, and other adverse circumstances, as McCulloch's speculation in crown lands, the breaking out of hostilities between England and Spain, by which the Carolinas were involved in war with the Spanish settlements in Florida, retarded, in no small measure, the progress of the colony. In spite of all, however, the increase in inhabitants during Johnstone's rule was decidedly rapid. Three distinct and ex-

tensive settlements were made, under him, within the province; one by a colony chiefly Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, who, coming by the way of Pennsylvania, settled in numbers in the northwestern part of the state, on the lands of Lord Carteret; another, by a party of Moravians, who obtained from the Earl of Grenville (Lord Carteret) a grant of 100,000 acres of land between the Yadkin river and the Dan; the third by a large body of Highlanders, chiefly from Argyleshire, for whom land had been purchased by their leader, Neal McNeal, near the present Fayetteville. All these colonies were successfully established; and their numerous descendants inhabit the state at this day.

Johnstone dying, (1752,) Arthur Dobbs was invested (1754) with the governorship. He applied himself at once to forming alliances with the Indians, lest they might join with the French in committing hostilities upon the province. Notwithstanding every effort, unfriendly tribes, especially after Braddock's defeat, (1755,) harassed the western frontiers. Among these tribes the Cherokees were foremost in committing depredations. They, as well as the upper Creeks, by whom they had been joined, were finally forced to sue for peace. As regarded the conduct of the war, the assembly concurred with the governor, but they differed widely on other questions respecting the government. An attempt on his part to have the representation in the assembly reduced, or remodelled, and his refusal to assent to an act extending the jurisdiction of the courts of law and the terms of the judges' offices, produced general discontent in the assembly. The dissatisfaction increased. To allay it, Wm. Tryon, a military officer, was sent out in the capacity of lieutenant governor. On the death of Dobbs (1765) he was raised to the governorship. Tryon found the colony restless and uneasy. On Earl Grenville's reservation, the inhabitants, who had been hardly treated by his lordship's agents, and by petty government officers, already riotous, were ripe for open rebellion. But the new incumbent ruled with a steady hand. Early in his administration the dispute between England and the colonies began. He managed for a time to avoid collision with the assembly; but, at length, when that body unanimously declared (Nov. 4th, 1769) against the right of England to tax North Carolina while unrepresented in Parliament, he dissolved it, on account, as he said, of the passage by them of resolutions which "had sapped the foundation of confidence and gratitude." Previously to this, however, the country was distracted by a formidable insurrection of the so-called "Regulators," a body of insurgents chiefly poor and uneducated, who, complaining at first of the illegal collection of taxes, rose riotously against public collectors, dis-

solved court sessions, overawed judges, and finally refused, though offered indemnification for all losses from defrauding officers, to bear any of the burden of taxation. Abusing the lenity of the governor, they rushed heedlessly forward, under ambitious and not untalented leaders, into more daring rebellion. Neither property nor life was safe from their violence. Tryon at length (1771) raised a body of troops and marched against the Regulators. Encountering them near Great Alamance, 8,000 strong, he attacked them with his 1,000 militia, and gained a decisive victory. After their defeat, the insurgents in general took the oath of allegiance. In the following August, Tryon, who, upon the whole, had been a popular ruler, was succeeded by Josiah Martin. One of his first acts was the settlement, on its present basis, of the boundary line between North and South Carolina. Disputes soon arose between him and the assembly, respecting foreign attachments and the jurisdiction of county courts; the general trouble was increased by the persistence of England in her policy of taxing the colonies. The governor sided with the crown, as also the Regulators, whom he had the meanness to conciliate by the detraction of Tryon; but the remaining inhabitants generally adopted the cause of the colonists.

REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY.—North Carolina, in spite of Martin's opposition, was represented in the first Continental Congress, (Sept., 1774,) and its delegates joined in adopting the "Declaration of Colonial Rights." A provincial Congress, composed chiefly of members of the assembly, and the assembly itself, approved of the proceedings of the late Congress, and appointed delegates to the next. An association for the defense of colonial rights was formed, and the citizens of Mecklenburg county even went so far (May 21, 1775) as formally to declare their independence of the British connection, and renounced all allegiance to the crown. Alarmed at the progress of the association, the governor retired (July) on board a ship of war in Cape Fear river. The revolution in North Carolina was now complete. A new state Convention was formed, (Aug. 20,) and the raising of three regiments of troops authorized. They were soon increased to five, and all were taken by Congress into colonial pay. The tory influence, however, was strong, especially among the Regulators. A body of 1500 men, under McDonald and McLeod, who had been commissioned by Martin, attempted to reach the coast where Gen. Clinton, with a squadron, was waiting for assistance from Britain, preparatory to making a descent upon the country. Hastening towards Wilmington, the tories attempted to force a passage over Moore's-Creek Bridge, but were repulsed, with the loss of McLeod, by a body of militia, under Caswell. In their retreat, they ran into the

power of Col. Moore, who was advancing in pursuit, and eight hundred and fifty of them, McDonald included, were made prisoners.

Four more regiments were now (April 1) ordered to be raised by the North Carolina Congress. Clinton, though reinforced, despairing of local assistance, sailed away, accompanied by Martin, to the attack of Charleston. In the following April, the North Carolina Convention, taking the lead, authorized their delegates in Congress to join with other colonies in declaring independence. On the 4th of July following, that independence was solemnly declared. Meanwhile the Cherokees, in league with the British, ravaged the western frontiers. Promptly met by a strong force from the Carolinas and Virginia, they were subdued, and forced to surrender to their conquerors a large tract of country, including the yet infant settlements on the Tennessee. The territory apportioned to North Carolina was erected into the district of Washington, the province being now (since Dec. 18, 1776) a state, having a regular constitution, and presided over by Richard Caswell, McDonald's conqueror, as governor. Settlers were encouraged to locate in the district, lands being granted at the rate of £2 10s. the hundred acres.

Though North Carolina furnished her quota of regular troops for the continental army, and assisted in bearing the expenses of the war, it did not become for some years a theatre of military operations. From 1779, the southern states were the chief scene of the revolutionary conflict. North Carolina manfully bore her part of the burden. In May, 1780, Charleston surrendered to the British under Gen. Clinton. Within a month all South Carolina was in possession of the victors. The loyalists of North Carolina flew at once to arms. Of two parties assembled to aid the enemy, one succeeded in reaching the British outposts, but the other was dispersed by the whig militia, under Gen. Rutherford. After the defeat of Gates at Camden, (Aug. 6,) there was left no organized force in either of the Carolinas. Cornwallis prepared to make an irruption into the northern state. His troops moved forward in three divisions; the main body, under himself, advanced by Charlotte and Salisbury; another party, under Tarleton, along the Catawba; a third, under Ferguson, took a more westerly course along the foot of the mountains. Attacked by a body of mounted backwoodsmen, the latter was completely routed (Oct. 9) at King's Mountains. Hearing of this disaster, Cornwallis marched back to Winnsboro', in South Carolina. As he retired, Gates advanced to Charlotte with a force, small and ill provided for, which he had organized partly from new North Carolina recruits, and partly from the survivors of the fatal field of Camden. At Charlotte, Gen. Greene joined the army, (Dec. 2,) and assumed the command.

The mutual animosity of the whigs and tories now exhibited itself in savage ferocity. Cornwallis moved northward, (Jan. 1,) to interpose between Greene and Morgan, who was operating against the British on the left side of Broad river. Tarleton was sent against him with one thousand light troops. Morgan awaited his approach at Cowpens, where Tarleton was defeated, with a loss of eight hundred killed and captured. Tarleton hastily joined Cornwallis, who advanced to intercept Morgan, before he should form a junction with Greene; but he was unsuccessful. The passage of the Catawba being forced by Cornwallis, Greene, retreating, pushed on for the Yadkin. He crossed in safety, and hastened on towards Guilford Court-House, and thence into Virginia. Meanwhile that state had been invaded by the traitor Arnold, while Wilmington, North Carolina, had been occupied by a body of the enemy from Charleston. At the approach of Cornwallis, the state authorities fled from Hillsboro' to Newbern; but that town was soon taken by a detachment of the enemy from Wilmington. North Carolina was, to all appearance, subdued. The tories began to embody in force. To protect them, Cornwallis crossed the Haw, and encamped on the Alimance creek. Greene, reinforced, followed. The armies met near Guilford Court-House (Mar. 15,) where Greene was defeated; but at so great a cost was the victory gained, that Cornwallis was obliged to fall back on Fayetteville, (then Cross Creek,) and soon after still farther towards Wilmington. Adopting a bold policy, Greene marched hastily on into South Carolina, hoping either to draw Cornwallis from North Carolina, or to subdue Rawdon, who held South Carolina in subjection, if unsupported by the northern forces. On discovering the plan of Greene, Cornwallis, imitating his policy, advanced into Virginia, and joined the British force operating there. Greene's career in South Carolina was brilliant. Within seven months the British were confined to the district between the Cooper and the Ashley rivers. Henceforth North Carolina was no longer invaded. Troops were constantly raised by the state, however, till the close of the war. The tories gave further trouble, but they were put down with some severity by Gen. Rutherford. Soon after the capture of Cornwallis, (October 17,) Wilmington was evacuated (Jan. 1782) by the British, while their troops were confined in South Carolina by the advance of Greene to Charleston Neck and the adjacent islands. Towards the end of the year peace was declared. Thus ended British domination at the south.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY.—The history of North Carolina, since the Revolution, exhibits few changes and few events of more than ordinary importance. The materials on hand for preparing a sketch of this portion of its history

are meagre. A work on the subject, however, is announced as in course of preparation, by Francis L. Hawks, D.D., in which, no doubt, the history will be elaborately treated in all its principal aspects.—North Carolina acceded to the present Federal Constitution, Nov. 27, 1789, by a vote of 193 yeas to 75 nays. Since then, the people of no state have adhered more firmly to the Union. The state constitution was framed, as already noticed, in Dec., 1776. It was revised and partially modified in 1835. The governor is chosen by qualified voters for the House of Commons for the term of two years, and he can hold office only four years in six. He must be 35 years old, be worth \$5,000, and have been a resident for five years. The General Assembly is composed of a Senate of fifty members, and a House of Commons of 120 members. Members of the Senate are elected once in two years by the people, and must possess each 300 acres of land in the county for which they are chosen. Members of the House of Commons are also chosen by the people once in two years, and must hold each 100 acres of land in the county which they represent. The General Assembly meets once in two years at Raleigh, on the second Monday of November. By this body are appointed the Council of State, the Judges, and the Attorney-General; the former holding their offices during good behavior, the last for four years. Every white male citizen, being twenty-one years of age, or over, and a resident of the county one year, who has paid taxes, is entitled to vote for members of the House of Commons; to vote for Senators, he must, in addition, possess fifty acres of land.*

PHYSICAL CONDITION.—North Carolina presents a broad front to the ocean, but gradually contracts to the westward, till it ends in a narrow strip of land lying between Georgia and Tennessee. Its greatest length is 490 miles; its breadth varies in the eastern part from 120 to 180 miles; in the western, from 100 to 20 miles. The western boundary line, as determined by the act of cession of the western territory to the Union, (1790,) runs from the Virginia line along the top of Stone Mountain to the river Wataga; thence, in a direct course, to the top of Yellow Mountain; thence along that mountain, and the mountains Iron, Bald, Great Iron, and Unaka, to the southern boundary. The southern boundary line is quite irregular: begun in 1785, it was not established in its entire course until

1815. The line on the north has been already mentioned. The whole area included is 50,000 square miles.

NORTH CAROLINA.—GEOGRAPHY, TOPOGRAPHY, AND HYDROGRAPHY OF NORTH CAROLINA—SOIL, PRODUCTS, RESOURCES, STATISTICS, POPULATION, TRADE, INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, EDUCATION, RELIGION, GEOLOGY, &c.—The entire coast of North Carolina is bordered by low, narrow beaches of sand, which are broken through at intervals, forming a communication between the ocean and the lakes, or lagoons, situate between the sandbanks and the main land. South of Cape Lookout these breaks are numerous, and the lagoons narrower; north of that cape the converse is the fact. Beyond the banks lie extensive shoals, all which, taken together, render the coast of this state more dangerous to navigators than any other on the Atlantic. Within the lagoons sand-bars are constantly forming, and as constantly changing their position. Furious gales, too, prevail; so that it is difficult even for a skilful pilot to conduct a vessel through the inlets, and over the lagoons, without the occurrence of some accident. Ocracoke Inlet is now the only navigable pass north of Cape Lookout: it is full of shifting sand-bars, and, at low tide, even in the main channel, contains only six feet water. Roanoke Inlet, opposite the island of that name, is now obstructed; but measures for reopening it have been put into operation. To the northward, between the main land and the narrow beach, stretching down from Cape Henry, lies Currituck Sound, fifty miles long, by from two to ten in breadth. West of this, running some distance inland, is the Sound of Albemarle, sixty miles in length from east to west, and from five to fifteen broad. Its waters are fresh, and not subject to rise and fall from the influence of the tides, though they are affected by particular winds. These two sounds communicate with the sound of Pamlico, which lies south of Currituck, and is eighty-six miles long by from ten to twenty in breadth. Its depth in general is twenty feet, but shoals abound. It opens on the sea by means of Ocracoke Inlet, and is somewhat affected by the tides. Cape Hatteras forms the headland of the dangerous beach which separates Pamlico from the ocean, a beach so barren and desolate as to be inhabited only by fishermen and pilots.

For a distance of from sixty to eighty miles from the sea-coast the country is perfectly level, traversed by sluggish and muddy streams, and abounding in swamps and marshes. The soil is sandy and barren, except along the banks of the streams, where it is often fertile. The natural growth of this region is the pitch-pine, which attains a fuller development here than in the states further north, and yields vast quantities of tar, pitch,

* The constitution has in it something of the religious element; for it provides expressly that "no person who shall deny the being of a God, or the truth of the Christian religion, or the divine authority of the Old and New Testament, or who shall hold religious principles incompatible with the freedom or safety of the state," shall hold any civil office. On the other hand, it is also provided that no clergyman, while in the exercise of his duties, shall be a member of either branch of the assembly, or of the council.

turpentine and lumber. The swamps, so numerous in this section, are estimated to occupy about 3,000,000 acres of the 30,720,000 contained in the state. Of this land a considerable quantity may be drained or reclaimed by embankments, by which means it would become fitted for the production not only of rice, but also Indian corn, (maize,) cotton and tobacco. The Great Dismal Swamp, partly in this state and partly in Virginia, is thirty miles long and ten broad, extending over a surface of 150,000 acres. It is covered in some places with a dense forest of cedars, pines, and cypresses; in other places it is occupied by tall grasses and reeds, almost impervious. In the centre is Lake Drummond, twenty miles in circuit. The soil is covered knee deep with water: it is firm in some parts, but in most it consists of a soft yielding bog, into which a pole may be thrust for some distance. The swamp furnishes yearly a large supply of scantlings, which are borne out on log causeways to small receiving vessels that come up for their loads by means of canals. Similar in its character, and nearly as large, is Alligator, or Little Dismal Swamp, between the sounds of Albemarle and Pamlico; parts of which have been drained, and make valuable rice fields and wheat lands. There are other swamps further south (Catfish, Green, etc.) usually overgrown, like those spoken of, with cedar and cypress, intermingled with the maple, the poplar, the white oak, and having an impenetrable undergrowth of reeds, vines, briars, &c.

As we advance into the interior of the country, its aspect becomes more and more changed. "At a distance of sixty or seventy miles from the coast," says Williamson, "the land begins to rise into small hills, stones appear on the surface, and the streams ripple in their course. As we advance a little further westward, we find all the variety of hills and dales that may consist with a fertile country fit for cultivation." For about forty miles behind the flat country there extends, as far as the lower falls of the river, a belt of land, of a surface moderately uneven, with a sandy soil, of which pitch-pine is the prevailing natural production. West of the falls the surface is undulated, the streams flow more swiftly, and the land is more fertile, producing wheat, rye, barley, oats, flax, &c. Proceeding still further west, beyond the Yadkin and the Catawba, we reach an elevated region, forming part of the great table-land of the United States, and lying from 1,000 to 1,200 feet above the level of the sea. Above it tower the peaks of the Blue Ridge, the chief of which have distinct local appellations. Black Mountain, according to late measurements, has an elevation of 6,426 feet, being higher than any summit in the United States east of the Rocky Mountains, and 242

feet higher than the highest peaks of the celebrated White Mountains in New-Hampshire. Roan Mountain has an elevation of 6,038 feet, its summit forming a broad level meadow to which the horses of the vicinity are sent for pasturage. Grandfather Mountain is 5,556 feet high; Table Mountain attains the height of 3,420 feet. Mount Ararat, or the Pilot Mountain, in Surry county, situated in a comparatively level region, exhibits a striking symmetry of structure. Its form is very nearly that of a cylinder. It is ascended by a path in some places nearly perpendicular; and the view from its summit is delightfully pleasing. Between these mountain ranges in the western part of the state the soil is productive.

North Carolina is well watered by considerable rivers; but these streams, in comparison with their size and number, afford few facilities for navigation. They are generally shallow near their mouths, or are broken by falls in the upper part of their course, or are choked up by bars, or are lost in shallow lagoons difficult of access. The principal river, whose course lies wholly within the state, is the Cape Fear. It is, moreover, the only large stream which flows directly into the ocean. Its principal tributaries are the Haw and the Deep, which join at Haywood, in Chatham county. It falls over the primary ledge into the low country at Averbosboro. At Fayetteville it can be navigated by large boats. Above Wilmington it forms two branches, which reunite below that town, flowing on in a broad sluggish stream, obstructed by sand-bars, and difficult to navigate. By the aid of jetties, which diminish the breadth of the river, and by the stopping up of some of the smaller outlets, a greater velocity has been given to the current of the main channel, and the depth of the main channel, as far as Wilmington, made to reach from twelve to thirteen feet. Cape Fear has two entrances from the sea, separated by Smith's Island. The main entrance (the southwest) has from ten to fourteen and a half feet of water on the bar. The Chowan and the Roanoke flow into Albemarle Sound. The former is navigable to Murfreesboro; the latter for thirty miles, by small craft which ply on the sound. Both are navigable to a greater distance by boats: the Roanoke as far as Weldon. The Tar and the Neuse empty into the Sound of Pamlico. On the Tar, vessels drawing eight feet may go as high as Washington; boats as high as Tarboro. The Neuse is navigable by large boats as far as Kingston. The ocean entrances of both these rivers are channels, in which there is only ten feet water at high tide. The Waccamaw, the Lumber, the Yadkin, and the Catawba pass into South Carolina, where all but the first receive new appellations. From the west of the Blue Ridge flow New River, the Wataga, French Broad,

Little Tennessee and Hiwassee, the waters of all which mingle at length with those of the Ohio.

Professor Olmsted, in his report on the Geology of North Carolina, has given a full and reliable account of its minerals. The low country consists of deposits of sand and clay, similar and belonging to the same age (the tertiary) as those of Eastern Virginia and Maryland. These beds contain few minerals, but abound in deposits of shell, marl, fossiliferous limestone, copperas, and bog iron ore. A ledge of micaceous rocks, seen in the ravines and beds of rivers, forms the line which divides the low land from the upper country. A belt of mica slate, chlorite slate, gneiss and granite, lies west of this line. Among the minerals of this section are: hematitic iron ores, (Nash and Johnston counties,) plumbago, (Wake,) and occasionally soapstone and serpentine. This strip is succeeded by a belt of sandstone, running southwesterly from Granville across the state. Freestones and grindstones are abundant in some parts of the formation, which also contains argillaceous iron ore, and some coal measures, (Orange, Chatham.) Next to this is situate the great slate formation, about twenty miles in breadth, and running from northeast to southwest quite across the state. Within this district are found numerous beds of porphyry, soapstone, serpentine, greenstone, and hone or whetstone slate. The honestone is of a decidedly superior quality, being preferred by workmen to the best hones from Turkey. After the slate formation there comes next another belt of primary rocks, reaching nearly to the Blue Ridge. This comprises the gold region of North Carolina. Iron ore is found also in Rockingham, Stokes, Surrey and Lincoln. It is for the most part the magnetic oxide, and has been extensively wrought. There were in this section of the state, in 1830, three furnaces and thirty forges in operation.

PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY AND RESOURCES.—Though it seems from the face of the map that this state is well watered by numerous streams, yet these rivers are, for reasons above stated, of little use in a commercial point of view. The agriculturist finds a difficulty in transporting his produce, which seriously interferes with his prosperity. The greater part of the produce from the high grounds in the eastern part of the state, (and some from the northern and middle,) is sent into Virginia; that from the western part, into South Carolina and Tennessee. This, too, is often done by means of tedious and cumbersome conveyances. The exports of the state at the period immediately preceding the revolution were at least double what they are at present. In 1849, they amounted to \$270,076, against imports to the value of \$113,146. The industry of North Carolina is almost wholly agricultural. There is not a

state in the Union more fortunate in its variety of staple productions. All kinds of grain that grow in the north are successfully cultivated here. The striking diversity of climate and soil between the low lands of the east, the high lands of the west, and the moderately diversified interior, has its correspondence in a similar diversity of agricultural productions. The low lands yield cotton, rice and indigo. The rice is of the best quality. The cotton crop is not large, not exceeding 30,000 bales yearly. Grapes, plums, blackberries, etc., grow spontaneously in this region; and the leaves of the canes in the bottoms, continuing green all winter, afford grateful food to herds of cattle. Further west, in the interior and in the valleys of the highlands, the soil is well adapted to wheat, tobacco, hemp, Indian corn, and the grains and fruits which flourish at the northward. The mountainous districts afford excellent pasture for large herds of cattle and horses.

In the elevated parts of the state the natural timber-growth is oak, walnut, cherry, and lime. The white-oak trees found here are well suited for making staves, being taller and more free from knots than those which belong further north. Thick and extensive forests of juniper and cypress are found in the eastern portion of the state, constituting a supply of timber for making shingles which is almost inexhaustible. The pine forests, which cover almost all the district, contribute greatly to the wealth and general prosperity of the state. They not only furnish quantities of lumber for exportation, but from them is obtained nearly all the resinous matter used in this country, particularly in ship-building, and also for other important purposes. These resinous products are turpentine, scrapings, spirits of turpentine, rosin, tar, and pitch. Turpentine is the mere sap of the pine tree. It is obtained by making an incision in the bark, from which the turpentine flows, dropping into a box beneath. Incisions are made usually about the middle of March, and the dropping ceases about the end of October. The boxes are emptied five or six times a year. A barrel of turpentine is the produce of about forty trees. The same trees will yield about one third that amount of scrapings, which is that part of the sap which becomes hard before reaching the box. Spirits of turpentine is made by distilling this sap, the residuum after distillation is rosin. About 600,000 barrels of turpentine are now made within the state, the greater part of which is distilled within its limits. Its production gives direct employment to four or five thousand laborers; and ten or fifteen thousand more, it is computed, are supported by the proceeds of its first sale. No other article, it is said, produced by the same number of laborers, contributes so much to the commerce and prosperity of the state. Tar is made

from billets of pine, burned in pits, under a heavy covering of turf or earth. The billets are consumed slowly without flame; and the tar, as it exudes, is conveyed by a trench into a cavity made in the ground as a reservoir. The tar of Carolina is of much inferior quality to that of the north of Europe, chiefly on account of the slovenly manner in which the former is usually prepared. The kiln is most frequently built on light, sandy land, in which are cut both the trench and the reservoir. In consequence, the product of the burning always contains a large percentage of sand, a pint of which will condemn a gallon of tar. More stringent inspection laws have been enacted of late years, from the faithful execution of which a great improvement in Carolina tar must result. Pitch is obtained from tar by boiling it down to dryness.

This state, both on account of its natural productions and its numerous water-courses, is admirably adapted to manufactures. Yet manufactories chiefly exist in the shape of household industry. During the last few years, however, several cotton and wool manufactories have been erected, which are now in active operation. Gold is an important product of North Carolina. The region where it is mainly found has been already designated. This district is, for the most part, barren, and its inhabitants generally poor and ignorant. The principal mines are Anson's, Read's, and Parker's. The first named is situated in Anson county. Its yield was once good; but, disputes arising as to the title of part of the land, operations have been much retarded. Read's mine is in Cabarrass, and was the first wrought. Masses of metal, weighing 400, 500, or 600 penny-weights, are occasionally dug up. One piece was found by a negro, weighing, in its crude state, twenty-eight pounds avoirdupois. Marvellous stories used to be told of this lump; as, that "it had been seen by gold hunters at night, reflecting so brilliant a light when they drew near to it with torches, as to terrify them, and deter them from further examination." Parker's mine is situated on a small stream four miles south of the Yadkin. The metal is found chiefly in flakes and grains. A mass, however, weighing four pounds and eleven ounces, has been discovered. In the mining districts, gold contained in goose quills forms a currency. Its value is fixed by weight. The larger part of the produce of the mines is bought up by dealers, at from ninety to ninety-one cents a penny-weight. By these it is carried for the most part out of the state. They sell some to jewellers; some is deposited in banks; and a large quantity is received at the mint of the United States.

Statistics of the productive industry and resources of North Carolina cannot easily be procured. The latest we have at command are given in the official returns for 1840.

From these we take the subjoined summary: In 1840, the value of home-made or family manufactures was \$1,413,242; there were three woollen manufactories and one fulling mill, producing articles to the value of \$3,900, with a capital of \$9,800; twenty-five cotton manufactories, with 47,934 spindles, employing 1,219 persons, producing articles to the value of \$438,900, with a capital of \$995,300; there were eight furnaces, producing 968 tons of cast iron, and forty-three forges, etc., producing 963 tons of bar iron, employing 468 persons, and a capital of \$94,961; two smelting-houses, employing 30 persons, and producing 10,000 pounds of lead; ten smelting houses employing 389 persons, and producing gold to the value of \$255,618, with a capital of \$9,832; two paper-mills, producing articles to the value of \$8,785, with a capital of \$5,000; hats and caps were manufactured to the value of \$38,167, and straw-bonnets to the value of \$1,700, employing 142 persons, and a capital of \$13,141; 353 tanneries, employing 645 persons, with a capital of \$271,979; 238 other leather manufactories, as saddleries, etc., producing articles to the value of \$185,387, with a capital of \$76,163; sixteen potteries, employing 21 persons, producing articles to the value of \$6,260, with a capital of \$1,531; 89 persons manufactured machinery to the value of \$43,285; 43 persons manufactured hardware and cutlery to the value of \$1,200; 698 persons manufactured carriages and wagons to the value of \$301,601, with a capital of \$173,318; 323 flouring-mills produced 87,641 barrels of flour, with other mills employing 1,830 persons, producing articles to the value of \$1,552,096, employing a capital of \$1,670,228; vessels were built to the value of \$62,800; 223 persons manufactured furniture to the value of \$35,002, with a capital of \$57,980; 40 persons manufactured 1,085 small arms; 15 persons manufactured granite and marble to the value of \$1,083; 276 persons produced bricks and lime to the value of \$58,536; 367 persons manufactured 1,612,825 lbs. of soap, 148,546 lbs. of tallow-candles, 335 lbs. of spermaceti and wax candles, with a capital of \$4,754; 2,802 distilleries produced 1,051,979 gallons, and with breweries, which produced 17,431 gallons, employed 1,422 persons, and a capital of \$180,200; 38 brick or stone, and 1,822 wooden houses, employed 1,707 persons, at a cost of \$410,264; twenty-six printing offices, four binderies, twenty-six weekly and one semi-weekly newspaper, and two periodicals, employed 103 persons, and a capital of \$55,400. The whole amount of capital employed in manufactures was \$3,838,900.

As regards live stock and agricultural products, the same authority has the following: In 1840, there were in the state 166,608 horses and mules; 617,371 neat cattle; 538,279 sheep; 1,649,716 swine; poultry to the

value of \$544,125. There were produced 1,960,885 bushels of wheat; 3,574 bushels of barley; 3,193,941 bushels of oats; 213,971 bushels of rye; 15,391 bushels of buckwheat; 22,893,763 bushels of Indian corn; 625,044 lbs. of wool; 1,063 lbs. of hops; 118,923 lbs. of wax; 2,609,239 bushels of potatoes; 101,369 tons of hay; 9,879 tons of hemp and flax; 16,772,359 lbs. of tobacco; 2,820,388 lbs. of rice; 51,926,190 lbs. of cotton; 3,014 lbs. of silk cocoons; 7,163 lbs. of sugar; the products of the dairy were valued at \$674,349; of the orchard, at \$386,006; of lumber, at \$506,766. There were made 28,752 gallons of wine.*

* A citizen of North Carolina, who evidently writes intelligently, communicates the following pertinent notice of the commerce and resources of the state, to the *Merchant's Magazine*, for September, 1849, (Vol. xxi. pp. 355, 356.)

"There is no state in the Union whose statistics are so meagre; none in which the difficulty of procuring information necessary to the proper exhibition of the commerce and resources are greater. With a coast bound with sand-bars, the navigation of rivers obstructed by nature, a large extent of territory with diversified interests, with natural obstructions to the concentration of our commerce, with no emporium to concentrate talent, and to give unity of design to enterprise, our commerce, like the rains falling on the lofty summits of our mountains, runs off in every direction to swell each neighboring rivulet, without the possibility of ever uniting again to form a great, grand, and noble current of its own. A large portion of western and southwestern North Carolina finds a market in Columbia and Charleston, South Carolina; the northern, and a portion of the eastern and middle in Richmond, Petersburg, and Norfolk, Virginia, and the productions of these sections go to swell the tabular exhibition of the aforesaid states, and are unknown as the products of our own state.

"Our legislatures and members of Congress have hitherto manifested but little interest in the exhibition of our commerce and resources. With the exception of a single effort made a great many years ago, we have no general survey of the state. The exploration of our mineral wealth has been left to chance and individual enterprise, with the limited knowledge we have of the mines confined to their immediate localities, and for the most part, to those who are practically engaged in them. No southern state can compare with ours in mineral wealth and resources for manufacturing. Our forests will supply any possible demand for timber and fuel; we have coal in the greatest abundance, enough to supply the entire demand of our entire country; and which, for a tenth of the cost incurred by the state of Maryland, might be rendered available to the entire coast of the Atlantic shore.

"Information on our commerce will have to be procured, not only from our little ports, but from those points in South Carolina and Virginia which draw thither so large a share of our products. If you should not get an article sooner, perhaps I may furnish you one, or a series of them, in the early part of the year 1851. I postpone until that time, with the hope of collecting information from, or through the next Legislature of our state; from the members of the next Congress, through the various reports of that body; from the next census; and from such private sources as I may be able to command. An article based on the lights now before me would be conjectural and uncertain in a high degree. The last census is a libel on our state. If you have the prospect of an article from any other source, do not rely on me. The undertaking, properly executed, is difficult, laborious, and expensive.

POPULATION.—The causes which retarded the increase of the population of North Carolina, in the early part of its existence as a colony, have been adduced in the historical portion of this article. The first impulse in the way of increase was imparted about the middle of the last century, when the Scotch Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, and the Scotch Highlanders from Argyleshire, migrated into the country, and when the Moravians made settlements at Salem, Bethany, and Bethabara, between the upper Yadkin and the Dan. In 1676, as we have seen, the whole number of taxable inhabitants was about 1,400; in 1717, about 2,000; of these, at both periods, about one third were negro and Indian slaves. At the time the state ceased to be a royal government, the population is supposed to have been little more than 150,000, of whom one fifth were slaves. Edenton, Newbern, and Wilmington were the only towns worthy of being so called in the province; and of these three, Newbern, the most populous, did not contain more than six hundred inhabitants.

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Date.	Whites.	Slaves.	Free Col'd.	Colored.	Total.
1790.....	288,204	100,572	4,975	105,547	393,751
1800.....	337,764	133,296	7,043	140,339	478,103
1810.....	376,410	168,824	10,266	179,090	555,500
1820.....	419,200	205,017	14,612	219,629	638,829
1830.....	472,843	245,601	19,543	265,144	737,987
1840.....	444,870	245,817	21,731	267,548	753,419
1850.....	552,477	288,412	27,271	315,683	868,160

"Every thing indicates that a better day is coming; our navigation, and other means of internal transportation have the prospect of improvement and extension; our agricultural, mining, and manufacturing interests have received of late quite a new impetus.

"Some few years since I made a tour of the southern states; and I can with the utmost confidence say that none of them excelled North Carolina in natural fertility of soil. This I know will sound strange to those abroad, who have heard only of our pine-forests, and cypress and juniper swamps. The swamp country, which is equal to the prairies of the west, covering a large portion of the eastern section of the state, can be reclaimed; much has already been reclaimed. The uplands and mountain sections are like those of Virginia and Pennsylvania. Unfortunately our thoroughfares have given character to the soil of the state. They generally run through the pine sections, because there they could be constructed at less cost, of better material, and traverse the state at a shorter distance. If the Great Central Railroad is constructed, for which the prospect is quite fair, with the coördinate branches, it will be to North Carolina what 'Clinton's Ditch' has been to New-York. More than half of our state is dependent on the old four-horse wagon system for transportation over a distance of from fifty to three or four hundred miles to find a market. Obstructions exist in all our rivers, at the beginning of the granite country, as you ascend from the sea-board. If you commence at Weldon, on the Roanoke, in Halifax county, running to Smithfield, in Johnston county, to Fayetteville, and from thence to Wadesboro', in Anson county, you will get pretty nearly the line of obstruction. Many of our streams, after passing the rapids and falls which occur chiefly at the place designated, become navigable for a considerable distance. The line designated will give the country dependent on wagons."

Of this population there were employed in agriculture, 217,095; in commerce, 1,734; in manufactures and trade, 14,322; in navigating the ocean, 327; in sailing on canals, rivers, &c., 379; and 1,086 in the learned professions. The amount of population has been greatly diminished during the last fifty years, by the drain of emigration, first to Kentucky and Tennessee, and lately to the states of the southwest.

CHIEF TOWNS.—The state is divided into sixty-eight counties, of which Lincoln (population 25,160) is the most populous. There are no large towns, and no good seaports in this state. Raleigh, named after the renowned Sir Walter, in honor of his attempts to colonize what is now North Carolina, has been, since 1792, the capital of the state. It is situated within a few miles of the Neuse, 123 miles from Newbern, in a healthy, elevated situation. In 1840, it contained a population of 2,240. The former state-house, in which was a marble statue of Washington, in Roman military costume, by Canova, was destroyed in 1831, by fire. The new edifice is superbly built of granite, is 166 feet long by 90 feet wide, and is surrounded by massive granite columns. Near the state-house stands the institution, just erected, for the instruction of the deaf and dumb. In the northeastern part of the state, Edenton, on the Chowan, (population 1,500,) Elizabeth, on the Pasquotank, Plymouth, (population 800,) and Halifax, on the Roanoke, are the chief villages. Washington and Tarboro, on the Tar, contain each about 1,000 inhabitants. Newbern, founded by Germans in 1709, is situated on the Neuse, at the confluence of the Trent, 80 miles from Pamlico Sound, and until a few years since, was the largest town in the state, containing, in 1840, 3,690 inhabitants. It was once the capital of the state, and is possessed of considerable trade. The approach from sea is by Ocracoke Inlet. Beaufort, on Newport river, a few miles from the sea, has a population (1840) of 1,100; and its harbor is the best in the state. Steamboats go up from Beaufort, by inland channels, into Albemarle Sound. On Cape Fear river are situated the thriving towns of Wilmington and Fayetteville. The former, distant about 30 miles from the sea, is the most important commercial town in North Carolina. Its population, in 1840, was 4,744. Vessels of 300 tons can enter the river and ascend to the town, but the entrance is dangerous. An active coasting trade is carried on from the port, and it has direct foreign commerce with the West Indies and England. In 1840, the shipping was 18,232 tons. The railroad between Wilmington and Weldon, on the Roanoke, has given a new impulse to the trade of both places. Fayetteville is a flourishing town, at the head of boat navigation. In 1840, its population was 4,285. It contains three

churches, a court-house, two banks, and a United States arsenal of construction. It had, in 1840, 52 stores, with a capital of \$372,400; and a capital of \$384,000 invested in manufactures. In the west, the chief towns are Salem, Salisbury, and Charlotte. The population of Salisbury is about 2,000. Near it are the "Natural Walls of Rowan," or trap dykes, for a long time supposed to be artificial constructions, the origin and purpose of which gave rise to various absurd conjectures.* Charlotte, of late years much increased in population on account of its nearness to the gold washings, contains over 2,000 inhabitants, and a mint erected by the federal government for coining gold. There are mineral springs in the state: the Rockingham, in the county of that name; the Catawba, in Lincoln, containing magnesia and sulphate of lime; and the Warm, in Buncombe, the temperature of which is from 96° to 100°.

EDUCATION.—Before the revolution, literature was hardly known, much less a subject of cultivation. There were in the province, at the end of the royal government, only two schools in operation, one at Newbern, and one at Edenton. The trustees had been only of late incorporated, by whom, in Newbern, a wooden building had been erected, in which the meetings of the lower house of the Legislature were occasionally held. The constitution of 1776 directed "that a school, or schools, shall be established by the Legislature for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct at low prices; and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities." Till within late years, however, no system of free schools was introduced throughout the state. Liberal provision was made for the purpose in 1825, by the creation of a school fund. This fund amounted, in 1836, to \$242,046, besides the income of stock held by the state in several railroads, the proceeds of the sale of swamp lands, and the tract acquired from the Cherokees in the southwest of the state. In order to apply these proceeds to their intended object, a Board of Literature was directed, in 1837, to devise a plan of common schools, suited to the exigencies and resources of the state, and to report the same at the next session of the General Assembly. What and how important further steps were taken in the matter, we have not at hand the means of ascertaining. The University of North Carolina, established in 1791, is situated at Chapel Hill, Orange county, 27 miles west northwest of Raleigh. It has six professors, and over 100 students. Davidson College, founded in 1837, is in Mecklenburg county. In 1840, there were

* See Williamson's Hist. of North Carolina, vol. ii. pp. 174-178, note, who considers them artificial.

in the state 141 academies, with 4,398 students; 632 common and primary schools, with 14,937 scholars. At the same period there were living in the state 56,609 white persons, over 20 years old, who could neither read nor write.

RELIGIOUS SECTS.—At the breaking out of the revolution, religion was at a low ebb in the province. The law provided expressly for the maintenance of one clergyman of the Established Church in each parish; yet there were at that time not more than six in the entire province. There were about the same number of Presbyterian ministers. The Quakers had some strength in the northeastern part of the province; and the Moravians had about 500 in all in the churches of their six settlements. Other Christians had no regular establishments; though the counties were visited by itinerant preachers of the Methodist and the Baptist persuasions. At present these two denominations have the most numerous church-membership in the state, each reckoning more than 20,000 communicants. The Presbyterians, who are most numerous in the western part of the state, had, in 1840, 11,000 communicants. At the same time, the Episcopalians had a bishop and about 20 ministers; the Lutherans, 18 ministers, 38 churches, and 1,886 members. Besides these, there are in the state some Moravians, Quakers, and Roman Catholics.

CANALS AND RAILROADS.—Not much has yet been done in North Carolina towards in-

creasing facilities for transportation. The country is well adapted to canalization. The Dismal Swamp Canal lies partly, and the Northwest Canal, a branch of that work, wholly, within the limits of the state. Much of the northeastern trade takes the latter channel. Harlow Canal, a short work, extends from the Neuse to the harbor of Beaufort. Three Virginia railroads, which have their southern termini in the north of North Carolina, divert much of the trade of the northern counties to the markets of Virginia. The state has two railroads within its own limits. The one extends from Raleigh to Gaston, in Halifax county, on the Roanoke, a distance of 87 miles. Its cost was \$1,600,000. The other runs from Wilmington to Weldon, a few miles from Gaston, a distance of 162 miles. It cost \$1,800,000. A line of steamers from Wilmington to Charleston, (S. C.), 150 miles, is connected with this route, which thus forms one link in the great chain of communication, extending from Maine to Georgia. Other railroads are projected, chiefly for the central and western portions of the state.

BANKS.—There were in North Carolina, in 1846, 18 banks, with a capital of \$3,225,000, and a circulation of \$2,954,578. Of these, the deposits amounted to \$639,507; specie, \$1,261,061; real estate, \$117,000; other assets, \$1,114,102; loans and discounts, \$4,688,514; due to other banks and other liabilities, \$77,631.

BANKS IN NORTH CAROLINA, MARCH, 1851.

Location.	Name of Bank	President	Cashier	Capital
Ashville.....	Bank of Cape Fear.....		J. F. E. Hardy.....	\$150,000
Charlotte.....	Bank of State N. C.....	John Irwin.....	William A. Lucas.....	125,000
Elizabeth City.....	".....	William B. Shepard.....	John C. Ehringhaus.....	100,000
Fayetteville.....	".....	Charles P. Mallett.....	Ichabod Wetmore.....	150,000
".....	Bank of Cape Fear.....	Charles T. Haigh.....	John W. Wright.....	350,000
".....	Bank of Fayetteville.....	John D. Starr.....	William G. Broadfoot.....	380,000
Milton.....	Bank of State N. C.....	Samuel Watkins.....	William R. Hill.....	125,000
Morgantown.....	".....	Robert C. Pearson.....	Isaac T. Avery.....	100,000
Newbern.....	".....	George S. Attmore.....	John M. Roberts.....	150,000
".....	Merchants' Bank.....	Charles Slover.....	William W. Clark.....	225,000
Raleigh.....	Bank of State N. C.....	George W. Mordecai.....	Charles Dewey.....	300,000
".....	Bank of Cape Fear.....		William H. Jones.....	150,000
Salem.....	".....		Israel G. Lash.....	150,000
Salisbury.....	".....	M: Chambers.....	Dolphin A. Davis.....	175,000
Tarboro.....	Bank of State N. C.....	James Weddell.....	Peter P. Lawrence.....	150,000
Washington.....	Bank of Cape Fear.....	John Myers.....	Benjamin Runyon.....	175,000
Wilmington.....	".....	Thomas H. Wright.....	Henry R. Savage.....	400,000
".....	Bank of State N. C.....	Edward P. Hall.....	William E. Anderson.....	300,000
".....	Commercial Bank.....	Oscar G. Parsley.....	Timothy Savage.....	200,000

Total, 19 Banks—Circulation, \$3,500,000—Specie, \$1,600,000—Capital, \$3,650,000

[*Banksers' Magazine.*

COURTS.—The Supreme Court holds three sessions each year, two at Raleigh, and one at Morgantown, for the western part of the state. It continues to sit till all the business on the docket is concluded, or continued to another term. It determines all cases in law and equity, brought before it by appeal, or by the parties. It has original and exclusive jurisdiction in repealing letters-patent. The Su-

preme Court for the year 1851 is composed of Thomas Ruffin, Chief Justice, with a salary of \$2,500; Frederic Nash and Richard M. Pearson, Associate Justices, \$2,500; B. F. Moore, Attorney-General; James Iredell, Reporter, \$300; Edward B. Freeman, clerk at Raleigh; James R. Dodge, clerk at Morgantown. The Superior Courts of Law, and the Courts of Equity, are held twice a year in

every county of the state. There are seven circuits, of about ten counties each, which the judges ride alternately, but never visiting the same circuit twice in succession. These judges have complete equity jurisdiction. The salary of each is \$1,950. The judges now on the bench are, Thomas Settle, of Rockingham; John M. Dick, Greensboro; D. F. Caldwell and John W. Ellis, Salisbury; John L. Bailey, Hillsboro; M. E. Manly, Newbern; W. H. Battle, Chapel Hill; W. H. N. Smith, Murfreesboro; John S. Hawks, Washington; B. F. Moore, Halifax county; John F. Poin-dexter, Fayetteville; Thomas S. Ash, Orange county; Daniel Cole, Concord; B. S. Gaither, Asheville. B. F. Moore, of Halifax county, is Attorney-General.

OFFICERS OF GOVERNMENT.—The government for the present year consists of David S. Reid, Governor, (term of office from January 1, 1851, to January 1, 1853,) a furnished house, and \$2,000 salary; William Hill, of Raleigh, Secretary of State, \$800 and fees; Charles L. Hinton, of Wake county, Treasurer, \$1,500 salary; Stephen Birdsall, of Raleigh, Clerk of the Treasury Department, \$500 salary; William F. Collins, of Chatham county, Comptroller, \$1,000 salary; Andrew Joyner, of Halifax county, Speaker of the Senate; Robert B. Gilliam, of Granville co., Speaker of the House of Commons.

Council of State.—The council is composed of seven members, each of whom receives \$3 a day while in service, and \$3 for every thirty miles of travel. The members are Lewis Bond, of Bertie county; Joshua Tayloe, of Beaufort; N. T. Green, of Warren; Charles L. Paine, of Davidson county; John Winslow, of Cumberland county; Thomas A. Allison, of Iredell county; and Adolphus L. Erwin, of McDowell county.

Finances.

Receipts from Nov. 1, 1846, to

October 31, 1847.....	\$251,717 65
Expenditure for the same period.	175,402 61

Excess of Receipts.....	\$76,315 04
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State Debt.—This is contingent, and arises from endorsements, by the state, of bonds of railroad companies to the amount of \$1,100,000. From this is to be deducted \$13,000 for bonds not used, and \$110,000 for bonds paid; which reduces the amount for which the state is liable to \$977,000.

RESOURCES AND PROSPECTS OF NORTH CAROLINA, AND HER MINERAL FORMATIONS.—From the speech of the Hon. T. L. Clingman, delivered in the Congress of the United States, which he has kindly furnished us, we make some interesting extracts in regard to the industry, &c., of North Carolina, and append to them a lecture upon the coal formation of the same state, delivered last winter before

the Legislature at Raleigh, by Lemuel Williams, Esq.:

"I would direct your attention to North Carolina, because I know more about her and what she contains. I must first, however, make a passing remark with reference to coal and iron, lest it should be supposed that I am indifferent to the interests of Pennsylvania, because my own state has not similar advantages. Iron ore is not only generally and abundantly diffused throughout the state, but she has also two large deposits of coal. The fields of this mineral, too, are fortunately deposited on the two rivers most easily rendered navigable of any in the state, and emptying into the ocean within her own limits. The existence of the coal on Deep River has been known for half a century, but until recently it was not supposed that it could be transported with facility to the markets of the world. The operations, however, of the Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation Company, have within the last twelve months rendered it certain that this coal can easily and cheaply be transported to the ocean. The field is extensive, and cannot be exhausted for centuries. It contains in abundance the best varieties of highly bituminous, semi-bituminous, and anthracite coal. Capitalists from Massachusetts and New-York, who have recently acquired interests in the mines, assure me with the utmost confidence, that they will be able to mine this coal, and transport it to tide water, at a cost of less than \$1 per ton. It costs more than \$3 per ton to transport the coals of Maryland and Pennsylvania to the sea. The stream, with the locks already nearly completed, is capable of conveying in steamboats several millions of tons annually. We expect, therefore, to be able to supply with the best kinds of coal the cities of the Atlantic coast, and the steamers of the ocean. There are, also, in some places, lying immediately above the coal, large deposits of rich iron ore. In the production of iron, either free or slave labor can be obtained at forty to fifty cents per day. This labor, when employed in raising coal and iron ore in the vicinity of Pittsburg, in Alleghany county, costs not less than \$1 per day. Provisions also are abundant and cheap. When, therefore, in the case above stated, the labor employed in making a ton of iron in Pennsylvania costs \$45, the same would cost with us only \$22 50. We might, therefore, when the Pennsylvanians were doing nothing, realize a profit of \$22 per ton.

"I do not, however, regard the calculations of the gentleman from Pennsylvania as entirely accurate. Still I have no doubt that we should be able to produce iron cheaper than they are doing in his state. The iron, too, when thus made, could be transported to the ocean for less than \$1 per ton. It is obvious, therefore, that our state might put forward a

demand for high protective duties, with as much show of justice as Pennsylvania does. I trust, however, that her people will be satisfied with the existing rates, highly protective as they are. North Carolina has, also, not less than fifty cotton factories, most of which have been built within the last four or five years. I think she is in advance of any of the southern states in this branch of business. Whether I am right or not in entertaining this opinion, the returns of the late census, when completed, will decide. It is believed by many that the south cannot compete successfully with the north in manufacturing, it being supposed that we have not the capital to spare for such investments. Let us look for a moment at the elements of manufacturing capital. An important one is water-power, and North Carolina has more than enough of this to move all the machinery now existing in the world. It may be bad, too, in most of the localities at a price merely nominal. Timber, stone, and all building materials, are also equally cheap. North Carolina, though not a great cotton state, also produces five times as much, probably, as she or any one southern state is now manufacturing. She can, too, obtain easily an additional supply from South Carolina, by means of three railroads connecting her with that state. The cotton now produced by her is cheaper, probably, by one cent in the pound, than the same article at Charleston. It is also cheaper at Charleston, by three fourths of a cent, than in New-England. Our manufacturing establishments, therefore, can obtain the raw material at nearly two cents on the pound cheaper than the New-England establishments. Provisions are also only half as dear with us. Labor is likewise one hundred per cent. cheaper. In the upper parts of the state, the labor of either a free man or a slave, including board, clothing, &c., can be obtained for from \$110 to \$120 per annum. It will cost at least twice that sum in New-England.

"The difference in the cost of female labor, whether free or slave, is even greater. As we have now a population of nearly one million, we might advance to a great extent in manufacturing before we materially increased the wages of labor. We have, therefore, all the elements of manufacturing capital much cheaper than the north, except the machinery, and this we should be able to obtain at the same price. There is a sufficient surplus capital among us for its purchase. Two years since, our Legislature imposed a tax on money placed at interest, whenever the individual had more than \$1,000 above his own indebtedness. It appeared that there were more than \$15,000,000 so lent. If, as I think it is probably true, that there is as much now outstanding in smaller sums, there is not less than thirty millions of capital in this condition. Much of this sum might at once

be invested in manufacturing. The other southern states are doubtless in a similar condition. Our southerners have abundance of money to expend for purposes of business or pleasure. We shall, therefore, I think, at no distant day, work up a large, if not the greater portion, of our cotton into manufactured fabrics. Should this opinion of mine be well founded, it is obvious that no duties which we could impose would long enable the New-England factories to sustain themselves in competition with us. They would find it to their interest to go into such fine fabrics as we would not produce for some time to come, or into new employments. I have no apprehension that a people so intelligent, energetic, and enterprising as they are, will fail to find means of sustaining themselves in comfort and prosperity."

"COAL OF NORTH CAROLINA.—The value of coal as a mineral fuel is but little known, except to those whose interests have made it a subject of study. Professor Taylor, in his invaluable work on the statistics of coal, very justly remarks, that it would be no difficult task to show, in figures, how vastly more profitable is the application of labor in the mining, and working, and transportation of coal, than that of the precious metals. The annual production of all the gold and silver mines of North and South America was estimated by Baron Humboldt at nine millions of pounds sterling, and at present (excepting the recent discoveries in California) is less than five millions of pounds, or twenty-five millions of dollars. Now, the value of the coal produced annually, in Great Britain alone, is computed at fifty millions of dollars at the pit's mouth, and from seventy-five to one hundred millions of dollars at the places of consumption.

"Great Britain is indebted to her coal for her supremacy as a manufacturing, commercial and maritime nation. Take from her the coal mines, and she would sink into a fourth-rate commercial and maritime power. Her manufactures would cease—her Sheffield, Birmingham and Manchesters would be no more, and her people would be compelled to emigrate, or starve.

"The use of coal in the United States, to any considerable extent, has been very recent. The immense coal fields west of the Alleghanies were considered of little value twenty-five years ago, and the anthracites of Pennsylvania were scarcely known thirty years since. The whole amount of that kind of fuel mined in Pennsylvania in 1820, was only 365 tons. The mining of that species of coal increased very slowly, as it had to make its way against public prejudice, arising from its difficulty of ignition.

"In 1828, the amount of anthracite mined and sent to market was only seventy-seven thousand tons. From that period the quantity

rapidly increased, and in 1849 amounted to nearly three millions and a half of tons. In 1850, it is estimated that the amount did not fall short of four millions of tons. The beneficial effects resulting to the state of Pennsylvania from the development of her coal fields was felt and acknowledged throughout the length and breadth of her land. The growth of commerce increased with the growth and development of her mineral resources. In 1820, the coastwise arrivals at the port of Philadelphia amounted to only 877; in 1847, to 18,069. Three millions of tons of anthracite coal were brought to market that year, whose value then was twelve millions of dollars, and eleven thousand four hundred and thirty-nine vessels cleared from the single port of Philadelphia that season, loaded with a million and a quarter tons of coal.

"During the agitation of the tariff in 1846, at Washington, it was stated by Mr. Cameron of Pennsylvania, that thirty years ago coal was entirely unknown in this country; yet in 1846 it gave employment to four millions of days' work annually. It kept in movement a thousand ships of one hundred tons each, and afforded a nursery for the training of six thousand seamen, who earned three millions of dollars yearly. It gave circulation to a capital of fifty millions of dollars. It kept in activity fifteen thousand miners, and sustained a mining population of fifty thousand souls, who annually consumed upwards of two millions worth of agricultural production, and more than three and a half millions of dollars worth of merchandise.

"To Pennsylvania (says Professor Taylor) the almost exclusive possession of this species of combustible (anthracite) within reasonable distance of the sea-board, is a boon of inestimable price, which places her in a position of enviable superiority, and baffles speculation as to the point to which it may ultimately elevate her. If such, then, have been the magnificent results, from the development of the coal fields of Great Britain and Pennsylvania, and such the anticipations as to the future, the question occurs, what is the value of the coal fields of North Carolina?

"Their value depends upon their extent, upon the thickness of the beds, the quality of the coal, and the facilities and cheapness of transportation to tide-water, and thence to a market. Professor Johnson has recently returned from a tour of several weeks' examination in the valley of Deep River. He stated that his own observations satisfied him that the coal measures of Deep River extended fifteen miles, and that he had reliable authority for their extension fifteen miles farther. He did not state the width of the measures, as he had not time to examine, except in one place where he had traced the beds on both sides of the river, and where they were from three and a half to four miles

wide. From other sources of information I have no doubt of their greater extension, both in length and width. But, if we take the length to be but thirty miles, and the mean width at three and a half miles, we have an area of one hundred and five square miles.

"The thickness of several of the veins the learned professor stated; none that he examined were less than six feet. Some were of greater thickness, and, in some localities, two or three veins were found underlying each other. Now, if we estimate the area to be underlaid with only one vein, and that vein to be only six feet thick, this estimate would give for the solid cubic quantity in the ground six millions of tons to the square mile. Making allowance of one fifth for waste and faults, the whole available amount would be five millions of tons to the square mile, or five hundred and twenty-five millions of tons for the entire coal area of Deep River. The coal is of three kinds, the highly bituminous, the semi-bituminous, and the pure anthracite, and each kind has been shown by analysis to be among the best coal of its class. In quality of coals the fields of Deep River are unsurpassed; in variety, unequalled by any location in the United States; in quantity, as far as regards all practical purposes, equal to any other. To mine the coal of Deep River at the rate of two millions of tons per year would occupy 262 years, and at the rate of three millions of tons a year, 175 years. The remaining question is, what are the means and cost of transportation to market? The means of transportation are through the slack-water improvement of Cape Fear and Deep rivers. The enterprise of a few individuals, aided by the liberality and wisdom of your Legislature, has opened a pathway to the ocean, which, for extent and capacity combined, surpasses any canal in this or any other country, and at an expense not exceeding four hundred thousand dollars. Compare the canal, as it may without impropriety be called, with the great canals which have been constructed with the view to benefit the coal trade of Maryland and Pennsylvania. The cost of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was upwards of seventeen millions of dollars. It is about the extent of the Cape Fear and Deep rivers—is 60 feet wide, and 6 feet deep, with locks of 16 feet in width, and one 100 feet long. Your canal averages 450 feet in width. The water in the pools is usually from 10 to 15 feet in depth. The locks are 18 feet wide and 150 feet in length. It requires 14 days to go from Cumberland, at the head of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, to Alexandria and return, not including the time occupied in loading and unloading the barges. A steamboat, with her tow of barges, can go from the mines on Deep River to Wilmington, and return, in four days—making a difference of ten days in one trip.

"The expenses of transportation are greater in other respects, as well as in the saving of time, as it regards these two improvements. On the Maryland Canal, animal power is used to draw the coal barges. On the Cape Fear and Deep River improvements, steam-power will be used. From the relative cost of the two improvements, and the means of transportation to be used on them, there can be scarcely a comparison, as to the relative amount of toll, or the expenses of transportation. When at tide-water, at Wilmington, the coal can be sent to New-York at as little expense as from Alexandria. As far, then, as regards bituminous coals, the owners of mines on Deep River need not fear any rivalry from the Maryland mines, or from any other quarter. Nor need the owners of the Maryland mines fear any rivalry from North Carolina. The supply from both, and from all sources within our own borders, will not exceed the demand for that species of fuel, when we take into consideration the rapidly increasing number of river and ocean steamers.

"The case stands somewhat different as it regards the anthracite coals. This species of coal is supposed to constitute the great bulk of the coals on Deep River. The market for this coal is not to the south, but to New-York, and the New-England states. To enable the mine owners on Deep River to compete with the anthracites of Pennsylvania, (which are all the anthracites of any amount in the United States,) they must be able to place their coal at New-York at as low a price as the anthracites of Pennsylvania. It is a saying in England, when a person sends his goods to a market which produces an abundance of goods of a similar character, that he has 'sent his coals to Newcastle,' which, as you know, is the chief mart of the great mining district of England. Pennsylvania is the great mining region of the Atlantic states, the Newcastle of America, and New-York is contiguous to her. Their territories join.

"Their capitals are less than one hundred miles apart, and coal can be transported from the former to the latter city at sixty cents per ton. The question then recurs, can we send the coals of Deep River to the vicinity of Newcastle—to New-York? Upon an accurate calculation, made by intelligent and practical men, I am assured that the anthracite coal of Deep River may be placed alongside of the Pennsylvania anthracites in New-York market, and sold on as favorable terms, provided the former are exempt from the onerous tax of pilotage, to which they are now liable. The coals which go from Pennsylvania to New-York, pass through the Morris and Raritan Canals, and are not subjected to fees for pilotage. The coals which pass down the Delaware and Hudson Canal to New-York, are also exempt from any charge of pilotage.

Vessels coming into the Delaware River to load with coal, are also exempted. The fees for pilotage in coming into Cape Fear, over either bar, and going up to Wilmington, amount, upon a vessel of one hundred tons burthen, to about forty dollars, which is a tax of forty cents upon each ton of coal she may carry. If this tax is laid upon the coals of Deep River, they will arrive at New-York taxed with a duty that will disenable them to compete with the coals of Pennsylvania. A tax of forty cents a ton upon a million of tons would amount to four hundred thousand dollars, and is a greater profit than any mining company has ever made, or can make. The boast that the Slack Water Improvement of Cape Fear and Deep rivers affords a cheaper transit to the ocean than any other improvement in this country, of the same length and capacity, would be entirely fallacious with the burthen of pilotage on coal, as forty cents added to the anticipated toll of eight cents, would make the tolls greater than on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, or on any one of the Pennsylvania canals. Whether the vast mineral treasures of the valley of Deep River shall be developed, depends upon the view which the people of North Carolina shall take of this momentous subject. When I consider what Maryland and Pennsylvania have done to foster and cherish their great mineral interests, and the magnificent results which have followed the exercise of that parental care, I cannot for a moment doubt as to the course which North Carolina will pursue regarding her great interests. That you may have an adequate impression of the value in which the mining interests of Maryland and Pennsylvania are held in these commonwealths, I will briefly state what each has done for their advancement.

"The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was constructed at an expense of seventeen millions of dollars. Individual exertions proving unavailable, the states of Maryland and Virginia lent their aid by subscribing money and guaranteeing the bonds of canal directors. All these combined exertions proving insufficient, the state of Maryland waived its priority of lien, for the payment of its advances, and foreign capitalists came to the rescue, and by their aid that great work was completed, and with the sole object to open a path to the ocean for the coal of the Cumberland mountains. In Pennsylvania, since the year 1821, more than six hundred miles of canal, and four hundred and fifty miles of railroad, have been constructed, by state and individual enterprise, almost entirely for the benefit of the coal trade, and at an expense of more than thirty-eight millions of dollars. The results have shown the wisdom of those gigantic expenditures. That as great results will follow from the development of the coal mines of Deep River, no well-regulated mind

can doubt. It is a law of philosophy, that similar causes will produce similar effects, and I am yet to be informed that this law does not hold good to the south as well as to the north of Mason & Dixon's line. If, in Pennsylvania, cities have sprung up, under the influence of the coal trade, with a suddenness that reminds one of the fable in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, where palaces were built in a single night by the magic influence of the lamp of Aladdin, why may we not expect to see the borders of Deep River, within a very few years, inhabited by a dense population, and adorned with flourishing villages and cities, and Wilmington, with her increased commerce, approximate to the wealth and splendor of Philadelphia? That similar results will follow from the development of the mineral riches of Deep River, is as certain as the law of cause and effect. That they will follow more rapidly than they have done in Pennsylvania, is equally certain.* Pennsylvania, at the commencement of her mineral operations, had to contend with prejudices as to the use of her anthracite—prejudices which experience has conquered, and you will not have to overcome.

"In eight years from the opening of the Pennsylvania mines, she had sent to market less than two hundred and fifty thousand tons. A greater amount can be sent from Deep River in two years from the opening of her navigation. It was twenty-two years before Pennsylvania had sent to market in any one year a million of tons. Deep River can send that amount within five years. If capital and enterprise will do for North Carolina what they have done for Pennsylvania, then will the future progress of North Carolina be more rapid than has been the past progress of Pennsylvania. In Pennsylvania the soil and climate are against her; in North Carolina they are in her favor.

"The navigation of Cape Fear and Deep

rivers is never interrupted with ice. The canals of Pennsylvania are frozen up four months in the year. During that period, the bituminous coals of Deep River can go north, or seek the more profitable markets of Charleston, Savannah, Texas, Mexico, and the West India Islands. Another advantage in favor of North Carolina, is the natural fertility of her soil, while the coal regions of Pennsylvania are sterile and unproductive in agricultural products. Deep River and the adjacent country, with the aid of the fertilizing manures, lime, plaster, and guano, which will form the return cargoes of coal vessels from the north, will become in a few years the NILE OF THE SOUTH. Its products will quadruple, and will find a HOME MARKET on the spot which produces them.

"The iron ore of Deep River forms an important item in this estimate. Iron of as good quality, and in as great abundance as in any country, is found in North Carolina. On Deep River it is in immediate contiguity with the coal. On the land of Peter G. Evans, Esq., the coal is overlaid by a stratum of iron ore, three feet in thickness, which yields fifty per cent. of iron. The coal which underlies it is six feet thick, and of that kind best adapted for the manufacture of iron. The iron, when manufactured, can be transported to New-York at a less cost than it can be sent to the same market from the celebrated works at Danville or Northumberland, on the Susquehanna. It can be also manufactured at less expense, as those establishments pay a higher price for their coal than it can be procured at on Deep River. At Danville and Northumberland, the coal costs \$2 50 a ton. On Deep River it can be had for the price of mining it, as those who own the iron own the coal. But the iron need not be sent abroad for a market. There is a better market at home. The time will undoubtedly come, when the manufactures of iron on Deep River will supply the wants of a large extent of country beyond the limits of North Carolina.

"The water-power on Deep River is scarcely equalled in any part of our country. In cheapness, it is unrivalled. Dams, which, in most situations, are expensive structures, are here already built without charge to the owners of the adjacent lands. Eighteen of these are already constructed by the navigation company of Deep River. *Such are the prospects of the valley of Deep River.* And in view of them, can the most skeptical doubt of the *magnificent future* of that favored region? or that the progress of population and improvement will advance with a more rapid pace than it has ever done in Pennsylvania? Should foreign capitalists hereafter be induced to associate with your people in developing the treasures of Deep River, its coal, iron, and other minerals, the present holders of the land will part with their interests upon the

* The wonderful rapidity with which villages and cities have sprung into existence in the mining districts of Pennsylvania, may be instanced in the cases of Carbondale, Honesdale and Pottsville, among hundreds of others. In 1828, there was but one building on the site of Carbondale, and that a log tenement. In 1845, it contained a thriving and industrious population of 3,500, occupying good buildings. Honesdale was covered by the primitive forest in 1828; in 1845, it contained a population of from 2,500 to 3,000 persons. And all this prosperity arose from the mining of less than three and a half millions of tons of coal. The same amount mined on Deep River would produce necessarily the same results. In 1825, commenced the first mining operations of Schuylkill county. In 1841, the central town of Pottsville, originating at a later date than we have quoted, contained the following establishments for the education of the children of the miners and new-settled residents: Six private schools, numbering 479 pupils; eight public schools, numbering 472 pupils; eight Sunday schools, numbering 1,137 pupils; teachers, 166; total, 2,454, with a library of 1,659 volumes. Pottsville now contains a population of nearly fifteen thousand.

full knowledge of their value; and the capital that may find its way thither, from other regions, will form part of that fund which is to contribute to the support of your state government; and the laborers, mechanics, and tradesmen who may accompany or follow it, will mingle with your people, become identified with your interests, and add to the wealth, population, and strength of your native state."

NORTH CAROLINA.—ITS RESOURCES, MANUFACTURES, ETC.—Alexander McRae, Esq., President of the North Carolina Railroad Company, was kind enough to furnish the following paper, prepared with some pains at our particular request. General McRae complains of his having been baffled in obtaining information from most of the sources to which he had written, and that "he gives these detached items, since there is no possibility of making up a full and correct table."

In the state of North Carolina there are at present in operation (1847)

25 Cotton factories,* running 48,000 spindles,† and 438 looms, employing 1,323 hands, and using about 5,600,000 pounds of cotton. The capital invested in these factories is about \$1,200,000.
 8 Furnaces for cast iron.
 43 Bloomeries.
 2 Paper mills, producing in value \$8,775.
 323 Flouring mills, producing 87,641 bbls. of flour.
 2,033 Grist mills, and 1,060 saw mills.
 46 Oil mills.
 353 Tanneries, producing 151,082 sides of leather, and employing a capital of \$271,797.

In the fisheries on Albemarle Sound, the capital employed is estimated at \$300,000. There are employed in these fisheries 5,000 hands, who put up about 90,000 barrels of herrings, besides a considerable quantity of shad and rock-fish.

These fisheries give employment to 200 vessels, and use 100,000 bushels of salt.

PRODUCTS OF NORTH CAROLINA.

1,960,855 bushels of wheat.
 3,574 " barley.
 3,193,941 " oats.
 213,971 " rye.
 15,391 " buckwheat.
 23,893,763 " Indian corn.
 2,609,239 " potatoes.
 2,820,388 pounds of rice.
 16,772,359 " tobacco.
 51,926,190 " cotton.

17,163 pounds of sugar.
 3,014 " silk cocoons.
 102,369 tons of hay.
 9,880 " hemp and flax.

There are 2,802 distilleries, producing 1,051,979 gallons.

MINES.—The state is rich in mines of gold, silver, copper, iron and coal; but it is not possible at present to obtain any thing like correct statistics of their number or value.

In the May number of Commercial Review, 1847, we gave the commerce of Wilmington. It contains 10 steam saw mills, 4 planing mills, 17 turpentine distilleries, with 45 stills.

DISMAL SWAMP CANAL.—There passed through the Dismal Swamp Canal, from North Carolina to Norfolk, Va., from the 1st October, 1846, to the 31st July, 1847, (ten months,)

Building shingles.	20,753,350
Two feet shingles.	732,390
Three feet shingles.	874,310

Total.	22,360,050
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Hogshead staves.	4,881,640
Barrel staves.	284,520
Pipe staves.	90,090

Total.	5,256,350
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Cubic feet of plank and scantling	139,100
Cubic feet of timber.	43,685
Bales of cotton.	3,722
Barrels of fish.	47,386
" naval stores.	30,505
" spirits turpentine.	688
Cwts. of bacon.	4,366
Kegs of lard.	1,299
Bushels of corn.	1,261,099
" wheat.	26,225
" peas.	21,956

The *Newbernian* gives the following in relation to turpentine:

THE TURPENTINE BUSINESS.—We find the impression to be, that about 800,000 barrels of turpentine are now annually made in this state. The estimated value to the makers is about \$1,700,000 annually, and may be \$2,000,000. About four or five thousand laborers are engaged in making it, and perhaps three times as many more human beings are supported mainly from the proceeds of its first sale. It is supposed that there are now in operation about 150 stills, which, at an average cost of \$1,500, with fixtures, shows that there is an expenditure of \$225,000 to begin with in the distilling of turpentine.

NORTH CAROLINA.—She possesses so many advantages of soil and climate, and exhibits so great variety in her natural capacities, that I have deeply regretted that she was so little appreciated and so badly understood. But the present is a most inauspicious period

* And three others in progress of construction.

† This item is no doubt below the mark.

to undertake the subject with any hope of doing justice to its claims. Our information must be derived from census returns, and from the observations of intelligent persons, scattered throughout her limits. As to the former, that of 1840, if it had been taken with accuracy, is now too old to be of much value—especially as, since that time, we have erected many cotton factories throughout the state, of which we have no accurate information, and have made many discoveries in gold mines, and embarked much capital in that branch of business, in regard to which the last census could give no idea. I had determined therefore to wait until the information could be prepared from authentic sources, and something like justice done to the state. I may add, in this connection, that the state is advancing and her prospects are brighter than at any former period. Several works of internal improvement of great importance are now in a course of prosecution, which when completed will exert a most important influence. Of these, the Charlotte and South Carolina Railroad, beginning at Columbia and terminating at this place, is advancing rapidly toward completion, and will bring to the rich valleys of the Yadkin and Catawba the means of immediate intercourse with the city of Charleston. This work will subserve the interests of all that region lying at the base of the Alleghany Mountains and extending eastward to the Yadkin river. I have taken the liberty to inclose to you a report, made some two years since, and written by myself.

The work had its beginning in that feeble effort, and is now placed beyond the chances of failure. The General Assembly of our state at its last session incorporated a company for the construction of a work two hundred and ten miles in length, from this village to Goldsboro', on the Wilmington and Weldon road. This great work spans the finest and most improvable portion of North Carolina—will accommodate a population of three hundred thousand, and bring into immediate connection with the markets of our own state, Virginia, and South Carolina, a country unsurpassed in its natural fertility, in variety of production, in mineral resources and capacities for manufactures. To insure its success, the state has appropriated two millions of dollars toward the enterprise, being two-thirds of the entire capital. At the same session they incorporated a company for the construction of a plank road, beginning at Fayetteville, on the Cape Fear river, and extending to Salisbury, on the Yadkin, in the western portion of the state. The entire stock of this work is now taken, and its construction is in progress. This road will be one hundred and twenty miles in length, and will be the first work of this description undertaken in the south. Of its completion there is no question.

After years of disappointment and inacti-

vity, I trust that the state of North Carolina will yet rise superior to the obstacles which grew out of her inhospitable coast and her inconvenient geography, and march side by side with her sisters in the course of improvement. She has sons within her borders who will not fail in their labors to bring her up to the enjoyment of the highest advantages afforded by the improvements of our times. In this state of things I have thought it advisable to delay the publication of the article you desire. It is probable that I may send you something on some branch of her interest, which may be adapted to the character of your valuable periodical. I have written in great haste, and with the disadvantages of bad materials.—Respectfully, &c.,

JAMES W. OSBORNE.

We make the following extracts from the report referred to by Mr Osborne :

NATURAL ADVANTAGES.—"The counties of Anson, Union, Mecklenburg, Lincoln, Iredell, Rowan, Cabarras, Stanly, and Davidson, have for many years been engaged in the culture of cotton, while the counties of Burke, Caldwell, Catawba, Wilkes, Stokes, and Surry, most of them affording the most productive lands on the upper waters of the Yadkin and Catawba, are finely adapted to the production of Indian corn, wheat, and other grains. To these are added great and undeveloped mineral resources, embracing ores of iron, copper, and gold, scattered over its whole length, and furnishing a new field for capital and enterprise. But if nature has provided it with a rich soil, she seems to have almost exhausted her energies in the amplitude of its facilities for purposes of manufacture. The innumerable streams which flow from the mountain region which lies on the north and northwest—including the two large rivers which receive them—furnish the water power to the hand of the artisan, in a state almost fitted for immediate application. Yet we cannot hide from ourselves the painful conviction that, with all these natural advantages, the interests of our country are rapidly declining, her enterprising citizens have left us in thousands—while those who remain are unsettled, dissatisfied, and preparing to join their predecessors in other spheres, where their energies may have freer scope and their labors be better rewarded."

RESOURCES AND PROSPECTS OF NORTH CAROLINA.—"An allusion has already been made to the natural advantages of western North Carolina for a system of manufactures. Public attention has been to some extent devoted to this subject, and within a few years several factories of cotton have been erected, and all of them are in successful operation. Within the region of country to be benefited by this road, there are seven factories, employing a capital of three hundred thousand dollars,

and consuming not less than five thousand bags of cotton. By giving employment to the poor of the country and furnishing markets for almost every species of agricultural production, they have a most beneficial effect on the prosperity of the communities in which they are situated. This business was originally designed for the home market. But it has been ascertained by the experience of a few years that reliance cannot be placed on that market, and accordingly, most of those engaged in it are directing their attention to the northern cities, where it is found that the fabric of this region compares most successfully with that of the north. These arrangements divest the pursuit of all uncertainty and hazard, and give the assurance that there may be no limit to the quantity manufactured, as there is no boundary to the market to be supplied. But it cannot be expected that a branch of business so important to the welfare of the country can be adopted to any extent proportionate to our abilities and wants, unless we have immediate access to the seaboard. With this desideratum, western North Carolina must become the most important manufacturing region south of the Potomac. The great branches of manufacture—cotton, wool, and iron—entering into the common consumption and founded on the necessary wants of the whole nation, are the great sources of employment and of wealth to the mechanical industry of America. The planting states of the south and southwest, being wholly consumers and not producers of these necessities, are the great markets in which they are sold by the manufacturing states of the north. The vast valley of the Mississippi, gathering to itself year by year the agricultural capital of the south, will continue to afford a demand for the coarser fabrics of cotton, wool, and iron, commensurate with its population and the fertility of its soil. The coastwise navigation from the city of Charleston to the cities of the gulf now affords a speedy and safe communication with that vast region, and railroad communications now in progress must soon place that city in still more advantageous connection with its whole extent. It must be supplied with its implements of husbandry and coarse cotton and woollen goods for the clothing of its slaves. If we be but true to ourselves, this trade will be a source of boundless profit to ourselves. The counties of Lincoln, Catawba, Iredell, Wilkes, Ashe, Surry, and Stokes, abound in iron ore of the purest qualities, and in largest quantities. In all of them, by rude and simple processes, its manufacture has been an object of pursuit. In the counties of Lincoln and Catawba it has resulted in large fortunes to individuals, much to the convenience and benefit of the whole community. But the manufacture of iron has been necessarily limited in its quantity and precarious in its progress, as it has never been designed for

any thing beyond the circumscribed circle of the market, in the vicinity of the establishments. Open up a cheap and rapid communication with the city of Charleston, and millions of dollars may be employed where there are now a few thousand. It will be converted at home into the utensils and implements of husbandry, and be transported in this form to the markets of the world. With the increased supply, it must be cheaper to the purchaser at home, and, at the same time, by the larger quantity sold and the speedier returns of sales, there must be increased gain to the manufacturer.

"But there is another pursuit for which the northern counties of Burke, Caldwell, Wilkes, Ashe, Surry, and Iredell are naturally adapted, to which the attention has never been directed, and, so far as your committee know, a single experiment has not been made. It is the growth and manufacture of wool for exportation. Every portion of the United States, with a similar climate, unless it be similarly cut off from intercourse with the world, has given attention to this subject. It is the obvious pursuit of all mountain regions, and, both in foreign nations and at home, every such country has her class of shepherds, who subsist by this innocent and primitive employment. Thousands of acres of land, well adapted for pasturage, are unappropriated in the mountain regions of North Carolina, and require but little capital and energy to apply them to the use for which they were mainly intended. But, like all cumbrous articles, wool does not bear our costly modes of transportation."

NORTH CAROLINA GOLD MINES.—The editor of the *Ashborough (N. C.) Herald* has recently been making a tour in the gold region of that state. He thus speaks of the Parker mines in Stanly county, which were discovered forty or fifty years ago, and have been worked with various success ever since:

"The gold is principally found in the small streams that flow through the mineral region, or in the low lands adjacent to them, in a stratum three or four feet below the surface. The hills are no doubt rich, but as yet their products have been small, no regular veins having been discovered. The stratum alluded to is dug up and washed in the usual way, by which process gold is found in a granular state. Lumps of considerable size are sometimes found. In 1824, on the lands of Mr. Howell Parker, a lump of four pounds ten ounces, steady weight, was found. In 1838, two lumps were found, one weighing three pounds, the other one pound two ounces. Many large pieces, the weight of which we could not ascertain, have been found in different localities. The gold found in these is very pure, being worth 97½ cents per penny-weight. It is greatly to be regretted that they are not worked on a more extensive

scale, and with means proportioned to the profits which they yield."

"Gold Hill," in Rowan county, the editor describes as "the prince of mines in North Carolina." Discovered by Archibald Honeycutt, Esq., about seven years ago, it has since been the field of extensive and profitable operations. At this place there are three steam engines in operation, which, with the machinery thereby propelled, originally cost not less than \$30,000. These engines are severally rated at forty, thirty, and fifteen horse power, and grind from fifty to one hundred and twenty-five bushels of ore per day, and consume from sixty to eighty cords of wood per month. The three companies at this place have one hundred and sixty laborers in their employ, whose wages range from \$5 to \$40 per month. Experienced English miners, who work under ground, receive \$40 per month; slaves who attend them, \$13.

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.—There is not perhaps in the West a more interesting view than that commanded from the summit of the Capitol Hill, in the city of Nashville. Covering the base of the hill, and crowding to the extremest margin of the business-laden Cumberland, is the city itself, its streets alive with the bustle of an active commerce, and its suburbs literally growing under the eye of the spectator. Surrounding the city with a border of beautiful cultivation, lie extensive and valuable farms, intersected by the numerous turnpikes, which, centering in the city, radiate to opposite neighborhoods; and girdling in all with a quiet security, rise a range of low and pleasant hills, covered with picturesque woods and graceful dwellings. But it is not so much the beauty of the prospect which attracts the traveller's attention. If he has learned any thing of the country through which he has passed, and in the heart of which he stands, he knows that he stands in the midst of an untold abundance—mineral wealth forcing itself through the soil, and that soil ready to meet any demand which agricultural industry may make for produce.

Nashville is situated on the left bank of the Cumberland, on an elevated bluff of limestone. Few towns in the west present a more imposing appearance as the traveller approaches it from every side. The eye is delighted with the number of eminences within the city, some of which are partly covered with the native cedar, clothed in living green, which gives it a cheerful appearance even amid the dreariness of winter.

Around the city are a number of beautiful eminences, commanding an extensive, rich and varied view of the surrounding country, from ten to fifteen miles in every direction; from Capitol Hill, within the city, the eye ranges over a large space, covered with rich farms

and neat country seats, cultivated fields waving with that beautiful specimen of the vegetable world, Indian corn, and that valuable staple, cotton. These, if they do not indicate great opulence, at least bespeak that their occupants are in the enjoyment of competence, which generally produces a greater amount of true happiness than overgrown wealth. The contemplation of such a scene recalls the lines of Moore:

—"If there's peace to be found in the world,
The heart that is humble may look for it here."

We have among us many who are rich, but no *millionaires* who wallow in luxuries, and who look down with aristocratic pride upon those of humbler fortune, and who would, if they could, introduce those distinctions in society that would separate them from the "vulgar herd." There are but few whose actual fortunes would amount to the tenth of a million; they may have more in possession, but that possession is often accompanied by a slight drawback—sometimes called "suspicion of debt."

No town in the great valley of the west enjoys in a greater degree the blessings of health. • Situated about 36 deg. 30 min., it possesses a temperate climate, and from its local position, it is free from fevers which characterize many of the towns of the west, particularly such as are situated upon water courses, and the lands about them subject to inundations. It is true that a small portion of Nashville, at the upper and lower ends, are, in times of high floods, inundated; but these inundations continue but a few days, and sometimes at intervals of several years, and produce no injurious effect upon the health of the town. Although the summer's heat is occasionally oppressive, the winters are mild and moderate. We have not the severe cold of the northern and eastern states, nor the relaxing heat of the south. Some idea may be formed of the healthfulness of the city from the following statement of deaths during the year 1845, which we take from the returns of the sexton of the cemetery, on the books of the corporation, by which it will be seen that the whole number of deaths was 244, in a population of 12,394.

NAVIGATION.—SHIP-BUILDING IN THE UNITED STATES, BUT MORE PARTICULARLY IN THE WEST.—In a recent number of the *Economist* we alluded to the change then about to take place, and which has since occurred, in the navigation laws of Great Britain, and in the operation of the navigation laws of the United States. We also referred to the impetus which that prospective change had given to the ship-building interest of the former country, causing an advance of at least six per cent. in the price of first class ships, with

a prospect of a still further rise. Capitalists were securing whatever ships could be purchased at their prices, and preparations were evidently making for an effort to profit by the repeal of long existing restrictions. The trade and navigation returns of the United Kingdom for ten months, ending November 5th, afford additional evidence of the activity prevailing in that branch of industry, and in other works requiring timber. For the month ending November 5th, the quantity of imported timber, duty paid, was 210,044 loads, against 169,711 loads in the same month of 1848; showing an increase of 40,333 loads in one month.

There exists no doubt of the expectation of British ship-builders and shippers to compete successfully with the ship-builders and shippers of the United States—albeit the effort may prove a splendid failure. The attempt will be made, and it remains for the latter to decide upon the results.

Considering the many obstacles with which the shipping interest of our country has heretofore had to contend, and the steady increase in tonnage and in the effectiveness of our marine, which, notwithstanding, has taken place, we hazard nothing in expressing the opinion that, whatever may be the advantages derivable from the repeal of the navigation laws, the United States will reap her full share.

The tonnage of this country and Great Britain, including steam, compared in 1848, is as follows: British, 3,397,921; United States, 3,581,931. During the past year, according to the *Dry Goods Reporter*, our mercantile marine has yielded up to the California trade a navy of 700 vessels with a tonnage of 240,000 tons. These vessels are nearly all in the Pacific, and are likely to remain there for some time. Hence it is thought that we are not in the most desirable condition to take advantage of the reciprocity system.

To remedy this disadvantage, a resort must be had to ship-building. Even without the California trade, and from the natural increase of business which would arise from the repeal of the navigation laws, and the usual augmentation of trade, we believe that a large increase in our shipping would be required.

Admitting, then, that more vessels will be needed in the commerce of the two countries, the next question to determine is the place of their construction. If British subjects require more ships, and American built vessels can be sold in British ports and registered as ships belonging to that country, as is provided by the existing laws, then, in case we cannot compete in the carrying trade, which no doubt we can, we may, perhaps, find a market there for those vessels which may be constructed at home. If we can build all kinds of vessels superior in every respect to those built in Sunderland, Yarmouth, and other ship-build-

ing cities of England, and afford them at a cheaper rate, what is there to prevent the American ship-building interest from ultimately superseding that interest as carried on in other parts of the world, and especially in England?

It is admitted, even on the part of English ship-masters and carpenters, that American vessels are superior, both in their model and effectiveness, to those of the same class of British construction; and we know that, in cost of material, we have a decided advantage. Every foot of timber used in a British built vessel is imported, and subject, with slight exception, to tariff charges. To these charges add transportation—and the money cost of timber, hemp, &c., necessary for the construction of a perfect vessel very much exceeds the cost of the same in the United States. The *Newburyport Herald*, very excellent authority in such matters, says: "The best ships in England and Scotland cost about \$97 a ton. In the United States our best ships cost about \$65 a ton, ready equipped for sea." This latter statement agrees with information which we have received from an intelligent and practical ship-builder of Newport, R. I. The greatest, and, perhaps, the only advantage which British builders have over us, is in the low rate of interest for which their capital is furnished. A vessel of 500 tons will cost, in England, at the rates given above, \$48,500; the interest on this sum, at 4 per cent., is \$1,940. The same vessel will cost in the United States \$32,500; the interest on which, at 6 per cent., is \$1,950. The British ship-builder, then, for his own use, can better afford to pay \$97 per ton for a vessel than the American ship-builder can pay \$65 per ton. Yet, if the former should attempt to construct vessels for the purpose of selling them in the United States, or in the markets of the world, he would be brought in direct competition with the ship-builders of this country, and could find no purchaser except at a loss. On the other hand, if the American ship-builder takes his vessel to the ports of Great Britain, and sells it at a less money price than it could be built for there, still it yields him a very handsome profit. For instance, the British owner, in order to make sale of his vessel of 500 tons in any market accessible to American enterprise, would be forced to sell at the cost of an American vessel of the same class, or \$32,500, or at a loss of \$16,000. The American owner, however, could take his vessel to a British port, and sell at the actual cost of a British vessel of the same class, and yet make a profit of \$16,000. The advantage, then, of the American ship-builder, under the reciprocity system, is very decided and important. It is an advantage which fully warrants the conclusion that the British ship-building interest must, notwithstanding its present flat-

tering condition, ultimately and speedily succumb to the growing energies and capabilities of America.

In the estimates now made, we have compared British prices with those which obtain in our eastern states, where ship-building is chiefly carried on, and have found results highly favorable to the latter. But there is another picture, upon which we may look with still more satisfaction. The west, the great and illimitable west, with its unmeasured resources, has not yet entered into computation. We turn, therefore, to a comparison of her advantages with those of the east, already enumerated.

For the estimates given below, wherein reference is made to eastern prices, we are partly indebted to Mr. William C. Crandall, an intelligent and experienced ship-builder of Newport, R. I., and partly to the New-York Prices Current.

EASTERN PRICES OF SHIP-BUILDING MATERIAL.

White oak timber per cubic foot.....	20 to 30 cts.
Locust timber per cubic foot, depending on size.....	50 " 100 "
White oak scantling per 1,000 feet.....	\$25 " \$30
White oak plank, 2 inch, per 1,000 feet.....	35 " 60
Masts and spars sixty to seventy feet long, fifteen to twenty inch.....	35 " 50
Masts and spars eighty to ninety feet long, twenty to twenty five inch.....	75 " 150
Hemp per ton of 2,240 lbs....	150 " 160

PRICES OF SHIP-BUILDING MATERIAL ON THE LOWER OHIO.

White oak timber per cubic foot	5 to 10 cts.
Locust timber per cubic foot, depending on size.....	16 " 32 "
White oak scantling, depending on size, per 1,000 feet.....	\$10 " \$15
White oak plank, two inch....	10

Masts and spars from Salt River, Ky., and from the Alleghany, Kanawha, and Cumberland rivers, can be furnished at less than one-half their eastern prices.

Hemp can be afforded here at prices varying from \$70 to \$100 per ton, of 2,240 pounds.

We have also other timber, such as poplar, chesnut, and black walnut, and at corresponding prices. We have soft iron ore for fastenings, anchors, and cables.

The quality of our timber is excellent. Some of it, growing as it does upon the hills bordering on the Ohio, is pronounced by competent judges to be superior to that which is often used at the east.

By examining the above tables of prices, it will be observed that in cost of materials there enumerated, our advantage over eastern ship-builders varies from 50 to 300 per cent. Added to these advantages is another important item, and one to which we have frequently alluded in our former numbers. Our western rivers afford the finest facilities for conveying large ships to the ocean, and which can be freighted with our own produce, and at our own doors. Even our comparatively small streams in periods of high water are sufficient to float immense navies. Vessels thus loaded can proceed immediately to eastern or foreign ports, where their cargoes may be disposed of at greater profit than could be done were they freighted at New-Orleans, where our western produce is subjected to considerable charges previous to being shipped. Considering the amount of western products which find an outlet to the ocean by way of New-Orleans, it is worthy the attention of shippers and capitalists to investigate, and ascertain the cheapest modes by which it can be accomplished.

To the subject of western ship-building we have but briefly adverted, but in that brevity have endeavored to state some of the facilities and inducements here offered for the prosecution of that species of industry. We have no disposition to deal in exaggerated statements—nor do the real capacities of this western country need them. The west puts forth her claims for the consideration of the laborer and capitalist, unmasked and uncolored. She only stands up before the world and says, "Look at me, and behold my possessions!" This is all that is necessary. Enlightened self interest will make the proper disposition of those possessions. If this be done, in reference to the subject in question, there need be no fears entertained as to the results, and but a short period will elapse before old Neptune will rise from his couch in the deep, and shake his "watery locks" in the wake of those navies which shall go forth from our inland streams to ride less circumscribed upon the bosom of the great waters.

NAVIGATION.—THE MERCHANT FLEETS AND NAVIES OF THE WORLD.

"The armaments which thunder, strike the walls
Of rock-built cities, * * * * *

The oak leviathans whose huge ribs," &c.—BYRON.

Every classical reader will remember that famous catalogue of ships from all countries which Homer furnishes us, before the walls of Troy. After the fame of their deeds and the pomp of the enumeration, we are surprised to reflect that they were but "open row boats or canoes!"

The Greek fleet, 600 years later, at Salamis, was but half-decked; the soldiers being sta-

tioned on platforms at each extremity, and the middle of the frail boats was left open for the rowers. The vessels composing the expedition of Nearchus into India, long afterwards, were row-galleys, capable of being hauled up on shore with convenience, and not comfortable enough to allow the mariners to remain two consecutive nights on board!

The Romans began to build their navy on the model of a Carthaginian ship thrown upon their shores; and the vessels were of so large a size when Julius Cæsar invaded England, that they could not approach near enough to the shore for the soldiers to disembark; "but they were obliged to jump into the water, which was breast high."

The northern Sea Kings, who spread such terror over Europe after the downfall of the Roman power, covered every sea with their fleets, which had no other guides than the sun by day and the stars by night. Their vessels are described as large flat-bottomed boats, of light timber, the sides and upper works of wicker, with a covering of strong hides. They were transported on wagons from one river to another. It can scarcely be credited that these vessels were used on such perilous voyages.

But we have not time nor space to follow with particularity the slow progress of naval and maritime architecture from these rude beginnings. It would, without doubt, be a most interesting study.

Our purpose is now to take up the leading powers of the world, and exhibit their respective naval and maritime strength, by a consultation of the best and latest authorities within reach.

1.—GREAT BRITAIN.

"Look at the already immense number of powerful steam-ships that swarm in the waters of the Mediterranean, and enter every port upon its beautiful shores; that are found careering in every sea of Europe, from the Frozen Ocean to the Bay of Biscay and the Black Sea; that have long since driven every other mode of transit out of the Euphrates and the Red Sea; that penetrate the Indus almost to its source; that ascend the Canton river, in spite of every obstacle, besides myriads of war-junks, and batter down the walls of the ancient celestial cities; that are surrounding every island and entering every harbor in the West Indies; that swarm along the shores of North America, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Isthmus of Darien; and that regularly transmute the rich produce of the mines of South America, from all its principal ports on the east and west side to the great commercial metropolis of the world—crowded, busy London. Look at all this, and see what an element she has to sustain her in her onward march for empire. At no

period did Great Britain possess such a foundation for naval strength within her bosom as at present. She now possesses 3,500,000 tons of shipping, and numbers 160,000 seamen in her commercial navy, while a fleet of 700 steamboats (more than is possessed by all the rest of Europe) prowls along her shores.*"

In 1793, the British navy consisted of 153 line of battle ships, hulks and vessels on the stocks.

LINE OF BATTLE SHIPS OF ALL NATIONS, 1793.

France	86
Spain.....	68
Russia.....	36
Holland.....	28
Denmark.....	24
Portugal.....	13
Turkey, Naples, and Mediterranean powers	13
Britain.....	153

Or, a little more than one half possessed by Great Britain. In 1844, Britain possessed nearly as many such ships as all the rest of the world together.

LINE OF BATTLE SHIPS, 1844.

France	45
Russia	50
Egypt and Turkey.....	19
America	10
Naples.....	1
Holland.....	8
Spain.....	3
Portugal	2
Denmark.....	6
Sweden.....	10
Britain	125

ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESSIVE INCREASE OF THE ROYAL NAVY, FROM HENRY VIII.'S REIGN TO THE CLOSE OF THE LAST WAR, 1814.

Year.	Ships.	Tons.	Men voted.	Navy estimates.
1521..	16	7,260	—	No account.
1578..	24	10,506	6,700	—
1603..	42	17,055	8,346	—
1658..	157	57,000	21,910	—
1688..	173	101,892	42,000	—
1702..	272	159,020	40,000	£1,056,915
1760..	412	321,134	70,000	3,227,143
1793..	498	433,226	45,000	5,525,331
1800..	767	668,744	135,000	12,422,837
1808..	869	892,800	143,800	17,496,047
1814..	901	966,000	146,000	18,786,509

In 1814, Great Britain had 901 ships, of which 177 were of the line; and in 1830, 921 ships.

* We are indebted for these facts to the able work of P. L. Simmonds, Esq., of the Colonial Magazine of London.

NAVIGATION—MERCHANT FLEETS AND NAVIES.

BRITISH NAVY, 1816.

	At sea.	In port.	In commission.	In ord'y & rep'g.	Build'g.	G'd ships.
Ships of the line..	12	11	29	130	18	2
From 50 to 44 guns.	2	3	5	19	—	—
Frigates.....	32	7	40	88	9	1
Sloops, &c.....	14	6	20	24	1	0
Brigs.....	46	17	63	117	5	0
Cutters.....	3	1	4	2	—	0
Schooners.....	3	4	7	5	—	0
Bombs.....	—	—	—	6	—	0
Hospital ships, &c.	—	—	—	—	—	4
Grand total.....	112	49	168	391	33	7

The expenses of the navy for the year ending 5th July, 1843, were £6,557,201.

BRITISH NAVY, 1842.

	In Ordinary.—No.
First Class.....	16
Second “.....	15
Third “.....	46
Fourth “.....	33
Fifth “.....	64
Sixth “.....	10
Sloops.....	8
Brigs.....	15
Packets.....	11
Cutters.....	6
Steam Vessels.....	16
	240

In Commission.

	No. ships.	Men.
First Rates.....	2	1,950
Second “.....	6	4,700
Third “.....	7	4,500
Fourth “.....	8	3,801
Fifth “.....	12	4,000
Sixth “.....	14	2,990
Sloops.....	41	5,458
Steam Vessels.....	66	3,666
Gunboats.....	39	1,602
Packet Brigs.....	7	308
Surveying Vessels.....	14	1,014
Yachts.....	3	289
Stationary Ships.....	14	5,368
	233	39,646

We shall now draw for the remainder of our paper upon official documents, presented in 1846, by Mr. Bancroft, to the Senate of the United States. They were prepared by a Board of Naval Officers, and embrace all the nations of the world.

NAVAL FORCE OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1846.

	In Commission.		Building.		In Ordinary.		Total.
	No.	Guns.	No.	Guns.	No.	Guns.	
Ships of the line.....	17	1,570	23	2,124	75	6,258	115
Frigates.....	32	1,146	15	498	73	3,066	120
Sloops, brigs, and bombs.....	71	856	21	305	40	521	132
Schooners, cutters, tenders, and ketches.....	33	66	—	—	6	18	39
Steam frigates.....	6	60	12	120	4	40	22
Steam sloops.....	54	270	20	100	6	30	80
Steam packets.....	21	42	3	6	—	—	24
Other steamers.....	9	18	6	12	—	—	15
Transports and troop-ships.....	5	70	—	—	—	—	5
Receiving ships, coastguards, & other non-effective vessels, as coal depots, convict hulks, &c., employed in service connected with navy.....	84	485	—	—	—	—	84
Total.....	332	4,583	100	3,165	204	9,933	636

The official list numbers 671 vessels, but names only 636; whole number of guns to 636 vessels, 17,681; number of men in the navy, 27,500; boys, 2,000; marines, 10,500—total 40,000. Revenue vessels, 72, mounting 144 guns; British Indian Navy, 1844-45, 36 vessels, of which 22 are steamers—guns 166. Total number of steamers in the English navy, including 35 contract mail-steamers, 199. There are eight East India mail-steamers.

2.—UNITED STATES.

In 1780, a Committee of Congress reported but four American war vessels fit for service.

In 1781, we had but two frigates, the Alliance and the Deane; the former of which, being the sole American war-vessel remaining, was sold at the close of the war. The Algerine depredations upon our commerce in the Mediterranean convinced Congress of the importance of providing a naval armament; and six frigates were authorized in 1794, and also ten vessels to be fitted as galleys. A navy, however, being very unpopular in Congress, and a treaty of peace being made with Algiers, but three of these frigates were completed. In the apprehension of French difficulties in 1798, the President was authorized to build, buy, or hire twelve vessels, of not more than 22 guns each, and the naval

charge was taken from the Secretary of War and given to an independent department. In 1801, a treaty being made with France, the President was authorized to sell all the naval vessels, except the frigates Constitution, United States, Congress, Constellation, President, Chesapeake, Essex, Philadelphia, New-York,

Boston, John Adams, Adams, and General Greene.

From this period, the growth of the navy has been steady, "fighting itself," as it has been said, "into favor," and into its present stature. We now proceed to furnish a few tabular statements.

AMERICAN NAVAL VICTORIES, 1812—1815.*

	Guns mounted.	Killed and wounded.	Captured vessels.	Guns mounted	Killed and wounded.
Essex.....	46	—	Alert.....	20	2
Constitution.....	54	14	Guerriere.....	49	76
Wasp.....	18	10	Frolic.....	22	75
United States.....	54	12	Macedonian.....	44	104
Constitution.....	54	34	Java.....	49	161
Hornet.....	20	5	Peacock.....	22	40
Enterprise.....	—	14	Boxer.....	18	—
Lawrence.....	20	83	Detroit.....	19	7
Niagara.....	20	27	Queen Charlotte.....	17	—
Caledonia.....	3	3	Lady Provost.....	13	—
Ariel.....	4	4	Hunter.....	10	—
Scorpion.....	2	2	Little Belt.....	3	—
Somers.....	2	2	Chippewa.....	1	—
Trippé.....	1	2			
Tigress.....	1	—			
Porcupine.....	1	—			
Peacock.....	20	2	Empervier.....	18	23
Wasp.....	20	26	Reindeer.....	19	67
Wasp.....	20	3	Avon.....	19	43
Saratoga.....	26	57	Confiance.....	39	—
Eagle.....	20	33	Linnet.....	16	—
Ticonderoga.....	17	12	Chub.....	11	—
Preble.....	7	2	Finch.....	11	—
10 Galleys.....	16	6	13 Galleys.....	18	—
Constitution.....	54	15	Levant and Cyane.....	56	120
Hornet.....	20	12	Penguin.....	20	42

UNITED STATES VESSELS, 1799.†

Frigates.	Guns.	Cost.
United States.....	44	\$299,336
Constitution.....	44	302,718
President.....	44	220,910
Constellation.....	36	314,212
Congress.....	36	197,246
Chesapeake.....	36	220,677
New-York.....	36	159,639
Philadelphia.....	32	179,349
Essex.....	32	139,362
John Adams.....	32	113,505
Adams.....	32	76,622
Boston.....	32	119,590
General Greene.....	24	105,492
Washington.....	24	69,024
Insurgent.....	36	96,640

Ships.	Guns.	Cost.
Ganges.....	24	\$80,640
Portsmouth.....	24	59,561
Merrimack.....	24	46,170
Connecticut.....	24	57,260
Baltimore.....	20	56,277

* Seybert. For later statistics, see future volumes.

† Seybert's Statistics of United States.

Guns. Cost.

Delaware.....	20	59,563
Maryland.....	20	70,249
Patapsco.....	20	73,164
Herald.....	18	47,780
Trumbull.....	20	58,494
Warren.....	20	34,702
Montezuma.....	20	55,732

BRIGS: Norfolk, 18 guns; Richard, 18; Augusta, 14; Pickering, 16; Siren, 16; Argus, 16; Hornet, 16.—SCHOONERS: Enterprise, 14; Experiment, 14; Vixen, 14; Nautilus, 14.—GALLEYS, South Carolina, Charleston, Beaufort, St. Mary's, Savannah, Protector, Mars, Governor Davie, Governor Williams.

UNITED STATES NAVY, 1812.

	Guns.
Constitution.....	44
United States.....	44
President.....	44
Chesapeake.....	36
Constellation.....	36
Congress.....	36
Essex.....	32
New-York.....	36
Boston.....	32

unseaworthy {

	Guns.
Adams.....	32
John Adams.....	26
Wasp.....	16
Hornet.....	16
Siren.....	16
Argus.....	16
Oneida.....	16
Vixen.....	12
Nautilus.....	12
Enterprise.....	12
Viper.....	12
Bomb Vessels:	
Etna,	
Vesuvius,	
Vengeance, and	
Spitfire.	

170 Gun-boats.

UNITED STATES NAVY, 1815.

24 ships.....	916 guns
16 brigs.....	236 "
29 schooners.....	94 "
6 sloops.....	23 "
3 ketches.....	—
17 galleys.....	34 "
51 barges.....	84 "
124 gun-boats.....	179 "
5 lighters.....	6 "
2 floating batteries.....	64 "
Total guns.....	1,636

During the war, the Americans lost the following vessels:

Nautilus, 16 guns, taken by Shannon frigate.
Wasp, taken by Poitiers, 74-gun-ship.
Vixen, 16 guns, taken by Southampton, 38 guns.
Chesapeake, 49 guns, taken by Shannon, 53 guns.
Argus, 20 guns, taken by Pelican, 22 guns.
Essex, 46 guns, taken by Phœbe, 53, and Cherub, 28 guns.
President, 53 guns, by Majestic, and frigates
Endymion, Pomone, and Tenedos.
Rattlesnake, 14 guns, taken by Leander, 50 guns.
Frolic, 18 guns, taken by Orpheus frigate.
Viper, taken by Narcissus frigate.
Brig Siren, taken by Plantagenet, 74 guns.
Adams, 32 guns, destroyed to save from enemy.
Boston, 32 } destroyed by order of Se-
New-York, 36 } cretary of Navy, when
Argus, 13 } the British were about
Columbia, 44 } entering Washington.

AMERICAN NAVY YARDS.

"The navy yards of the United States,* like those of Britain, are 7 in number, viz, Ports-

mouth, in New-Hampshire; Charlestown, near Boston, Massachusetts; Brooklyn, New-York; Philadelphia; Washington; Gosport in Virginia; Pensacola, Florida.* None of these, however, are so extensive, so well furnished and stored with the muniments of war, so efficiently kept up, or so conveniently situated on the sea-coast, as are our Portsmouth, Plymouth, Pembroke, and Sheerness yards. The Americans have also commanders of naval yards located at Baltimore and Charleston, two leading ports, but there are no regular government establishments or conveniences for building and repairs in those harbors.

"PORTSMOUTH.—This dock-yard is situate at Navy Island, on the east side of the river Piscataqua, three miles from the ocean. There is every convenience for the construction of vessels of the largest class. The harbor of Portsmouth is a fine one, with forty feet of water in the channel at low tide, and is well protected by its islands and headlands from storms. The tide, which here rises ten feet, flows with so rapid a current as to keep the harbor free from ice.

"BOSTON.—The navy yard of this port is situated at the southeast part of Charlestown, about a mile to the north of the city of Boston. There is a dry dock built of hewn granite. The yard covers sixty acres of land, on which are erected a marine hospital, a spacious warehouse, an arsenal, powder-magazine, and a house for the superintendent, all of brick; there are also two immense wooden sheds, under which the largest vessels of war are built.

"BROOKLYN.—The naval yard, situated on Wallabout Bay, covers forty acres of ground, inclosed by a brick wall on the land side, and contains two large ship-houses, seven extensive timber sheds, built of brick, and several workshops, offices for the officers, and extensive store-houses; a dry dock is in the course of formation. The yard is but a short distance from the city of New-York; the width of the ferry is about 700 yards. The naval hospital occupies a commanding eminence half a mile east of the yard, and is a large building surrounded by thirty-three acres of cultivated ground, inclosed by a brick wall.

"PHILADELPHIA.—This naval yard requires no observation. We may, however, remark, that there is in that city a handsome naval asylum or marine hospital, capable of lodging 400 persons, erected at a cost of upwards of \$300,000

"WASHINGTON.—The navy yard is situated on the Anacosta or eastern branch of the Potomac, 295 miles from the ocean by the course of the river and bay. It is about three

* We extract from Simmonds' Colonial Magazine.

* Also add Charleston, S. C., and Memphis, Tenn., where works, &c., exist.

fourths of a mile southeast of the capital, and contains twenty-seven acres. It has houses for the officers, shops and warehouses, two large ship-houses, a neat armory, and every kind of naval stores. Several ships of war, some of which were of the largest class, have been built at this yard. The river has water of sufficient depth for frigates to ascend to the navy yard without being lightened.

"**NORFOLK.**—The extensive naval yard at this port is situated at Gosport, opposite to Norfolk, on the south side of the river Elizabeth, thirty-two miles from the ocean. This yard possesses a large and extensive dry dock, constructed of hewn granite, capable of receiving a line-of-battle ship, and which cost nearly \$1,000,000. The harbor is safe and capacious, having eighteen feet of water.

"**PENSACOLA.**—The United States navy yard here is an important one, distant eight miles from the city, and five from the entrance of the harbor, and covers nearly eighty acres of ground, inclosed by a high brick wall. It contains houses for the officers, and a naval store and other buildings adapted to the convenience of the establishment."

NAMING AMERICAN NAVAL VESSELS.

"There is a matter connected with the naming of American vessels, which may be incidentally adverted to, for the information of professional men: it is this:—A joint resolution of Congress, of 3d March, 1819, requires vessels of the first class to be called after the *states* of the Union; those of the second class after *rivers*; and those of the third class after the principal *cities* and *towns*; but no two vessels in the navy can bear the same name."

3.—THE FRENCH NAVY.

France had, as early as 1681, 60,000 seamen, and in 1791, 100,000, commanding 82 ships of the line and 73 frigates.

FRENCH NAVY, 1839.

Ships of the line, first rates.....	5
" second rates.....	1
" third ".....	7
" fourth ".....	9—22
Frigates, first class.....	12
" second class.....	12
" third ".....	13—37
Steamers, from 4 to 6 guns.....	25—25

NAVAL FORCE OF FRANCE, 1845.

	In Commission No	Guns	Building No	Guns	In Ordinary No	Guns	Total Ships
Ships of the Line.....	17	1,598	25	2,442	4	340	46
Frigates.....	23	1,184	16	810	6	310	45
Corvettes.....	17	444	3	90	6	124	26
Brigs.....	34	464	2	40	21	270	57
Schooners, cutters, and small vessels.....	37	122	2	12	8	20	47
Transports, &c.....	33	132	10	40	14	56	59
Steam frigates.....	5	78	2	12	—	—	7
Steam corvettes.....	8	62	9	54	—	—	17
Smaller steamers.....	41	209	3	15	—	—	44
Total.....	215	4,293	72	3,515	59	1,120	346

Total guns when all armed, 8,928; men and boys in service in 1845, 27,554. Cannon and powder for service, manufactured at government foundries, &c. The Minister of Marine proposed to increase the navy to the following maximum: 40 ships of the line; 20

to be always ready for sea, and 20 in construction; 50 frigates, of which 40 to be ready for sea, and 10 on stocks; 60 sloops, 60 brigs, and 40 lighter vessels, besides transports. The steam navy to be composed of 100 vessels in all.

4.—NAVAL FORCE OF RUSSIA.

Nicholas has kept a constant eye upon his naval affairs, and has, within fifteen or twenty years, created two large fleets in the Baltic and on the Black Sea.

	Vessels	Guns	No of guns in vessels
Ships of the Line in Baltic.....	30	2,400	Estimated 80 guns each
Frigates in Baltic.....	20	840	" 42 "
Sloops, brigs, and gun boats in Baltic.....	40	320	" 8 "
Steamers in Baltic.....	26	104	" 4 "
Ships of the Line in Black Sea.....	17	1,360	" —
Frigates ".....	10	510	5 of 60, and 5 of 42 guns
Sloops and brigs ".....	12	168	estimated 14 guns each
Smaller vessels ".....	18	168	—
Steamers ".....	6	36	" 6 "
The Baltic Fleet has a complement.....			35,000 men
The Black Sea ".....			24,000 "
Total.....			59,000 "
Exclusive of the naval force in the Caspian Sea.			

RECAPITULATION.—(1848.)

Relative naval power of each nation.	In commission		Building, ordinary, &c		Total		No of men	No war steamers
	Vessels.	Guns	Vessels	Guns	Vessels	Guns		
Great Britain.....	†332	4,583	304	13,093	¶636	17,681	40,000	141
France.....	215	4,293	131	4,635	346	8,928	27,554	68
Russia.....	179	5,896	—	—	¶179	5,896	59,000	32
Turkey.....	62	2,636	4	24	66	2,660	26,820	9
United States.....	47	1,155	30	1,190	**77	2,345	8,724	5
Egypt.....	35	1,448	3	312	38	1,760	—	1
Holland.....	48	302	86	1,344	134	1,646	—	4
Sweden.....	†330	660	50	1,196	380	1,856	—	2
Denmark.....	§96	344	12	732	108	1,076	—	—
Austria*.....	74	686	—	—	74	686	—	—
Brazil.....	31	450	11	325	42	775	—	8
Sardinia.....	11	226	4	220	15	446	—	2
Spain.....	21	348	—	—	21	348	—	4
Two Sicilies*.....	17	338	—	—	17	338	—	—
Portugal.....	59	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mexico.....	23	42	—	—	23	42	—	—

I.—COMMERCIAL MARINE, GREAT BRITAIN.

	Steam vessels.	Tonnage	Other vessels	Tonnage	Crews
United Kingdom.....	897	113,232	23,253	2,994,166	170,162
Isle of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man.....	3	445	763	50,226	5,559
Total.....	900	113,677	24,016	3,044,392	175,691

VESSELS ENGAGED IN COASTING AND FOREIGN TRADE, G. B., 1844.

INWARD— <i>Foreign Trade.</i>			Vessels	Tonnage	Crews
British and Irish vessels.....			19,687	3,647,463	195,728
Foreign vessels.....			9,608	1,402,138	76,091
<i>Coasting Trade.</i>					
Employed between G. B. and Ireland.....			10,147	1,349,273	—
Other coasting vessels.....			123,751	9,615,434	—
OUTWARD— <i>Foreign Trade.</i>					
British and Irish vessels.....			19,788	3,852,822	212,924
Foreign vessels.....			9,816	1,144,346	77,109
<i>Coasting Trade.</i>					
Employed between G. B. and Ireland.....			16,948	1,817,756	—
Other coasting vessels.....			128,294	9,877,105	—

The above list includes all the arrivals and departures within the year, including repeated voyages of the same vessels.

In 1838, McCulloch stated the whole number of vessels owned in the British Empire, including plantations:

* Although the whole naval force of these nations has been placed in the column of "in commission," it is probable that a portion of it is "in ordinary," but it is not known what portion. These nations have a few war steamers, but the number is not known.

† Of the 332 vessels in commission, 84 bear but a nominal armament, although, by the official navy list for January, 1846, they appear to be employed in important service—as receiving, coast-guard, and convict vessels, coal depots, quarantine service, &c.

‡ 323 of this number are gun-boats.

§ 86 of this number are men-of-war cutters and gun-boats.

	Vessels	Guns
| Exclusive of sailing vessels in the Indian navy.....	14	106
" steamers in the Indian navy.....	22	60
" contract mail steamers, under control of government.....	(a)26	—
" revenue vessels.....	72	144
Total.....	134	310

(a) 1843.

¶ Exclusive of the Caspian fleet.

No. of vessels. Total tons. No. of guns.

Officers and Men

** Exclusive of United States revenue } 13 sailing.....1,443..... } 61.....769
vessels, consisting of } 8 steam.....3,110..... }

	29,912 vessels	
	2,420,759 tons	
	147,357 men	
In 1844, steam vessels in England.....	679 vessels	
	75,047 tons	
In 1844, steamers in Scotland	137 vessels	
	20,666 tons	
“ Ireland.....	81 vessels	
	17,519 tons	
Guernsey, &c., and Colonies.	91 vessels	
	12,444 tons	

FISHERIES, 1843.

Northern, or Greenland.	16 ships	800 men
Spermaceti whale.....	68 “	2,176 “
Common oil.....	1 “	32 “
	85	3,008

II.—UNITED STATES COMMERCIAL MARINE, 1845.

Estimated number commercial vessels.	19,720
“ tonnage.....	2,416,999
“ men.....	118,600
Of these—	
Registered and in foreign trade..	1,095,172 tons
Enrolled coastwise.....	1,190,898 “
Licensed, under 20 tons.....	32,322 “
Enrolled in cod fishery.....	69,825 “
“ mackerel fishery.....	21,413 “
“ whale “.....	206 “
“ cod, (under 20 tons). ..	7,163 “

Of the registered tonnage, 745 vessels are in the whale fishery, 237,000 tons and 18,625 men; steamboat tonnage, United States, 316,019; tonnage of lakes, 82,933; 474 vessels, 75 being steam.

III.—FRENCH COMMERCIAL MARINE, 1844.

Number of vessels, (mean of two authorities).	73,782
Tonnage.....	839,608
Of which, vessels employed in whale fishery.	29
Tonnage.....	11,903
Crews.....	866

In 1840, the cod-fishery employed 458 vessels, of 54,583 tons; 9,897 men. In coast fishery, also, 5,849 boats, 40,610 tons, 25,000 fishermen; private steamers in 1844, 225.

RECAPITULATION, 1848.

Nations in the order of their commercial importance	No of vessels in comm & fisheries	Tonn	No runs to each 100,000 tons comm
Great Britain.....	23,898	3,007,581	588
United States.....	19,666	2,416,999	97
France.....	13,782	839,608	1,063
Sweden and Norway....	5,450	471,772	224
Holland.....	1,528	241,676	683
Russia.....	Not known	239,000	2,466
Two Sicilies.....	9,174	213,198	158
Austria.....	6,199	208,551	321
Turkey.....	2,220	182,000	1,461
Sardinia.....	3,502	167,360	265
Denmark.....	3,036	153,408	709
Portugal.....	798	80,525	—
Spain.....	2,700	80,000	—
Brazil.....	Unknown	Unknown	—
Mexico.....	Unknown	Unknown	—

BRITISH AND AMERICAN TONNAGE, 1842-51.

The following table shows the amount of tonnage which entered the ports of Great Britain and the United States for ten years:

	UNITED STATES.	
	American	Foreign
1842.....	1,510,111	732,775
1843.....	1,143,523	534,752
1844.....	1,977,438	916,992
1845.....	2,035,486	910,563
1846.....	2,221,028	968,178
1847.....	2,101,358	1,120,346
1848.....	2,393,482	1,405,191
1849.....	2,658,321	1,770,515
1850.....	2,573,016	1,779,623
1851.....	3,054,349	1,939,091

GREAT BRITAIN.

	GREAT BRITAIN.	
	British	Foreign
1842.....	1,680,838	974,769
1843.....	2,919,528	1,005,894
1844.....	3,087,437	1,143,896
1845.....	3,689,853	1,353,735
1846.....	3,622,808	1,407,963
1847.....	4,238,056	1,552,095
1848.....	4,020,418	1,519,046
1849.....	4,390,375	1,680,894
1850.....	4,070,544	2,035,152
1851.....	4,388,248	2,599,988

The above table discloses the fact that in our commercial navy we are but six years behind Great Britain.

NAVIGATION.—VESSELS BUILT IN U. S.

Statement, showing the number and class of vessels built in the United States since the year 1815.

Years.	Ships.	Brigs.	Schooners.	Sloops and Cutboats.	Steamers.	Total No. of vessels.	Total tonnage.	95ths
1815....	136	224	680	274	—	1,314	154,624	39
1816....	76	122	781	424	—	1,403	131,668	04
1817....	34	86	559	394	—	1,073	86,393	37
1818....	53	85	423	332	—	898	82,421	10
1819....	53	82	473	242	—	850	79,817	66
1820....	21	60	301	152	—	534	47,784	01
1821....	43	89	248	127	—	507	55,556	04
1822....	64	131	260	168	—	623	75,346	93
1823....	55	127	260	165	15	622	75,007	57
1824....	56	156	377	166	27	721	90,936	00
1825....	56	197	538	168	35	994	114,997	25
1826....	71	186	422	237	45	1,012	126,439	35
1827....	58	133	464	241	38	934	104,342	67
1828....	73	108	474	196	33	884	98,375	58
1829....	44	68	455	145	43	785	77,098	65
1830....	25	56	403	116	37	637	58,094	24
1831....	72	95	416	94	34	711	83,967	68
1832....	132	143	563	132	100	1,065	144,39	16
1833....	144	169	625	185	65	1,118	161,626	26
1834....	98	94	497	187	68	957	118,330	37
1835....	25	50	302	100	30	507	47,238	52
1836....	93	65	444	164	124	890	113,627	49
1837....	67	72	507	168	135	949	122,987	22
1838....	66	79	501	153	90	898	113,135	42
1839....	83	89	439	122	125	858	120,988	34
1840....	97	169	378	224	64	872	118,39	23
1841....	114	101	310	157	78	762	118,893	71
1842....	16	91	373	404	137	1,021	179,083	64
1843....	58	34	138	173	70	482	63,617	77
1844....	73	47	204	279	163	766	113,537	29
1845....	124	87	322	341	163	1,035	146,018	02
1846....	100	164	576	355	225	8,424	188,23	93
1847....	151	168	689	392	198	1,598	243,732	67
1848....	254	174	701	547	175	1,851	318,475	54
1849....	198	148	623	370	268	1,547	256,377	47
1850....	247	117	547	290	159	1,360	371,718	54
1851....	211	65	532	336	233	1,367	298,202	60

TONNAGE OF THE STATES.

Statement, showing the amount of Tonnage owned by each state, engaged in foreign and domestic commerce, for the fiscal years 1850 and 1851.

	1850.	1851.
Maine.....	501,424 78	536,114 44
New-Hampshire...	23,096 38	25,427 54
Vermont.....	4,530 35	3,932 31
Massachusetts...	685,442 76	694,402 93
Rhode Island...	40,499 81	38,050 42
Connecticut.....	113,086 78	116,179 85
New-York.....	944,349 20	1,841,013 62
New-Jersey.....	80,300 46	88,895 90
Pennsylvania...	258,939 48	284,373 64
Delaware.....	16,719 57	11,880 83
Maryland.....	193,087 40	204,444 54
Virginia.....	74,266 05	69,769 42
North Carolina...	74 218 49	40,722 17
South Carolina...	36,072 13	44,187 46
Georgia.....	21,690 14	24,185 24
Florida.....	11,272 76	7,042 08
Alabama.....	24,157 60	21,327 08
Mississippi.....	1,827 62	1,404 09
Louisiana.....	250,089 80	253,284 93
Missouri.....	28,907 67	34,065 46
Illinois.....	21,242 17	23,103 45
Kentucky.....	14,820 19	12,937 60
Tennessee.....	3,776 05	3,587 67
Ohio.....	27,146 54	58,352 24
Michigan.....	38,144 49	41,774 86
Texas.....	3,897 42	4,913 16
California.....	17,591 77	58,476 02
Wisconsin.....	—	2,946 10
Dis. of Columbia.	17,010 61	22,903 45
Oregon.....	1,063 48	1,068 43
Total.....	3,535,454 23	3,771,439 43

Steam Tonnage of the U. S. in 1850 and 1851.

	1850.	1851.
Steam registered tonnage.... tons.	44,942 25	62,390 13
Steam enrolled and licensed.....	481,004 65	521,216 87
	525,946 90	583,607 05
Increase.....		57,760 10

Comparison of Tonnage for 1850 and 1851.

	1850.	1851.
Registered tonnage.....	1,585,711 22	1,726,307 23
Enrolled and licensed.....	1,949,743 01	2,046,132 20
Total tonnage..	3,535,454 23	3,772,439 43

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES—TONNAGE, ETC., OF THE COUNTRY.

Statement, exhibiting the Tonnage of the United States for a series of years; also, showing the comparative increase since the year 1815; and the proportion engaged in the foreign, whaling, and coasting trade.

Years.	Registered tonnage.	Enrolled and licensed tonnage.	Total tonnage.
1815.....	834,294 76	513,833 04	1,368,127 78
1838.....	822,951 86	1,173,047 89	1,995,639 80
1839.....	834,244 54	1,262,234 27	2,096,478 81
1840.....	899,764 74	1,280,999 35	2,180,764 16
1841.....	845,803 42	1,184,940 90	2,130,744 37
1842.....	975,358 74	1,117,631 90	2,090,390 69
1843.....	1,009,305 01	1,149,297 62	2,158,601 93
1844.....	1,068,764 91	1,211,330 11	2,280,695 07
1845.....	1,095,172 44	1,321,829 57	2,417,002 06
1846.....	1,131,286 49	1,431,798 32	2,562,844 81
1847.....	1,241,312 92	1,597,732 80	2,839,045 77
1848.....	1,360,886 85	1,793,155 00	3,154,041 85
1849.....	1,438,941 53	1,935,073 71	3,334,015 29
1850.....	1,585,711 22	1,949,743 01	3,535,454 23
1851.....	1,726,307 23	2,036,132 20	3,772,439 43

Proportion of the Enrolled and Licensed Tonnage employed in the

Years	Registered tonnage in whale fishery.	Coasting trade.	Cod fishery.	Mackerel fishery.	Whale fishery.
1815.....	—	435,066 87	26,370 33	—	1,229 92
1838.....	119,629 89	1,041,105 18	80,064 60	56,649 16	5,229 55
1839.....	131,845 25	1,153,551 80	72,258 68	35,983 87	439 69
1840.....	136,726 64	1,176,694 46	76,035 65	28,269 19	—
1841.....	157,405 17	1,107,067 88	66,551 84	11,321 13	—
1842.....	151,612 74	1,045,753 39	54,804 02	16,096 83	377 31
1843.....	152,374 89	1,076,155 59	61,224 25	11,775 70	142 33
1844.....	168,293 63	1,109,614 44	85,224 77	16,170 66	320 14
1845.....	190,695 65	1,190,898 27	69,825 66	21,413 16	206 92
1846.....	186,980 16	1,289,870 89	72,516 17	36,463 16	439 58
1847.....	193,858 72	1,452,623 35	70,177 52	31,451 13	—
1848.....	192,176 90	1,620,988 16	82,651 82	43,558 78	432 75
1849.....	180,186 29	1,730,410 84	42,970 19	73,853 78	—
1850.....	146,916 71	1,755,796 32	85,646 30	58,111 94	—
1851.....	184,644 52	1,896,401 40	87,475 89	59,539 01	—

NEGRO-MANIA.* — **THE NEGRO AND OTHER RACES OF MEN.**—This is too useful a work to be lightly passed over with the short notice we gave it in our December number. A most valuable compilation it is on the subject of the races; a work of which it would be difficult to show all the merits in a review, for almost every line and word of it deserves to be paused upon. It is itself a review of, and selection from, sundry distinguished authors, who have boldly dared to face the storm of fanaticism, and in spite of the almost universal prejudice of the world, to roll back its tide of error, and with the god-like power of intellect to pronounce the almighty fiat. "Thus far, and no farther!" Some names unknown to science are introduced, to prove by arguments of common sense the necessity of those relations which science shows to be inevitable.

The author of this compilation makes no pretense to originality, but his work is not therefore the less meritorious, and perhaps it is even the more useful, as he has in many of his authorities given such names as only the grossest ignorance can refuse to bow to. A collection of judicious selections, judiciously commented upon, forms in itself a volume of infinite value; and while we disclaim the ability of laying before the public, in a short review, all its merits, we are anxious, as far as we can, to draw popular attention to it. The aim of our author is to *popularize* his subject, to make attainable to the every-day reader the results of learned investigation, and to let every man find within his reach a compendium of such authorities as he often could not afford to purchase, or may not have leisure to study in full. Most warmly do we wish him success in his experiment, and most heartily recommend his work to all. It is time that the subject should be investigated in all its bearings.

Among the authors cited by Mr. Campbell, we find advocates both for the unity and the diversity of man's origin. Prichard, &c., have been boldly quoted, while Morton, Lawrence, Knox, Smith, Browne, Gliddon, &c., are called upon, and most triumphantly, to prove the fallacy of their conclusions. Many strong names which the author might have summoned on his own side of the question, he has (partly perhaps from superabundant material) left aside. From among ourselves, Nott—no mean authority—should perhaps not have been entirely forgotten; but such oblivion may well be pardoned in consideration of what he *has* given us, and he has from a very proper motive drawn his resources less from southern men than from Englishmen and northerners, among whom certainly no one

can look for any weakness or bias towards our southern institutions, in the decision of a question which is of such vital importance to *us*. It is singular, however, that the great Agassiz should not have been named by him. The opinions of Mr. Agassiz upon this subject are well known, and it shows the richness of material—the overwhelming mass of proof, that such a supporter could be dispensed with.

Our author enters only incidentally upon the question of the origin of the races, and rather turns the force of his argument to prove their inequality. The races exist, and exist with different powers, different instincts, and different capacities. These differences are inalienable and unchangeable. Such are, in few words, the propositions of his argument, and every authority quoted (even that of Prichard, the principal upholder of the unity theory) tends to confirm this position. Whenever and however men have appeared upon this earth, (we, in common with our author, consider the diversity of origin proved beyond dispute,) here they now are—unlike in all things—with the marks of race stamped inefaceably upon them, in body and in mind; in form, color, instinct and reason—differing in all, and having differed, as is most indisputably proved by historical monuments, for 4,000 years, and by every philosophical deduction must continue so to differ. Man's handiwork will scarce bring about a revolution in despite, as Carlyle would say, "of the immortal gods." Should he try to force it, forgetting the necessary conditions of his existence, "which Nature and the Eternal Powers have by no manner of means forgotten, but do, at all moments, keep in mind, these, they will at the right moment, with due impressiveness, perhaps in rather a terrible manner, bring again to our mind also."

The highest capacity of man, and its noblest use, is the discovery and execution of the Almighty behests,—thus enabling him to second instead of opposing the beautiful order of God's developed thought in creation. If the negro be an inferior man, the struggle against God's will, which aims at putting him upon the same footing as the superior, is only not an impious work, in so far as it is a blind and a foolish one. Folly, unfortunately, often leads to consequences fatal as vice, and there is nothing more mischievous than active ignorance. In the fanaticism which now actually desolates some of the most favored and beautiful parts of our globe, threatening others even at the risk of dragging to earth the high-reared monuments of man's civilization, we find vicious malevolence and ignorance combining their power to raise some higher law than any which God has sanctioned; and because the black man cannot reach the level of the white, they would even drag down and degrade the white to *his* capacities.

* **NEGRO-MANIA**: being an examination of the falsely-assumed equality of the various races of men. By John Campbell. Philadelphia: Campbell & Power. Octavo, pp. 549.

Can it be that in an age when science walks abroad, astonishing the world by a progress hitherto unequalled in her annals—when no longer, with snail-like advance, she labors the ascent to knowledge, but rather leaps forward to her magnificent conclusions—when she girdles the world with steam, and flashes her lightning thought, even with lightning speed, through the expanse of a continent—when we see her votaries, (in the eloquent language of Professor Lieber,) “like priests of nature, revealing her great mysteries and showing thought,—one thought,—the thought of God, pervading the universe and its phases”—oh! can it be that this is to be swept aside, or rather crushed down to the level of a Haytien civilization? Can it be that the great *one thought*, that *thought of God*, so beautifully pictured out even in the lowest, as in the highest of his works, is to be tinkered at and defaced, patched and plastered, by a set of madmen, whose one idea seems to be built upon some whining, Wilberforceian, Clarksonized wail of “black brethren” and “negro improvement?” Verily, nature “suffereth long and is kind,” or, ere this, had her curse fallen upon us. We struggle against her, we fiercely resist her teachings, and fancy that these poor heads of ours—to say nothing of black Sambo’s and Cuffee’s—can regulate matters by a higher law than hers. But the time cometh when our probation can last no longer. Then, and in “rather a terrible manner,” it is to be feared, we will receive our lesson! Is it not even now, alas, beginning? What is this cry over Europe, echoing even to our own shores? What means this darkly-shadowed caricature of good—this horrible disfigurement of Christian charity—which, but that it stalks in terrible reality before us, would seem like the mockery of some fearful dream? The angel form which we have gazed upon and worshipped as Christian charity and brotherly love, now suddenly starts forth, grinning upon us in hideous deformity of vice, and gibbering out its horrible obscenities of “socialism” and “communism,” drags along upon its track the shouting mob, who, in their ravings for “negro abolition” and “universal equality,” trample under foot at once God’s law and man’s law—virtue and decency. The demon is unchained. This wide-spread and wider-spreading evil figures forth, not badly, the beast of the Apocalypse, unto “whom was given a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies;” “and he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God to blaspheme his name,” “and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.”

The strength of his hideous power is now interesting itself largely in the negro cause; and because the innovators find the impossibility of putting into execution their crude theories among their white brethren, and more nearly equalized population, they, in

their agony for action, look about for something tangible, something less impossible, and fancy that it is found in the abolition of negro slavery. Alas! for the mistaken folly of those who, in thus acting, act sincerely. Their well-meaning and officious ignorance is pushed on by the powerful lever of fanaticism to ends from which they would shrink in affright could they see them in full development; but which, in half-way execution, they rejoice over, as the poor idiot gazes in delighted wonder and warms his fingers by the blaze which is demolishing his dwelling, fancying the while that he has done a wise thing in the application of the spark which has lighted to their destruction his own and his neighbors’ homes.

Alas for their folly! But woe! woe! a woe of darkness and of death! a woe of hell and perdition to those who, better knowing, goad folly on to such an extreme! This is indeed the sin not to be forgiven; the sin against the Holy Ghost and against the Spirit of God. The beautiful order of Creation, breathed down from Almighty intelligence, is to be moulded and wrought by fanatic intelligence! until dragged down at last to negro intelligence!!

The Almighty has thought well to place certain of his creatures in certain fixed positions in this world of ours, for what cause he has not seen fit to make quite clear to our limited capacities; and why an ass is not a man, or a man an ass, will probably for ever remain a mystery to our limited intellects. One thing, however, he has in his mercy made clear enough, viz., that by no manner of education; no stocks, braces, nor regimental drillings; no problems, theories, nor definitions; neither by steam nor by telegraph—neither by mesmerism nor by chloroform, can our unfortunate brother ass, whether mentally or corporeally, be induced to consider himself as a gentleman, and act accordingly. *He*, at least, is not capable of attaining the *white* civilization of this our 19th century. We hope that our philanthropic friends will allow us this. We would fain have some sure ground to stand upon, but do not feel quite certain that they may not come with some new-fangled theory of communism to knock this platform also from under our feet. Believing, however, that (until the spirit of improvement rises a step or two higher) they will allow us our position, we would beg them to instruct us upon what principle of justice this unfortunate brother ass—this hirsute relative—should be so be-devilled and trampled upon. Why should he not lie amidst feathers and velvet, as well as the best in the land. And why, above all, must he help work to make such feathers and velvet comfortable lodgings for his so-called betters?

God given intellect and power to attain, count for nothing in this modern system of arguing. The ass has as good a right to the

possession of intellect as the man; and if God has not given it to him, we must remedy the injustice by some patent "free-and-equal" system. The process is easy enough. If the ass cannot stand on two legs, knock the man down to all fours, (nothing is simpler,) and *vive la fraternité!* Why did not the Almighty save us all this trouble, and make the ass a man, or the man an ass, from the beginning? Truly, 'tis a problem hard to solve, and poor donkey, with his lamentable braying, comes as near an explanation as all our philosophizing can do. God made the world—God gave thee there thy place, my hirsute brother; and according to all earthly probabilities and possibilities, it is thy destiny therein to remain, bray as thou wilt. From the same great power have our sable friends, Messrs. Sambo, Cuffee & Co., received their position also; with which position, allow us to remark, the worthy ancestors of Messrs. Sambo, Cuffee & Co. have continued perfectly satisfied for some four thousand years, (longer, perchance, but records go no farther,) and their descendants would most undoubtedly have so continued; but behold, Satan, as when

"Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve,
Assaying by his devilish arts to reach
The organs of her fancy,"

comes now in the likeness of an "all men are born free and equal" advocate, to raise

"Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires,"

in poor Cuffee's hitherto quiet brain! Alas, "my poor black brother!" thou, like the hirsute, must do thy braying in vain. Where God has placed thee, there must thou stay. "You, Quashee, my pumpkin, (not a bad fellow either, this poor Quashee, when tolerably guided,) idle Quashee, I say, you must get the devil *sent away* from your elbow, my poor dark friend! In this world there will be no existence for you otherwise." To the immortals, perchance, this tempest in a tea-pot, this little hubbub on our little globe, may look trifling enough, they seeing very certainly that at the end of some score of centuries all things will go right again. Quashee will either have gone back to his quiet corner in this world's civilization, or, perchance, have vacated it for ever in favor of some higher claimant. It matters little in all likelihood to the supreme spectators of this world's game, what confusion of checking and check-mating may be going on in our little ant-hill. The thought of God must conquer finally, and the score or so of centuries more or less would be but a moment in its development. But to us, my brothers, and our children these twenty centuries, what are they? White and black, were it not well to think on this a little? Truly to us, my piped brethren of all complexions, this abolitionist Satan is preparing (if so be we chain him not in time) a sorry chase through this world's

existence. Only the hirsute can flourish then; ranging at will through beauteous regions, cast back again to wildness and the desert. There nature's bounty may furnish grass to the hirsute, but, truly, no bread to the piped. Black Quashee cannot understand this; God has not given him the intellect for it; and if we teach him to bray out for liberty, i. e., for idleness, verily it is as easy for him to bray out to that tune, as to any other. But the white man—of what is he dreaming, when he listens even for a moment to such cant? To him God *has* given intellect (would he but use it!) to see the truth. Brother, (for if acting conscientiously, and no devil's firebrand sent by Satan to our undoing, even as a brother, although differing, we hail thee,) brother, thou speakest, perchance, in ignorance. Hast thou ever lived alongside of Quashee? noticed his habits, his mind, his character, his tastes, his virtues and his vices? Clothed him in health, and nursed him in sickness? cheered him in merriment, and comforted him in sorrow? rejoiced with him, and suffered with him? laughed with him, and wept with him? Thou *hast not*; but there be those who have; "go thou and do likewise," and when (if ever) thou dost, *thou wilt cease to be an abolitionist*. The white man, whose heart truly warms to the fate of the negro, would cease to agitate this question in that moment that he would become well acquainted with him, for thus would he learn its utter impracticability. At the hideous thought of amalgamation, even the abolitionist white-blood shudders. The white and the black race can only exist together in their present relations. Abolition is the extinction of the one or the other.

"I to herd with narrow foreheads, vacant of our glorious gains,
Like a beast with lower pleasures, like a beast with lower pains!
Mated with a squalid savage—what to me were sun or clime?
I the heir of all the ages, in the foremost files of time?"

The civilized man must retain his position, or perish.

We beg pardon of Mr. Campbell, however, whom we have, like a garrulous host, kept for a long time, bat in hand, ready to make his bow to the reader, while we, instead of remembering our duty of introducing him, have been prosing away upon his text. Mr. Campbell is, he tells us, a member of the Social Improvement Society of Philadelphia; at divers meetings of which society, "various and talented speakers," (we use Mr. C's words,) *white and black*, joined in the discussion of this question: "Can the colored races of men be made mentally, politically and socially equal with the white?" This is a rather startling outset; and judging from the results usually emanating from such particular associations, our first impulse was to withdraw from Mr. Campbell's extended hand.

Gulping down the doubt, however, we boldly enlist under the motto he adopts—"Prove all things; hold fast that which is good;" and we are rewarded by finding that he honestly and manfully meets the question. Here, then, we have a collection of extracts, selected by a northern man, who has entered freely into the discussion of the subject with minds of all hues,

"Black spirits and white, blue spirits and gray;"

enthusiast and fanatic; whose important scientific authorities are all, without exception, Englishmen or northern United States men. Surely no bias should be here expected in favor of southern United States institutions, and yet a stronger defense of them it would be difficult to find.

In answer to the question, "Can the colored races of men be made mentally, politically, and socially equal with the white?" our author first states the indisputable fact, that never, from the most remote antiquity until now, has there appeared a race of negroes, that is, "men with woolly heads, flat noses, thick and protruding lips, which has ever emerged from a state of savagism or barbarism to even a demi-civilization." "Look to the West Indies, to Brazil, to Australia, to the Gold Coast, to Zanguebar, to Congo, to Senegambia, to Ashantee, nay, to the civilization under his imperial highness Faustin the First, Emperor of Hayti, and answer me, ye Garrisons, and Phillipses, and Burleys, and Folsoms, and Smiths, what has this race done in five thousand years?" To those who advance the argument that the negro has never had an opportunity for development, because the white man has always oppressed him, our author says: "They forget that the latter portion of this proposition refutes the former. If the white man has always oppressed the negro, it goes to establish the fact claimed by me, that the white man is mentally superior, because if the white man has been always powerful enough to debar the negro from improving his intellect, it establishes the complete force of my views: 'that no amount of education or training can ever make the negro equal in intellect with the white.' Knowledge is power; and it is evident to all, that under no circumstances has the negro race ever been able to compete with the white." "We see around us in every direction evidences of the fact, that the negro is naturally inferior to the white; but it is unfair to institute comparisons where this race is held in bondage by the white. We will give them all the advantages of a fair examination. We will travel to that quarter of the globe which seems to be the native land of this race, and to which they appear to be indigenous. We will go where the white man has never oppressed them," and what do we find? "Monumental ruins of Dahomey, forty ages do not look

down upon you! Strewn columns of Ashantee, where shall we find you? Echo answers, 'Where?' Decaying towers of Zanguebar, shall any traveller ever discover your nameless and undiscovered and undiscoverable foundations? Sculptured temples of Guinea, what hierologist shall be able to decipher your extinguished hieroglyphics?" "If only one great negro name could be produced to redeem a whole race, then I will retract all I have ever said of negro inferiority; but this one only name, this *rara avis*, this white blackbird, this phoenix, is not forthcoming. 'You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's lug,' is an old and homely adage, but not the less true; so can you not make any thing from a negro but negroism, which means barbarism and inferiority." "Have the woolly-headed races of men ever produced one, even only one man, famous either as lawgiver, statesman, poet, priest, painter, historian, orator, architect, musician, soldier, sailor, engineer, navigator, astronomer, linguist, mathematician, anatomist, chemist, physician, naturalist, or philosopher?" Not one in the whole expanse of the world's history for 4,000 years; and yet there are men who dare to babble of circumstance, disadvantage, oppression, and universal equality. What might the negro have done, if—and if—and if? What might the jackass have done, if—and if—and if? The proof is as fair in the one case as in the other—the same in kind, differing only in degree. As God made them, so they have been, so they are, and so they will be; the white man, the negro and the jackass, each to his kind, and each to his nature; true to the finger of destiny, (which is the finger of God,) and undeviatingly pursuing the track which that finger as undeviatingly points out. Where rebel reason in its little pride of might would try to change that track, there does the restless vehemence of disorganized nature prove its own avenger. The negro, become master, extinguishes that civilization which his nature abhors, to revel in savagism to which his instincts limit him. Philanthropy or rather philo-donkeyism, has never yet experimented how the ass would act under similar circumstances; but we are fully authorized from logical induction, to conclude that green grass and the wilderness would be the order of the day under his *régime*, and humanity, both black and white, would be fairly kicked out of existence. To the white man, then, the philosopher, poet, orator, historian; to him,

"The heir of all the ages, in the foremost files of time,"

it matters little whether donkeyism or negroism predominate; either to him would be extinction.

To return to the question of inferiority of the negro, we have then, in all honest reason-

ing, the full right to deduce it from constant unvarying, and unstruggling inferiority of position; and the observations of naturalists all go to confirm this position by his anatomical inferiority. Mr. Campbell quotes largely to this effect, and gives us extracts even from Dr. Prichard, acknowledging that by a comparison with the highest of the simia, the chimpanzee and the orang, there is apparent in certain parts of the skeleton "an approach towards the forms of these latter species."*

Lawrence, after enumerating the various points of anatomical difference, continues: "In all the particulars just enumerated, the negro structure approximates unequivocally to that of the monkey. It not only differs from the Caucasian model, but is distinguished from it in two respects: the intellectual characters are reduced, the animal features enlarged and exaggerated." Kuox, of the dark races generally, remarks: "The whole shape of the skeleton differs from ours; and so also, I find, do the forms of almost every muscle of the body." Of the Hottentots, he says: "Their skeleton presents of course peculiarities; such as the extreme narrowness of the nasal bones, which run into one in early age, not unfrequently as we find in apes. But it is the exterior which is the most striking; and this, no doubt, is wonderful. No one can believe them to be of the same race with ourselves, yet unquestionably they belong to the genus man."

The now exploded assumption that the ancient Egyptians were negroes, is met by Mr. Campbell with such a mass of authorities, that we must refer the reader who is curious on the subject to his book. One can but smile in reading them, at the idea that such an error could ever have obtained credence enough to make it worth combating. "Now that we distinguish the several human races by the bones of the head, (remarks Lawrence,) it is easy to prove that whatever may have been the hue of their (the Egyptians') skin, they belonged to the same race with ourselves," "that they formed no exception to that cruel law, (a cruel law which God has made! and shall *we* better it?) which seems to have doomed to eternal inferiority all the tribes of our species which are unfortunate enough to have a depressed and compressed cranium." The great Cuvier had already long before pronounced, that "neither the Gallas, nor the Bosjesmen, nor any race of negroes produced that celebrated people;" and Morton† (a name at which we bow our

heads in sorrow, that so early should have been closed a life whose labors science can ill spare) gives a stream of decisive evidence on the subject. A translation of a deed on papyrus of the reign of Ptolemy, Alexander First, giving a description of the persons, parties to a sale of land at Thebes, describes one of them as of a dark complexion, the remaining five as sallow. The Egyptians themselves, on their monuments, have represented the men red, the women yellow; and both with features entirely distinct from the negro, who appears among them with all the characteristic features of his race, and always in a condition of bondage or inferiority. "Negroes (observes Morton) were numerous in Egypt, but their position in ancient times was the same that it now is, that of servants and slaves." "The hair of the Egyptians resembled in texture that of the fairest Europeans of the present day."

Equally futile, and equally rejected by science, is the assumption that climate or habit of life can account for the differences of race. "The physical or organic characters which distinguish the several races of men are as old (says Morton) as the oldest records of our species." We frequently find one race inhabiting an extent of country which serves at once to prove the irrationality of the conclusion, that climate can have had any influence in stamping upon it its characteristic differences. "The flat face of the Chinese (observes Lawrence) not only extends throughout that vast empire, which covers nearly forty degrees of latitude and seventy of longitude; but also over the neighboring regions of central and northern Asia, the north of Europe and of America, over a very large portion of the globe, including every possible variety of heat and cold, elevation and lowness, moisture and dryness, wood, marsh, and plain. That European Creoles in the West Indies, in America and in the East, have preserved their native features in all instances where no intermixture of blood has occurred, is proved by the uninterrupted experience of the Spaniards, Portuguese and English, who have had foreign colonies in climates most differing from their own, longer than any other nation. The modern Gipseys and the Jews afford examples of peculiar and distinctive casts of countenance being preserved in every climate. Volney has attempted to account for the peculiarities of the negro features in the following whimsical manner. We translate, for the benefit of those to whom the French may not be quite familiar: "I observe that the features of the negro represent precisely the state of contraction which our faces assume when struck by the light and a strong reverberation of heat—then the brow frowns, the ball of the cheek rises, the eyelid contracts, and the mouth draws itself together, (*fait la moue*.) Is it not natural that this contraction,

* Our quotations, let it be understood, are henceforward invariably taken at second-hand from Mr. Campbell. It is our object to show what he has done, and to give his book, as far as in our power, the circulation which it so well deserves.

† It is but justice to this distinguished man to remark, that we have ourselves heard Agassiz (himself the greatest of living naturalists) say, that he was an authority inferior to none in ethnology.

which takes place continually in the naked and hot country of the negro, should become the permanent characteristic of his face?" "Unfortunately (answers Lawrence) for these speculations, the negro features occur in numerous tribes spread over a very great extent of country, with various climates, and in many instances where the heat is by no means excessive; the character, too, is permanent after any number of generations, when the negro is taken into other climes." Blumenbach seriously quotes some wiseacre, even more fanciful than Volney, who would fain account for the flat nose and swollen lips, by the fact that the mothers carrying the children on their backs, "in the violent motion required for their hard labor, as in beating and pounding millet, &c., the face of the young one is constantly thumping against the back of the mother." *Povero Bambino!* one would imagine that thumps violent enough to flatten its poor little nose, must keep the juvenile martyr in a state of constant depletion from that important organ. What, moreover, becomes of this theory in a barbarous country like our own, where, when the mother goes to work, the child is, by order of her brutal master, actually taken from her until her labor is done, and consigned to its cradle, or to the arms of a nurse, who holds it in the ordinary fashion for the carrying of such commodities, while basking in the sun or sitting by a comfortable fire, according to circumstances? Farther—to call in science to our aid—"All the peculiarities of the negro cranium (says Lawrence) exist in the fœtus. The prominent jaws, flat nose, and other characteristics are found as strongly marked in the youngest embryo as in the adult. That climate has no transmissible effect on the skin, is evident from the fact that the children of the husbandman, or of the sailor whose countenance bears the marks of other climes, are just as fair as those of the most delicate and pale inhabitants of a city. Nay, the Moors, who have lived for ages under a burning sun, still have white children; and the offspring of Europeans in the Indies have the original tint of their progenitors. On the hypothesis which assigns the varieties of mankind to the operation of climate as their cause, we should expect to find in Africa all tribes under the equator of the most intensely black color; the tinge should become lighter and lighter as we proceed thence towards the south, and the complexion ought to be white when we arrive at regions which enjoy a European climate. This, however, is by no means the case. The Abyssinians on the east, with dark olive color and long hair, are placed near the equator, and surrounded by negroes. In the same part, also, the Gallas, a great and barbarous nation, having, according to Bruce, long black hair and white skin, verging to brown, occupy extensive regions under the

equator itself. On the other hand, as we proceed from the equator towards the south, through tribes of negroes, we find the black color continue with undiminished intensity. It is known in the West Indies that the Congo negroes, in the blackness of their skin and woolly hair, equal any tribe of Africans. The Island of Madagascar, which is cooled by the mild breezes of the Indian Ocean, and ought, therefore, to continue a white race, has two kinds of natives: one of olive color with dark hair, the other true negroes. When we consider how large an extent of Africa is occupied by the black woolly-haired negroes, and that these regions vary in their latitude, their elevation, and every other point, that they include sandy deserts, coasts, rivers, hills, valleys, and very great varieties of climate, the conclusion that these adventitious circumstances do not influence the color or other properties of the race, is irresistible." Knox says: "My esteemed friend, Dr. Andrew Smith, informs me that he attentively looked at a family descended from forefathers who came to South Africa with the first settlers. Three hundred years then had elapsed since their first arrival. Their descendants at this moment are as fair as the fairest of Europeans." Cases there are of white families, under similar circumstances, being lost to the whites and only known in their negro descendants; but there is abundant proof that this is the result of constant mingling with negro blood until the white has run out; which the commonest observer knows must be the case where the supply of white blood is not constantly renewed. We in the United States of America, whether north or south, seem to be in little danger of changing our skins; and our children are as fair as their Saxon or Celtic ancestors, although occupying the very grounds on which the red man lived and died, leaving his scattered graves as memorials of ages of possession.

The wool of the negro, another mooted point, our author most satisfactorily settles for us, through the minute and learned argument of P. A. Browne. Most unwillingly do we pass over a discussion showing such close research, and so triumphantly carried through. Our bounds will not, however, allow its insertion, and we can only entreat our readers to study it for themselves. The garbled view which our very limited extracts could give would be doing it injustice. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Browne not only proves his point by producing fact upon fact in a way which it is difficult for a candid mind to oppose, but gives us also an insight of the extremely slovenly and careless manner in which Prichard occasionally pushes forward his positions. The covering of the negro head is most indisputably wool. Hair will not felt, but wool will; and the covering of the negro's head will felt—has been felt." With reference to the

color of the skin, which a few lines back we were discussing, Mr. Browne cites the authority of M. Flourens, an eminent French physiologist, who "found four distinct layers between the cuticle and the cutis;" the second of which, he says, is a mucous membrane, a distinct organized body, underlaying the pigment, and existing in persons of dark color only. M. Flourens sought in vain for this membrane between the cutis and outer lamina of the epidermis of the white man; and yet this is the seat of the discoloration produced in his complexion by exposure to the sun. From these examinations this distinguished naturalist and anatomist was able to pronounce definitely that the discoloration in the skin of the white man is totally different in kind from the cause of blackness in the negro, and therefore justly concludes that the negro and European are separate species of beings."

Have we yet given enough proof of difference of race and negro inferiority? Lawrence remarks, that the difference of color "between the white and the black races is not more striking than the preëminence of the former in moral feelings and in mental endowments." The negroes "indulge almost universally in disgusting debauchery and sensuality, and display gross selfishness, indifference to the pains and pleasures of others; insensibility to beauty of form, order and harmony, and an almost entire want of what we comprehend altogether under the expression of elevated sentiments, manly virtues, and moral feeling. The hideous savages of Van Diemen's Land, of New-Holland, New-Guinea, and some neighboring islands, the negroes of Congo and some other parts, exhibit the most disgusting moral, as well as physical portraits of man." And yet, we repeat with Carlyle, "not a bad fellow either, this poor Quashee, when *tolerably guided*." Guidance, however, he does need. Colonel Charles Hamilton Smith, whose predilections are, as Mr. Campbell remarks, in favor of the oppressed and degraded races, who resided long in the West Indies, and continued for years his investigations on the subject of the races, says of the negroes: "War is a passion that excites in them a brutal disregard of human feelings; it entails the deliberate murder of prisoners, and victims are slain to serve the manes of departed chiefs. Even cannibalism is frequent among tribes of the interior. The perceptive faculties of the children are far from contemptible, bearing good comparison with the white, but they drop behind about the twelfth year, when the reflective powers begin to have the ascendancy," and when the mind of the white is just developing itself. Is this not an approach to the state of the brute, whose mind, or instinct—call it as you will—is certainly, in early infancy, more developed than the human being? A lamb, a calf, or a colt of a day or a week old, shows to much greater

advantage than an infant of the same age. "Collectively (continues Colonel Smith) the untutored negro mind is confiding and single-hearted, naturally kind and hospitable. *Both sexes are easily ruled*, and appreciate what is good, under the guidance of common justice and prudence;" but "they have never comprehended what they have learned, nor retained a civilization taught them by contact with more refined nations, losing it as soon as that contact has ceased. Conquest with them has been confined to kindred tribes, and produced only slaughter. Even Christianity of more than three centuries, in Congo, has scarcely excited a progressive civilization. Thus, even the good qualities given to the negro by the bounty of nature, have seemed only to make him a slave, trodden down by every remorseless foot, and to brand him for ages with the epithet of outcast." "And true it is that the worst slavery is his lot at home, for he is there exposed to the constant peril of becoming also a victim, slaughtered with the most revolting torments. Tyrant of his blood, he traffics in slavery as it were merchandise; makes war purposely to capture neighbors, and sells even his own wives and children."

Is the negro made for slavery? God in heaven! what are we, that because we cannot understand the mystery of this thy will, we should dare rise in rebellion and call it wrong, unjust, and cruel? The kindness of nature fits each creature to fulfil its destiny. The very virtues of the negro fit him for slavery, and his vices cry aloud for the checks of bondage. Would it not be more worthy of thinking men, instead of endeavoring to brand with infamy a system so evidently marked out by the finger of God, rather to combine their efforts to make that system what it should be? Instead of driving the slaveholder, by an interference which puts his property and life in danger, to acts of harshness and restraint entirely unnecessary by the laws of nature, would it not be more wise, more human, and more philanthropic to aid in removing obstacles, to soften difficulties, and thus prevent the abuses of a system which, sanctified by the laws of nature, needs but the fair operation of those laws to be like every other result of God's thought, beautiful in the undeviating order of creation? Beautiful it is in its fulfilment; hideous only in the unnatural struggle which, opposing man's law to God's law, rouses the evil passions of men in a vain effort to correct the works of Omniscience. But let us sum up this branch of our subject in the words of Dr. T. D. English, from a letter addressed to the author of "Negro-mania:" "The steady advance of the white species meets with no parallel in the black. The latter has proved itself, when left to itself, to be incapable of progress. Even when taught by a superior species, it soon retrogrades to hopeless barbarism. To give it dominance is

to extinguish agriculture, destroy the mechanic arts, and root out science. Such an apparent exception, as may be seen in Liberia, gladly as the philanthropist may hail it, proves only the power given by the infusion of other blood. The mulattoes there, as here, have the most intellectual force. When these wear out, as they will in time, a recurrence to the characteristics of the predominant original race will reproduce barbarism, unless, indeed, this calamity be averted by a renewed amalgamation. Nor do the isolated cases of negro smartness in this country prove any thing more than the value of a Caucasian admixture. Nature has marked, by unerring lines, the distinction between the species, and her tokens cannot be wiped out, by either the sophistry of the negrophilist, or the cant of the fanatic. The manifest moral, intellectual, and physical inferiority of the negro issues from the decree of God, which no efforts of man can either alter or abrogate. Even modification must be but partial at least. It is the destiny of the negro, *if by himself, to be a savage, if by the white, to be a serf*. He may be a savage in name and in fact, as in Africa, or in fact only as in Hayti. He may be a serf in name and in fact, as in the southern states, or in fact only, as in the northern states; but savage or serf he must be. No man who values himself, who has any regard for sound morality, or who feels any desire to see intellectual progress made certain, can join in the absurd attempt to raise the negro to his own level. A movement for such ends is necessarily impotent, and can only result at the best for the negro in the degradation of the white. Kindness to these unfortunate beings is the duty of every man. They may be styled human beings, though of an inherently degraded species. To attempt to relieve them from their natural inferiority is idle in itself, and may be mischievous in its results. Calculated as it is to arouse evil passions, it may one day provoke a necessity not to be contemplated without horror. It may lead to a war between the species, which must result in the extirpation of the negro. True philanthropy—not that sickly sentiment which neglects the interests of the white laborer to cant about the black—but a true and honest regard for the best interests of mankind, will maintain the negro undisturbed in the relation which God has marked out for him." What that relation is, can, we think, be pretty fairly deduced from such testimony as we have here seen advanced. The alternatives are serfdom or savagedom; a state of equality being, we think, honestly proved impossible. The antagonism of races is working itself out in every instance where two races are put in collision by the quicker or slower extinction of the inferior and feebler race. The only exceptions to this rule, which the world has ever seen, are where the beneficent system of serfdom (*i. e.* slavery) has come to the rescue and protection

of the weaker race; and nowhere has this system been exhibited in more perfection, and freer from the abuses (for every system has its abuses) with which it is stained, than in the negro slavery of our southern states. Knox has shown us everywhere the white blood treading down and exterminating the darker races. "The Saxon (he remarks) will not mingle with any dark race, nor will he allow him to hold an acre of land in the country occupied by him." "Already we have cleared Van Diemen's Land of every human aboriginal; Australia, of course, follows, and New Zealand next. There is no denying the fact, that the Saxon, call him by what name you will, has a perfect horror for his darker brethren. Hence the folly of the war carried on by the philanthropists of Britain against nature." "The Anglo-Saxon has already cleared out Tasmania. It was a cruel, cold-blooded, heartless deed. Australia is too large to attempt the same plan there; but by shooting the natives as freely as we do crows in other countries, the population must become thin and scarce in time." "It would be revolting (says Col. C. H. Smith, whom we have already quoted as the advocate of the dark races) to believe that the less gifted tribes were predestined to perish beneath the conquering and all-absorbing covetousness of European civilization, without an enormous load of responsibility resting on the perpetrators. Yet this fate appears to be sealed in many quarters, and seems, by a pre-ordained law, to be an effect of more mysterious import than human reason can grasp." Revolting though it may be to our eye, which pierces but the outer thought of creation's plan, if this be really the pre-ordained law of our existence, shall we better matters by struggling against it? One only door seems opened by nature to prevent such a catastrophe, and that is, through the beneficent system of serfdom, or otherwise slavery. The word is of little import: the thing is the same. The negro, docile in subjection, attached like the household dog to his master—only in proportion to his intellect in a far higher grade of being—is satisfied and happy in the half civilized condition, which, with us, his imitateness enables him to attain. Liberated—in other words, unprotected, and starving for want of protection, the dog, as the negro, returns to the untaught habits and instincts of nature. Thievish and wolfish, the dog, poor fellow, is easily disposed of, and a gun or a rope settles the difficulty, as far as he is concerned. The negro is, it seems, according to Mr. Knox, occasionally disposed of by the same summary process. In more civilized communities, where law protects him, he will still, if the black population be comparatively small, dwindle and disappear before the antagonism of race, as we see now in the process of exemplification in our northern states. But where the proportion is in an opposite ratio, the negro, whose in-

dividual is, as a man, protected by the law, becomes soon, in the aggregate, too powerful for the law. Then comes the clash of race, hideously developed in all its horrible proportions. The brutish propensities of the negro now unchecked, there remains no road for their full exercise, (unless the white man voluntarily retreats before him,) but in the slaughter of his white master, and through that slaughter he strides (unless he himself be exterminated) to the full exercise of his native barbarity and savagism. And this, then, is the consummation so devoutly to be wished! Congo civilization! Hottentot civilization!! Haytien civilization!!!

Jamaica is fast treading on the tracks of Hayti. British philanthropy has already succeeded in making the rich lands of that fair isle so utterly valueless, that the white man must soon abandon his right to live in it. And the vast and beautiful territory composing the southern and southwestern states of America; this territory, whose giant youth is governing the world by its vast produce, which holds the reins of Europe, and spins round it, even with the fine web of its cotton fibre, a net-work, the destruction of which is the destruction of civilization—is this country, too, to be abandoned to the desert and the waste, to negroism and barbarity, that abolitionism may chant its *Io pæans* over our ashes?

Abolition is not the abolition of slavery. Equality is no thought nor creation of God. Slavery, under one name or another, will exist as long as man exists; and abolition is a dream whose execution is an impossibility. Intellect is the only divine right. Intellect seeks freedom from its own proper impulses, and attains it by its own proper power. The negro cannot be schooled, nor argued, nor driven into a love of freedom. His intellect cannot grasp it, nor can he love an abstraction, which it is beyond his intellect to understand. The apostle of freedom can to the negro be nothing more than the apostle of temporary license and permanent savagism. "Heaven's laws are not repealeable by earth, however earth may try."

We have in our article entirely forgotten the odious plea for amalgamation—a thought from which nature shrinks; but as all points are to be met, we are glad to find it in Mr. Campbell's book most ably discussed by more than one learned author. Knox, over and over again, strongly pronounces against the possible permanent existence of a hybrid race, and as such he unhesitatingly classes all mulattoes. "Nature's laws are stronger than bayonets." "No mixed race will she support." P. A. Browne, whom we have already noticed as so triumphantly meeting Prichard on the question of the woolly head, comes here to our assistance in a manner equally decisive, confuting him from his own words, and proving his utter incapacity for the argument he undertakes. Let

us remark, *en passant*, of Prichard, that he has been hitherto strangely overrated. His ponderous tomes are calculated, from their imposing appearance, and their real merit as a collection of facts, to make a great impression upon that large proportion of readers who read without close observation, and adopt without dispute the conclusions of their author; but we are glad to believe that a more just appreciation is now being formed of his labors. We have seen a notice, among other similar articles, of a review of his works, in the form of a treatise, by Dr. Caldwell (Cincinnati: James,) by which the false positions of Dr. Prichard are said to be ably exposed, and the unphilosophical tendency of his work thoroughly combated. We have not room for the argument of Mr. Browne, but he satisfactorily proves, what many of us know from our own unlearned observation, that no mulatto race is self-perpetuating. They are subject to the law of hybrids, and can only continue to exist so long as they continue to receive supplies from the original races whence they sprang. These ceasing to flow in, with equiposed proportions, the predominating race gains the ascendant. Could we suppose, therefore, the possibility of a general amalgamation of the races, the certain result would be, that as the dark races by far outnumber the white, the white must, by the course of nature, become in time extinct. But such "is not the ultimate issue; no, not that." God has implanted in the white races, for their own preservation and for the perfecting of their high destiny, that strong antagonistic feeling of race, which holds them aloof in their purity. The white and the dark races can never amalgamate. "Nature's laws are stronger than bayonets"—stronger than the full tide of abolition and colonization societies, with all their old women and negro men, Lucretia Motts and Fred. Douglasses to boot. Wilberforce was a good man, no doubt; a well-meaning, sentimentally good man; but all the vice, and all the crimes of all the hardened and ruffianly criminals whom the gallows has disposed of for the last century, could not, if allowed the full scope of their career, have accomplished one tenth of the ill, one shadow of the evil which this same sentimental goodness has occasioned. The first piddles in little murders; the last sweeps away nations. Goodness, which in its well-meaning ignorance assumes an antagonistic position to nature's laws, becomes infinitely mischievous. Those laws, embodying, as they do, the thought of God, must finally prevail; but, alas for the generations upon whose destinies such antagonistic influences act! For them at least the beautiful thought of God, the all-conquering order of nature, becomes a fearful scourge. Placed in antagonism with it, they cannot destroy it; it must destroy them. The thought of God prevails, and generations are swept away. *Depart, ye quack-ridden incompetent!*

"Every one knows (says Blackwood) how easy it is to get up a shout upon any vague pretext of humanity, and how frequently the credulity of the people of England has been imposed on by specious and designing hypocrites. With this set of men Africa has been for many years a pet subject of complaint. They have made the wrongs of the negro a short and profitable cut to fame and fortune, and their spurious philanthropy has never failed to engage the support of a large number of weak, but well-meaning individuals, who are totally ignorant of the real objects which lie at the bottom of the agitations." "An abolition meeting (remarks Mr. Campbell) is held at some town in Ohio, New-York, or Pennsylvania; speeches are made, negro wrongs are dwelt upon, Burns is quoted, 'A man's a man for a' that,' and Terence also, '*Homo sum et nihil a me alienum puto*,' 'My black brother,' and 'All men are born free and equal.' The meeting terminates; an impression is made, and frequently even upon strong minds. There are no libraries within reach; the different authors' works are too expensive, and the abolition poison runs through the mental system, as hydrophobia through the physical, until the patient becomes a rabid, raving fanatic." The author goes on to say that his volume is intended to popularize the subject, and thus to counteract this evil. Most heartily do we wish him success. Full time it is that something were doing, sinking as we are, to use the words of Carlyle, "in deep froth oceans of 'benevolence,' 'fraternity,' 'emancipation principle,' and 'Christian philanthropy,' and other most amiable-looking, but most baseless, and, in the end, baleful and all-bewildering jargon." "Never till now did the sun look down on such a jumble of human nonsenses." "We have a long way to travel back, and terrible floundering to make, and in fact an immense load of nonsense to dislodge from our poor heads, and manifold cobwebs to rend from our poor eyes, before we get into the road again, and can begin to act as serious men that have work to do in this universe, and no longer as windy sentimentalists, that merely have speeches to deliver, and speeches to write." "Our own white or sallow Ireland, sluttishly starving from age to age on its act of parliament freedom, was hitherto the flower of mismanagement among nations; but what will this be to a negro Ireland, with pumpkins themselves fallen short like potatoes? Imagination cannot fathom such an object; the belly of Chaos never held the like. The human mind in its wide wanderings has not dreamt yet of such a 'freedom' as that will be." "Terrible must be the struggle to return from our delusions, floating rapidly on which, not the West Indies alone, but Europe generally, is nearing the Niagara Falls."

We agree with Mr. Campbell that a full and open discussion on the subject of the races,

is the likeliest mode of warding off the terrible evil which hangs over us. We are hardly sanguine enough to believe with him "that there is a rapid change going on in the public mind of our northern states favorable to negro slavery;" but we do believe that nothing would go farther towards expediting such a change than the bold expression of such fair and honorable views as he has not hesitated to advance. "Let our citizens (he says) understand the real merits of the question at issue, and there is no fear but a healthy tone will be given to public opinion, and that maudlin, silly humanitarianism will give way to true ideas and plain, practical common sense." "It is only necessary to demand discussion—open, fair, and free discussion—to prove to our working citizens the extreme wickedness of freeing the negro under any pretext at all." Fain would we believe this, and from our hearts we thank Mr. Campbell for his manly effort in the true cause of civilization and humanity. It is indeed a noble cause, and high the meed of praise to those who contribute to unmask the hideous form which now, under the assumed name of philanthropy, covering, like the veiled prophet of Khorassan, its fearful loathsomeness with the garb and appurtenances of divinity, claims the worship of the world.

"Not the long-promised light, the brow whose beaming
Was to come forth all-conquering, all-redeeming,
But features horrible than hell e'er traced
On its own brood."
"There, ye wise saints, behold your light, your star;
Ye would be dupes and victims, and ye are."

L. S. M.

NEGRO SLAVERY—MEMOIR ON, BY CHANCELLOR HARPER; PREPARED FOR, AND READ BEFORE, THE SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING, OF SOUTH CAROLINA —PART I.—The institution of domestic slavery exists over far the greater portion of the inhabited earth. Until within a very few centuries, it may be said to have existed over the whole earth—at least in all those portions of it which had made any advances toward civilization. We might safely conclude, then, that it is deeply founded in the nature of man and the exigencies of human society. Yet, in the few countries in which it has been abolished—claiming, perhaps justly, to be farthest advanced in civilization and intelligence, but which have had the smallest opportunity of observing its true character and effects—it is denounced as the most intolerable of social and political evils. Its existence, and every hour of its continuance, is regarded as the crime of the communities in which it is found. Even by those in the countries alluded to, who regard it with the most indulgence or the least abhorrence—who attribute no criminality to the present generation, who found it in existence, and have not yet been able to devise the means of abolishing it—it is pronounced a misfortune

and a curse injurious and dangerous always, and which must be finally fatal to the societies which admit it. This is no longer regarded as a subject of argument and investigation. The opinions referred to are assumed as settled, or the truth of them as self-evident. If any voice is raised among ourselves to extenuate or to vindicate, it is unheard. The judgment is made up. We can have no hearing before the tribunal of the civilized world.

Yet, on this very account, it is more important that we, the inhabitants of the slaveholding states of America, insulated as we are by this institution, and cut off, in some degree, from the communion and sympathies of the world by which we are surrounded, or with which we have intercourse, and exposed continually to their animadversions and attacks, should thoroughly understand this subject, and our strength and weakness in relation to it. If it be thus criminal, dangerous and fatal—and if it be possible to devise means of freeing ourselves from it—we ought at once to set about the employing of those means. It would be the most wretched and imbecile fatuity, to shut our eyes to the impending dangers and horrors, and “drive darkling down the current of our fate,” till we are overwhelmed in the final destruction. If we are tyrants—cruel, unjust, oppressive—let us humble ourselves and repent in the sight of Heaven, that the foul stain may be cleansed, and we enabled to stand erect, as having common claims to humanity with our fellow-men.

But if we are nothing of all this; if we commit no injustice or cruelty; if the maintenance of our institutions be essential to our prosperity, our character, our safety, and the safety of all that is dear to us—let us enlighten our minds, and fortify our hearts to defend them.

It is a somewhat singular evidence of the indisposition of the rest of the world to hear anything more on this subject, that perhaps the most profound, original and truly philosophical treatise, which has appeared within the time of my recollection,* seems not to have attracted the slightest attention out of the limits of the slaveholding states themselves. If truth, reason, and conclusive argument, propounded with admirable temper and perfect candor, might be supposed to have an effect on the minds of men, we should think this work would have put an end to agitation on the subject. The author has rendered inappreciable service to the south in enlightening them on the subject of their own institutions, and turning back that monstrous tide of folly and madness, which, if it had rolled on, would have involved his own great state, along with the rest of the slaveholding states,

in a common ruin. But beyond these, he seems to have produced no effect whatever. The denouncers of slavery, with whose productions the press groans, seem to be unaware of his existence—unaware that there is reason to be encountered, or argument to be answered. They assume that the truth is known and settled, and only requires to be enforced by denunciation.

Another vindicator of the south has appeared in an individual who is among those that have done honor to American literature.* With conclusive argument, and great force of expression, he has defended slavery from the charge of injustice or immorality, and shown clearly the unspeakable cruelty and mischief which must result from any scheme of abolition. He does not live among slaveholders, and it cannot be said of him, as of others, that his mind is warped by interest, or his moral sense blunted by habit, and familiarity with abuse. These circumstances, it might be supposed, would have secured him hearing and consideration. He seems to be equally unheeded, and the work of denunciation, disdaining argument, still goes on.

President Dew has shown that the institution of slavery is a principal cause of civilization. Perhaps nothing can be more evident than that it is the sole cause. If any thing can be predicated as universally true of uncultivated man, it is, that he will not labor beyond what is absolutely necessary to maintain his existence. Labor is pain to those who are unaccustomed to it, and the nature of man is averse to pain. Even with all the training, the helps and motives of civilization, we find that this aversion cannot be overcome in many individuals of the most cultivated societies. The coercion of slavery alone is adequate to form man to habits of labor. Without it there can be no accumulation of property, no providence for the future, no taste for comforts or elegancies, which are the characteristics and essentials of civilization. He who has obtained the command of another's labor, first begins to accumulate and provide for the future, and the foundations of civilization are laid. We find confirmed by experience that which is so evident in theory. Since the existence of man upon the earth, with no exception whatever, either of ancient or modern times, every society which has attained civilization has advanced to it through this process.

Will those who regard slavery as immoral, or crime in itself, tell us that man was not intended for civilization, but to rear the earth as a biped brute? That he is not to raise his eyes to heaven, or be conformed in his nobler faculties to the image of his Maker? Or will they say that the Judge of all the earth has done wrong in ordaining the means by which

* President Dew's Review of the Virginia Debates on the subject of Slavery.

* Paulding on Slavery.

alone that end can be attained? It is true, that the Creator can make the wickedness as well as the wrath of man to praise him, and bring forth the most benevolent results from the most atrocious actions. But, in such cases, it is the motive of the actor alone which condemns the action. The act itself is good, if it promotes the good purposes of God, and would be approved by him, if that result only were intended. Do they not blaspheme the providence of God who denounce as wickedness and outrage that which is rendered indispensable to his purposes in the government of the world? Or at what stage of the progress of society will they say that slavery ceases to be necessary, and its very existence becomes sin and crime? I am aware that such argument would have little effect on those with whom it would be degrading to contend—who pervert the inspired writings—which, in some parts, expressly sanction slavery, and, throughout, indicate most clearly that it is a civil institution, with which religion has no concern—with a shallowness and presumption not less flagrant and shameless than his, who would justify murder from the text, “and Phineas arose and executed judgment.”

There seems to be something in this subject which blunts the perceptions and darkens and confuses the understandings and moral feelings of men. Tell them that, of necessity, in every civilized society, there must be an infinite variety of conditions and employments, from the most eminent and intellectual to the most servile and laborious; that the negro race, from their temperament and capacity, are peculiarly suited to the situation which they occupy, and not less happy in it than any other corresponding class to be found in the world; prove, incontestably, that no scheme of emancipation could be carried into effect without the most intolerable mischiefs and calamities to both master and slave, or without probably throwing a large and fertile portion of the earth's surface out of the pale of civilization—and you have done nothing. They reply, that whatever may be the consequence, you are bound to do *right*; that man has a right to himself, and man cannot have a property in man; that if the negro race be naturally inferior in mind and character, they are not less entitled to the right of humanity; that if they are happy in their condition, it affords but the stronger evidence of their degradation, and renders them, still more, objects of commiseration. They repeat, as the fundamental maxim of our civil policy, that all men are born free and equal, and quote from our Declaration of Independence, “that men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable *rights*, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

It is not the first time that I have had occasion to observe that men may repeat, with the utmost confidence, some maxim or senti-

mental phrase as self-evident or admitted truth, which is either palpably false, or to which, upon examination, it will be found they attach no definite idea. Notwithstanding our respect for the important document which declared our independence, yet, if any thing be found in it—and especially in what may be regarded rather as its ornament than its substance—false, sophistical or unmeaning, that respect should not screen it from the freest examination.

All men are born free and equal. Is it not palpably, nearer the truth to say, that no man was ever born free, and that no two men were ever born equal? Man is born in a state of the most helpless dependence on others. He continues subject to the most absolute control of others, and remains without many of the civil, and all of the political, privileges of his society, until the period which the laws have fixed, as that at which he is supposed to attain the maturity of his faculties. Then inequality is further developed, and becomes infinite in every society, and under whatever form of government. Wealth and poverty, fame or obscurity, strength or weakness, knowledge or ignorance, ease or labor, power or subjection, make the endless diversity in the condition of men.

But we have not arrived at the profundity of the maxim. This inequality is, in a great measure, the result of abuses in the institutions of society. They do not speak of what exists, but of what ought to exist. Every one should be left at liberty to obtain all the advantages of society which he can compass by the free exertion of his faculties, unimpeded by civil restraints. It may be said, that this would not remedy the evils of society which are complained of. The inequalities to which I have referred, with the misery resulting from them, would exist, in fact, under the freest and most popular form of government that man could devise. But what is the foundation of the bold dogma so confidently announced? Females are human and rational beings. They may be found of better faculties, and better qualified to exercise political privileges, and to attain the distinctions of society, than many men; yet who complains of the order of society by which they are excluded from them? For, I do not speak of the few who would desecrate them; do violence to the nature which their Creator has impressed upon them; drag them from the position which they necessarily occupy for the existence of civilized society, and in which they constitute its blessing and ornament—the only position which they have ever occupied in any human society—to place them in a situation in which they would be alike miserable and degraded. Low as we descend in combating the theories of presumptuous dogmatists, it cannot be necessary to stoop to this. A youth of eighteen may have powers

which cast into the shade those of any of his more advanced contemporaries. He may be capable of serving or saving his country, and if not permitted to do so now, the occasion may have been lost for ever. But he can exercise no political privilege, or aspire to any political distinction. It is said that, of necessity, society must exclude from some civil and political privileges those who are unfitted to exercise them by infirmity, unsuitableness of character, or defect of discretion; that, of necessity, there must be some general rule on the subject, and that any rule which can be devised will operate with hardship and injustice on individuals. This is all that can be said, and all that need be said. It is saying, in other words, that the privileges in question are no matter of natural right, but to be settled by convention, as the good and safety of society may require. If society should disfranchise individuals convicted of infamous crimes, would this be an invasion of natural right? Yet this would not be justified on the score of their moral guilt, but that the good of society required, or would be promoted by it. We admit the existence of a moral law, binding on societies as on individuals. Society must act in good faith. No man, or body of men, has a right to inflict pain or privation on others, unless with a view, after full and impartial deliberation, to prevent a greater evil. If this deliberation be bad, and the decision made in good faith, there can be no imputation of moral guilt. Has any politician contended that the very existence of governments in which there are orders privileged by law, constitutes a violation of morality; that their continuance is a crime, which men are bound to put an end to, without any consideration of the good or evil to result from the change? Yet this is the natural inference from the dogma of the natural equality of men as applied to our institution of slavery—an equality not to be invaded without injustice and wrong, and requiring to be restored instantly, unqualifiedly, and without reference to consequences.

This is sufficiently common-place, but we are sometimes driven to common-place. It is no less a false and shallow than a presumptuous philosophy, which theorizes on the affairs of men as of a problem to be solved by some unerring rule of human reason, without reference to the designs of a superior Intelligence, so far as he has been pleased to indicate them, in their creation and destiny. Man is born to subjection. Not only during infancy is he dependent and under the control of others; at all ages, it is the very bias of his nature, that the strong and wise should control the weak and ignorant. So it has been since the days of Nimrod. The existence of some form of slavery in all ages and countries, is proof enough of this. He is born to subjection as he is born in sin and ignorance. To make any considerable progress

in knowledge, the continued efforts of successive generations, and the diligent training and unwearied exertions of the individual are requisite. To make progress in moral virtue, not less time and effort, aided by superior help, are necessary; and it is only by the matured exercise of his knowledge and his virtue, that he can attain to civil freedom. Of all things, the existence of civil liberty is most the result of artificial institution. The proclivity of the natural man is to domineer or to be subservient. A noble result, indeed; but, in the attaining of which, as in the instances of knowledge and virtue, the Creator, for his own purposes, has set a limit, beyond which we cannot go.

But he who is most advanced in knowledge, is most sensible of his own ignorance, and how much must for ever be unknown to man in his present condition. As I have heard it expressed, the further you extend the circle of light, the wider is the horizon of darkness. He who has made the greatest progress in moral purity, is most sensible of the depravity, not only of the world around him, but of his own heart, and the imperfection of his best motives; and this he knows that men must feel and lament, so long as they continue men. So, when the greatest progress in civil liberty has been made, the enlightened lover of liberty will know that there must remain much inequality, much injustice, much *slavery*, which no human wisdom or virtue will ever be able wholly to prevent or redress. As I have before had the honor to say to this Society, the condition of our whole existence is but to struggle with evils—to compare them—to choose between them—and, so far as we can, to mitigate them. To say there is evil in any institution, is only to say that it is human.

And can we doubt but that this long discipline and laborious process, by which men are required to work out the elevation and improvement of their individual nature and their social condition, is imposed for a great and benevolent end? Our faculties are not adequate to the solution of the mystery, why it should be so; but the truth is clear, that the world was not intended for the seat of universal knowledge or goodness, or happiness, or freedom.

Man has been endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. What is meant by the *inalienable* right of liberty? Has any one who has used the words ever asked himself this question? Does it mean that a man has no right to alienate his own liberty—to sell himself and his posterity for slaves? This would seem to be the more obvious meaning. When the word *right* is used, it has reference to some law which sanctions it, and would be violated by its invasion; it must refer either to the general

law of morality or the law of the country—the law of God or the law of man. If the law of any country permitted it, it would of course be absurd to say that the law of that country was violated by such alienation. If it have any meaning in this respect, it must mean that, though the law of the country permitted it, the man would be guilty of an immoral act who should thus alienate his liberty. A fit question for schoolmen to discuss, and the consequences resulting from its decision as important as from any of theirs. Yet, who will say that the man, pressed by famine and in the prospect of death, would be criminal for such an act? Self-preservation, as is truly said, is the first law of nature. High and peculiar characters, by elaborate cultivation, may be taught to prefer death to slavery, but it would be folly to prescribe this as a duty to the mass of mankind.

If any rational meaning can be attributed to the sentence I have quoted, it is this: that the society, or the individuals who exercise the powers of government, are guilty of a violation of the law of God or of morality, when, by any law or public act, they deprive men of life or liberty, or restrain them in the pursuit of happiness. Yet every government does, and of necessity must, deprive men of life and liberty for offenses against society. Restrain them in the pursuit of happiness! Why, all the laws of society are intended for nothing else but to restrain men from the pursuit of happiness, according to their own ideas of happiness or advantage—which the phrase must mean if it means anything. And by what right does society punish by the loss of life or liberty? Not on account of the moral guilt of the criminal—not by impiously and arrogantly assuming the prerogative of the Almighty, to dispense justice or suffering, according to moral desert. It is for its own protection—it is the right of self-defense. If there existed the blackest moral turpitude, which, by its example or consequences, could be of no evil to society, government would have nothing to do with that. If an action, the most harmless in its moral character, could be dangerous to the security of society, society would have the perfect right to punish it. If the possession of a black skin would be otherwise dangerous to society, society has the same right to protect itself, by disfranchising the possessor of civil privileges, and to continue the disability to his posterity, if the same danger would be incurred by its removal. Society inflicts these forfeitures for the security of the lives of its members; it inflicts them for the security of their property, the great essential of civilization; it inflicts them, also, for the protection of its political institutions—the forcible attempt to overturn which, has always been justly regarded as the greatest crime; and who has questioned its right so to inflict? “Man cannot have prop-

erty in man”—a phrase as full of meaning as, “who slays fat oxen, should himself be fat.” Certainly he may, if the laws of society allow it; and, if it be on sufficient grounds, neither he nor society do wrong.

And is it by this—as we must call it, however recommended to our higher feelings by its associations—well sounding, but unmeaning verbiage of natural equality and inalienable rights, that our lives are to be put in jeopardy, our property destroyed, and our political institutions overturned or endangered? If a people had on its borders a tribe of barbarians, whom no treaties or faith could bind, and by whose attacks they were constantly endangered, against whom they could devise no security, but that they should be exterminated and enslaved—would they not have the right to enslave them, and keep them in slavery so long as the same danger would be incurred by their manumission? If a civilized man and a savage were by chance placed together on a desolate island, and the former, by the superior power of civilization, could reduce the latter to subjection, would he not have the same right? Would this not be the strictest self-defense? I do not now consider how far we can make out a similar case to justify our enslaving the negroes. I speak to those who contend for inalienable rights, and that the existence of slavery, always, and under all circumstances, involves injustice and crime.

As I have said, we acknowledge the existence of a moral law. It is not necessary for us to resort to the theory which resolves all right into force. The existence of such a law is imprinted on the hearts of all human beings. But, though its existence be acknowledged, the mind of man has hitherto been tasked in vain to discover an unerring standard of morality. It is a common and undoubted maxim of morality, that you shall not do evil that good may come. You shall not do injustice or commit an invasion of the rights of others, for the sake of a greater ulterior good. But what is injustice, and what are the rights of others? And why are we not to commit the one or invade the others? It is because it inflicts pain or suffering, present or prospective, or cuts them off from enjoyment which they might otherwise attain. The Creator has sufficiently revealed to us that *happiness* is the great end of existence—the sole object of all animated and sentient beings. To this he has directed their aspirations and efforts, and we feel that we thwart his benevolent purposes when we destroy or impede that happiness. This is the only *natural* right of man. All other rights result from the conventions of society, and these, to be sure, we are not to invade, whatever good may appear to us likely to follow. Yet are we in no instance to inflict pain or suffering, or disturb enjoyment, for

the sake of producing a greater good? Is the madman not to be restrained who would bring destruction on himself or others? Is pain not to be inflicted on the child, when it is the only means by which he can be effectually instructed to provide for his own future happiness? Is the surgeon guilty of wrong who amputates a limb to preserve life? Is it not the object of all penal legislation, to inflict suffering for the sake of greater good to be secured to society?

By what right is it that man exercises dominion over the beasts of the field; subdues them to painful labor, or deprives them of life for his sustenance or enjoyment? They are not rational beings. No, but they are the creatures of God, sentient beings, capable of suffering and enjoyment, and entitled to enjoy according to the measure of their capacities. Does not the voice of nature inform every one that he is guilty of wrong when he inflicts on them pain without necessity or object? If their existence be limited to the present life, it affords the stronger argument for affording them the brief enjoyment of which it is capable. It is because the greater good is effected, not only to man but to the inferior animals themselves. The care of man gives the boon of existence to myriads who would never otherwise have enjoyed it, and the enjoyment of their existence is better provided for while it lasts. It belongs to the being of superior faculties to judge of the relations which shall subsist between himself and the inferior animals, and the use he shall make of them; and he may justly consider himself, who has the greater capacity of enjoyment, in the first instance. Yet he must do this conscientiously; and, no doubt, moral guilt has been incurred by the infliction of pain on these animals, with no adequate benefit to be expected. I do no disparagement to the dignity of human nature, even in its humblest form, when I say, that on the very same foundation, with the difference only of circumstance and degree, rests the right of civilized and cultivated man over the savage and ignorant. It is the order of nature and of God, that the being of superior faculties and knowledge, and therefore of superior power, should control and dispose of those who are inferior. It is as much in the order of nature, that men should enslave each other, as that other animals should prey upon each other. I admit that he does this under the highest moral responsibility, and is most guilty if he wantonly inflicts misery or privation on beings more capable of enjoyment or of suffering than brutes, without necessity or any view to the greater good which is to result. If we conceive of society existing without government, and that one man, by his superior strength, courage or wisdom, could obtain the mastery of his fellows, he would have a perfect right to do so. He would be morally

responsible for the use of his power, and guilty if he failed to direct them so as to promote their happiness as well as his own. Moralists have denounced the injustice and cruelty which have been practised toward our aboriginal Indians, by which they have been driven from their native seats and exterminated, and no doubt with much justice. No doubt much fraud and injustice has been practised, in the circumstances and the manner of their removal. Yet who has contended that civilized man had no moral right to possess himself of the country? That he was bound to leave this wide and fertile continent, which is capable of sustaining uncounted myriads of a civilized race, to a few roving and ignorant barbarians? Yet if any thing is certain, it is certain that there were no means by which he could possess the country, without exterminating or enslaving them. Savage and civilized man cannot live together, and the savage can only be tamed by being enslaved or by having slaves. By enslaving, alone, could he have preserved them.* And who shall take upon himself to decide that the more benevolent course, and the one more pleasing to God, was pursued toward them, or that it would not have been better that they had been enslaved generally, as they were in particular instances? It is a refined philosophy, and utterly false in its application to general nature or to the mass of human kind, which teaches that existence is not the greatest of boons, and worthy of being preserved even under the most adverse circumstances. The strongest instinct of all animated beings sufficiently proclaims this. When the last red man shall have vanished from our forests, the sole remaining traces of his blood will be found among our enslaved population.† The African slave-trade has given, and will give, the boon of existence to millions and millions in our country, who would, otherwise, never have enjoyed it, and the enjoyment of their existence is better provided for while it lasts. Or if, for the rights of man over inferior animals, we are referred to Revelation, which pronounces—"Ye shall have dominion over the beasts of the field, and over the fowls of the air," we refer to the same, which declares not less explicitly—

"Both the bondmen and bondmaids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are among you. Of them shall you buy bondmen and bondmaids."

"Moreover, of the children of strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begot in your land, and they shall be your possession. And ye shall

* I refer to President Dew on this subject.

† It is not uncommon, especially in Charleston, to see slaves, after many descents, and having mingled their blood with the Africans, possessing Indian hair and features.

take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them by possession. They shall be your bondmen for ever."

In moral investigations, ambiguity is often occasioned by confounding the intrinsic nature of an action, as determined by its consequence, with the motives of the actor, involving moral guilt or innocence. If poison be given with a view to destroy another, and it cures him of disease, the poisoner is guilty, but the act is beneficent in its results. If medicine be given with a view to heal, and it happens to kill, he who administered it is innocent, but the act is a noxious one. If they who began and prosecuted the slave-trade, practised horrible cruelties and inflicted much suffering—as no doubt they did, though these have been much exaggerated—for merely selfish purposes, and with no view to future good, they were morally most guilty. So far as unnecessary cruelty was practised, the motive and the act were alike bad. But if we could be sure that the entire effect of the trade has been to produce more happiness than would otherwise have existed, we must pronounce it good, and that it has happened in the ordering of God's providence, to whom evil cannot be imputed. Moral guilt has not been imputed to Las Cases, and if the importation of African slaves into America had the effect of preventing more suffering than it inflicted, it was good both in the motive and the result. I freely admit, that it is hardly possible to justify, morally, those who began and carried on the slave-trade. No speculation of future good to be brought about could compensate the enormous amount of evil it occasioned.

If we could refer to the common moral sense of mankind, as determined by their conduct in all ages and countries, for a standard of morality, it would seem to be in favor of slavery. The will of God, as determined by utility, would be an infallible standard, if we had an unerring measure of utility. The utilitarian philosophy, as it is commonly understood, referring only to the animal wants and employments and physical condition of man, is utterly false and degrading. If a sufficiently extended definition be given to utility, so as to include every thing that may be a source of enjoyment or suffering, it is, for the most part, useless. How can you compare the pleasures resulting from the exercise of the understanding, the taste and the imagination, with the animal enjoyments of the senses—the gratification derived from a fine poem, with that from a rich banquet? How are we to weigh the pains and enjoyments of one man, highly cultivated and of great sensibility, against those of many men of blunter capacity for enjoyment or suffering? And if we could determine, with certainty, in what utility consists, we are so short-sighted with respect to consequences—the remote results

of our best considered actions are so often wide of our anticipations, or contrary to them—that we should still be very much in the dark. But, though we cannot arrive at absolute certainty with respect to the utility of actions, it is always fairly matter of argument. Though an imperfect standard, it is the best we have, and perhaps the Creator did not intend that we should arrive at perfect certainty with regard to the morality of many actions. If, after the most careful examination of consequences that we are able to make, with due distrust of ourselves, we impartially, and in good faith, decide for that which appears likely to produce the greatest good, we are free from moral guilt. And I would impress most earnestly, that with our imperfect and limited faculties, and short-sighted as we are to the future, we can rarely, very rarely indeed, be justified in producing considerable present evil or suffering, in the expectation of remote future good—if, indeed, this can ever be justified.

In considering this subject, I shall not regard it, in the first instance, in reference to the present position of the slaveholding states, or the difficulties which lie in the way of their emancipating their slaves, but as a naked, abstract question—whether it is better that the institution of predial and domestic slavery should, or should not, exist in civilized society. And though some of my remarks may seem to have such a tendency, let me not be understood as taking upon myself to determine that it is better it should exist. God forbid that the responsibility of deciding such a question should ever be thrown on me or my countrymen. But this I will say, and not without confidence, that it is in the power of no human intellect to establish the contrary proposition—that it is better it should not exist. This is probably known but to one Being, and concealed from human sagacity.

There have existed in various ages, and we now see existing in the world, people in every stage of civilization, from the most barbarous to the most refined. Man, as I have said, is not born to civilization. He is born rude and ignorant. But it will be, I suppose, admitted, that it is the design of the Creator, that he should attain to civilization; that religion should be known, that the comforts and elegancies of life should be enjoyed, that letters and arts should be cultivated; in short, that there should be the greatest possible development of moral and intellectual excellence. It can hardly be necessary to say any thing of those who have extolled the superior virtues and enjoyments of savage life—a life of physical wants and sufferings, of continual insecurity, of furious passions and depraved vices. Those who have praised savage life, are those who have known nothing of it, or who have become savages themselves. But, as I have said, so far as reason or universal

experiences instruct us, the institution of slavery is an essential process in emerging from savage life. It must then produce good, and promote the designs of the Creator.

SLAVERY ANTICIPATES THE BENEFITS OF CIVILIZATION AND RETARDS ITS EVILS; STRUGGLES OF SOCIETY AND THE COMPETITION OF INTERESTS; POOR LAWS CONTRASTED WITH THE RELATION OF MASTER AND SLAVE.—PART II.—I add, further, *that slavery anticipates the benefits of civilization, and retards the evils of civilization.* The former part of this proposition has been so fully established by a writer of great power of thought—though I fear his practical conclusions will be found of little value—that it is hardly necessary to urge it.* Property—the accumulation of capital, as it is commonly called—is the first elementary civilization. But to accumulate or to use capital to any considerable extent, the combination of labor is necessary. In early stages of society, when people are thinly scattered over an extensive territory, the labor necessary to extensive works cannot be commanded. Men are independent of each other. Having the command of abundance of land, no one will submit to be employed in the service of his neighbor. No one, therefore, can employ more capital than he can use with his own hands, or those of his family, nor have an income much beyond the necessities of life. There can, therefore, be little leisure for intellectual pursuits, or means of acquiring the comforts or elegancies of life. It is hardly necessary to say, however, that if a man has the command of slaves, he may combine labor and use capital to any required extent, and therefore accumulate wealth. He shows that no colonies have been successfully planted without some sort of slavery. So we find the fact to be. It is only in the slaveholding states of our confederacy that wealth can be acquired by agriculture, which is the general employment of our whole country. Among us, we know there is no one, however humble his beginning, who, with persevering industry, intelligence, and orderly and virtuous habits, may not attain to considerable opulence. So far as wealth has been accumulated in the states which do not possess slaves, it has been in cities, by the pursuits of commerce; or, lately, by manufactures. But the products of slave labor furnish more than two thirds of the materials of our foreign commerce, which the industry of those states is employed in transporting and exchanging; and among the slaveholding states is to be found the great market

for all the productions of their industry, of whatever kind. The prosperity of those states, therefore, and the civilization of their cities, have been, for the most part, created by the existence of slavery. Even in the cities, but for a class of population which our institutions have marked as servile, it would be scarcely possible to preserve the ordinary habitudes of civilized life by commanding the necessary menial and domestic service.

Every stage of human society, from the most barbarous to the most refined, has its own peculiar evils to mark it as the condition of morality; and perhaps there is none but Omnipotence who can say in which the scale of good or evil most preponderates. We need say nothing of the evils of savage life. There is a state of society, elevated somewhat above it, which is to be found in some of the more thinly populated portions of our own country—the rudest agricultural state—which is thus characterized by the author to whom I have referred: “The American of the backwoods has often been described to the English as grossly ignorant, dirty, unsocial, delighting in rum and tobacco, attached to nothing but his rifle, adventurous, restless, more than half savage. Deprived of social enjoyments or excitements, he has recourse to those of savage life, and becomes (for in this respect the Americans degenerate) unfit for society.” This is no very inviting picture, which, though exaggerated, we know not to be without likeness. The evils of such a state, I suppose, will hardly be thought compensated by unbounded freedom, perfect equality, and ample means of subsistence.

But let us take another stage in the progress—which, to many, will appear to offer all that is desirable in existence—and realize another Utopia. Let us suppose a state of society in which all shall have property, and there shall be no great inequality of property; in which society shall be so much condensed as to afford the means of social intercourse, without being crowded, so as to create difficulty in obtaining the means of subsistence; in which every family that chooses may have as much land as will employ its own hands, while others may employ their industry in forming such products as it may be desirable to exchange with them. Schools are generally established, and the rudiments of education universally diffused. Religion is taught, and every village has its church, neat, though humble, lifting its spire to heaven. Here is a situation apparently the most favorable to happiness. I say *apparently*, for the greatest source of human misery is not in external circumstances, but in men themselves—in their depraved inclinations, their wayward passions and perverse wills. Here is room for all the petty competition, the envy, hatred, malice, and dissimulation that torture the heart in what may be supposed

* The author of “England and America.” We do, however, most indignantly repudiate his conclusion—that we are bound to submit to a tariff of protection, as an expedient for retaining our slaves: “The force of the whole Union being required to preserve slavery—to keep down the slaves.”

the most sophisticated states of society, and, though less marked and offensive, there may be much of the licentiousness.

But, apart from this, in such a condition of society, if there is little suffering, there is little high enjoyment. The even flow of life forbids the high excitement which is necessary for it. If there is little vice, there is little place for the eminent virtues which employ themselves in controlling the disorders and remedying the evils of society, which, like war and revolution, call forth the highest powers of man, whether for good or for evil. If there is little misery, there is little room for benevolence. Useful public institutions we may suppose to be created, but not such as are merely ornamental. Elegant arts can be little cultivated, for there are no means to reward the artists nor the higher literature, for no one will have leisure or means to cultivate it for its own sake. Those who acquire what may be called liberal education, will do so in order to employ it as the means of their own subsistence or advancement in a profession, and literature itself will partake of the sordidness of trade. In short, it is plain that, in such a state of society, the moral and intellectual faculties cannot be cultivated to their highest perfection.

But, whether that which I have described be the most desirable state of society or no, it is certain that it cannot continue. Mutation and progress is the condition of human affairs. Though retarded for a time by extraneous or accidental circumstances, the wheel must roll on. The tendency of population is to become crowded, increasing the difficulty of obtaining subsistence. There will be some without any property except the capacity for labor. This they must sell to those who have the means of employing them, thereby swelling the amount of their capital and increasing inequality. The process still goes on. The number of laborers increases, until there is a difficulty in obtaining employment. The competition is established. The remuneration of the laborer becomes gradually less and less; a larger and larger proportion of the product of his labor goes to swell the fortune of the capitalist; inequality becomes still greater and more inviolable, until the process ends in the establishment of such a state of things as the same author describes as now existing in England. After a most imposing picture of her greatness and resources; of her superabounding capital and all-pervading industry and enterprise; of her public institutions for purposes of art, learning, and benevolence; her public improvements, by which intercourse is facilitated and the convenience of man subserved; the conveniences and luxuries of life enjoyed by those who are in possession of fortune or have profitable employments; of all, in short, that places her at the head of modern civilization, he proceeds to give the reverse of the picture.

And here I shall use his own words: "The laboring class compose the bulk of the people; the great body of the people; the vast majority of the people. These are the terms by which English writers and speakers usually describe those whose only property is their labor."

"Of comprehensive words, the two most frequently used in English politics are distress and pauperism. After these, of expressions applied to the state of the poor, the most common are vice and misery, wretchedness, sufferings, ignorance, degradation, discontent, depravity, drunkenness, and the increase of crime, with many more of a like nature."

He goes on to give the details of this inequality and wretchedness, in terms calculated to sicken and appal one to whom the picture is new. That he has painted strongly we may suppose; but there is ample corroborating testimony, if such were needed, that the representation is substantially just. Where so much misery exists, there must, of course, be much discontent, and many have been disposed to trace the sources of the former in vicious legislation, or the structure of government; and the author gives the various schemes, sometimes contradictory, sometimes ludicrous, which projectors have devised as a remedy for all this evil to which flesh is heir. That ill-judged legislation may have sometimes aggravated the general suffering, or that its extremity may be mitigated by the well-directed efforts of the wise and virtuous, there can be no doubt. One purpose for which it has been permitted to exist is, that it may call forth such efforts and awaken powers and virtues which would otherwise have slumbered for want of object. But remedy there is none, unless it be to abandon their civilization. This inequality, this vice, this misery, this *slavery*, is the price of England's civilization. They suffer the lot of humanity. But perhaps we may be permitted humbly to hope that, great, intense, and widely spread as this misery undoubtedly is in reality, it may yet be less so than in appearance. We can estimate but very, very imperfectly the good and evil of individual condition, as of different states of society. Some unexpected solace arises to animate the severest calamity. Wonderful is the power of custom in making the hardest condition tolerable; the most generally wretched life has circumstances of mitigation and moments of vivid enjoyment, of which the more seemingly happy can scarcely conceive; though the lives of individuals be shortened, the aggregate of existence is increased; even the various forms of death, accelerated by want, familiarized to the contemplation, like death to the soldier on the field of battle, may become scarcely more formidable than what we are accustomed to regard as nature's ordinary outlets of existence. If we could perfectly analyze the enjoyments and sufferings of the most happy and the most

miserable man, we should, perhaps, be startled to find the difference so much less than our previous impressions had led us to conceive. But it is not for us to assume the province of Omniscience. The particular theory of the author quoted seems to be founded on an assumption of this sort—that there is a certain stage in the progress when there is a certain balance between the demand for labor and the supply of it, which is more desirable than any other—when the territory is so thickly peopled that all cannot own land and cultivate the soil for themselves, but a portion will be compelled to sell their labor to others, still leaving, however, the wages of labor high and the laborer independent. It is plain, however, that this would, in like manner, partake of the good and the evil of other states of society. There would be less of equality and less rudeness than in the early stages; less civilization and less suffering than in the later.

It is the competition for employment, which is the source of this misery of society, that gives rise to all excellence in art and knowledge. When the demand for labor exceeds the supply, the services of the most ordinarily qualified laborer will be eagerly retained. When the supply begins to exceed, and competition is established, higher and higher qualifications will be required, until, at length, when it becomes very intense, none but the most consummately skilful can be sure to be employed. Nothing but necessity can drive men to the exertions which are necessary so to qualify themselves. But it is not in arts, merely mechanical alone, that this superior excellence will be required. It will be extended to every intellectual employment; and, though this may not be the effect in the instance of every individual, yet it will fix the habits and character of the society, and prescribe, everywhere, and in every department, the highest possible standard of attainment.

But how is it that the existence of slavery, as with us, will retard the evils of civilization? Very obviously. It is the intense competition of civilized life that gives rise to the excessive cheapness of labor; and the excessive cheapness of labor is the cause of the evils in question. Slave labor can never be so cheap as what is called free labor. Political economists have established as the natural standard of wages, in a fully peopled country, the value of the laborer's subsistence. I shall not stop to inquire into the precise truth of this proposition. It certainly approximates the truth. Where competition is intense, men will labor for a bare subsistence, and less than a competent subsistence. The employer of free laborers obtains their services during the time of their health and vigor, without the charge of rearing them from infancy, or supporting them in sickness or old age. This charge is imposed on the employer of slave labor, who, therefore, pays higher wages, and cuts off the

principal source of misery—the wants and sufferings of infancy, sickness, and old age. Laborers, too, will be less skilful and perform less work—enhancing the price of that sort of labor. The poor laws of England are an attempt, but an awkward and empiric attempt, to supply the place of that which we should suppose the feelings of every human heart would declare to be a natural obligation—that he who has received the benefit of the laborer's services during his health and vigor, should maintain him when he becomes unable to provide for his own support. They answer their purpose, however, very imperfectly, and are unjustly and unequally imposed. There is no attempt to apportion the burden according to the benefit received; and, perhaps, there could be none. This is one of the evils of their condition.

In periods of commercial revulsion and distress, like the present, the distress, in countries of free labor, falls principally on the laborers. In those of slave labor, it falls almost exclusively on the employer. In the former, when a business becomes unprofitable, the employer dismisses his laborers, or lowers their wages. But with us it is the very period at which we are least able to dismiss our laborers; and if we would not suffer a further loss, we cannot reduce their wages. To receive the benefit of the services of which they are capable, we must provide for maintaining their health and vigor. In point of fact, we know that this is accounted among the necessary expenses of management. If the income of every planter of the southern states were permanently reduced one half, or even much more than that, it would not take one jot from the support and comforts of the slaves. And this can never be materially altered until they shall become so unprofitable that slavery must be of necessity abandoned. It is probable that the accumulation of individual wealth will never be carried to quite so great an extent in a slaveholding country as in one of free labor; but a consequence will be that there will be less inequality and less suffering.

Servitude is the condition of civilization. It was decreed when the command was given, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it," and when it was added, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." And what human being shall arrogate to himself the authority to pronounce that our form of it is worse in itself, or more displeasing to God, than that which exists elsewhere? Shall it be said that the servitude of other countries grows out of the exigency of their circumstances, and therefore society is not responsible for it? But if we know that in the progress of things it is to come, would it not seem the part of wisdom and foresight to make provision for it, and thereby, if we can, mitigate the severity of its evils? But the fact is not so. Let any one who doubts read the

book to which I have several times referred, and he may be satisfied that it was forced upon us by the extremest exigency of circumstances, in a struggle for very existence. Without it, it is doubtful whether a white man would be now existing on this continent—certain, that if there were, they would be in a state of the utmost destitution, weakness, and misery. It was forced on us by necessity, and further fastened upon us by the superior authority of the mother country. I, for one, neither deprecate nor resent the gift. Nor did we institute slavery. The Africans brought to us had been—speaking in the general—slaves in their own country, and only underwent a change of masters. In the countries of Europe and the states of our confederacy, in which slavery has ceased to exist, it was abolished by positive legislation. If the order of nature has been departed from, and a forced and artificial state of things introduced, it has been, as the experience of all the world declares, by them and not by us.

That there are great evils in a society where slavery exists, and that the institution is liable to great abuse, I have already said. To say otherwise would be to say that they were not human. But the whole of human life is a system of evils and compensations. We have no reason to believe that the compensations with us are fewer or smaller in proportion to the evils than those of any other condition of society. Tell me of an evil or abuse; of an instance of cruelty, oppression, licentiousness, crime, or suffering; and I will point out, and often in fivefold degree, an equivalent evil or abuse in countries where slavery does not exist!

Let us examine, without blenching, the actual and alleged evils of slavery, and the array of horrors which many suppose to be its universal concomitants. It is said that the slave is out of the protection of the law; that if the law purports to protect him in life and limb, it is but imperfectly executed; that he is still subject to excessive labor, degrading blows, or any other sort of torture which a master, pampered and brutalized by the exercise of arbitrary power, may think proper to inflict; he is cut off from the opportunity of intellectual, moral, or religious improvement, and even positive enactments are directed against his acquiring the rudiments of knowledge; he is cut off for ever from the hope of raising his condition in society, whatever may be his merit, talents, or virtues, and therefore deprived of the strongest incentive to useful and praiseworthy exertion; his physical degradation begets a corresponding moral degradation; he is without moral principle, and addicted to the lowest vices, particularly theft and falsehood; if marriage be not disallowed, it is little better than a state of concubinage, from which results general licentiousness, and the want of chastity among females—this indeed is not

protected by law, but is subject to the outrages of brutal lust; both sexes are liable to have their dearest affections violated, to be sold like brutes, husbands to be torn from wives, children from parents. This is the picture commonly presented by the denouncers of slavery.

It is a somewhat singular fact, that, when there existed in our state no law for punishing the murderer of a slave, other than a pecuniary fine, there were, I will venture to say, at least ten murders of freemen for one murder of a slave. Yet it is supposed they are less protected or less secure than their masters. Why, they are protected by their very situation in society, and therefore less need the protection of law. With any other person than their master, it is hardly possible for them to come in such sort of collision as usually gives rise to furious and revengeful passions; they offer no temptation to the murderer for gain; against the master himself they have the security of his own interest, and by his superintendence and authority they are protected from the revengeful passions of each other. I am by no means sure that the cause of humanity has been served by the change in jurisprudence, which has placed their murder on the same footing with that of a freeman. The change was made in the subserviency to the opinions and clamor of others, who were utterly incompetent to form an opinion on the subject; and a wise act is seldom the result of legislation in this spirit. From the fact which I have stated, it is plain that they less need protection. Juries are, therefore, less willing to convict, and it may sometimes happen that the guilty will escape all punishment. *Security* is one of the compensations of their humble position. We challenge the comparison, that with us there have been fewer murders of slaves than of parents, children, apprentices, and other murders, cruel and unnatural, in society where slavery does not exist.

But, short of life or limb, various cruelties may be practised, as the passions of the master may dictate. To this the same reply has been often given—that they are secured by the master's interest. If the state of slavery is to exist at all, the master must have, and ought to have, such power of punishment as will compel them to perform the duties of their station. And is not this for their advantage as well as his? No human being can be contented, who does not perform the duties of his station. Has the master any temptation to go beyond this? If he inflicts on him such punishment as will permanently impair his strength, he inflicts a loss upon himself; and so if he requires of him excessive labor. Compare the labor required of the slave with those of the free agricultural or manufacturing laborer in Europe, or even in the more thickly peopled portions of the non-slaveholding states of our confederacy—though these last are no

fair subjects of comparison, they enjoying, as I have said, in a great degree, the advantages of slavery along with those of an early and simple state of society. Read the English parliamentary reports, on the condition of the manufacturing operatives, and the children employed in factories. And such is the impotence of man to remedy the evils which the condition of his existence has imposed on him, that it is much to be doubted whether the attempts by legislation to improve their situation will not aggravate its evils. They resort to this excessive labor as a choice of evils. If so, the amount of their compensation will be lessened also with the diminished labor; for this is a matter which legislation cannot regulate. Is it the part of benevolence, then, to cut them off even from this miserable liberty of choice? Yet would these evils exist in the same degree, if the laborers were the *property* of the master, having a direct interest in preserving their lives, their health, and strength? Who but a drivelling fanatic has thought of the necessity of protecting domestic animals from the cruelty of their owners? And yet, are not great and wanton cruelties practised on these animals? Compare the whole of the cruelties inflicted on slaves throughout our southern country with those elsewhere inflicted, by ignorant and depraved portions of the community, on those whom the relations of society put into their power; of brutal husbands on their wives; of brutal parents—subdued against the strongest instincts of nature to that brutality by the extremity of their misery—on their children; of brutal masters on apprentices. And if it should be asked, Are not similar cruelties inflicted and miseries endured in your societies? I answer, In no comparable degree. The class in question are placed under the control of others, who are interested to restrain their excesses of cruelty or rage. Wives are protected from their husbands, and children from their parents. And this is no inconsiderable compensation of the evils of our system; and would so appear, if we could form any conception of the immense amount of misery which is elsewhere thus inflicted. The other class of society, more elevated in their position, are also (speaking of course in the general) more elevated in character, and more responsible to public opinion.

But besides the interest of their master, there is another security against cruelty. The relation of master and slave, when there is no mischievous interference between them, is, as the experience of all the world declares, naturally one of kindness. As to the fact, we should be held interested witnesses, but we appeal to universal nature. Is it not natural that a man should be attached to that which is *his own*, and which has contributed to his convenience, his enjoyment, or his vanity? This is felt even towards animals and inanimate objects. How much more toward a being

of superior intelligence and usefulness, who can appreciate our feelings toward him, and return them! Is it not natural that we should be interested in that which is dependent on us for protection and support? Do not men every where contract kind feelings toward their dependents? Is it not natural that men should be more attached to those whom they have long known—whom, perhaps, they have reared or been associated with from infancy—than to one with whom their connection has been casual and temporary? What is there in our atmosphere or institutions to produce a perversion of the general feelings of nature? To be sure, in this as in all other relations, there is frequent cause of offense or excitement—on one side, for some omission of duty, on the other, on account of reproof or punishment inflicted. But this is common to the relation of parent and child; and I will venture to say that if punishment be justly inflicted—and there is no temptation to inflict it unjustly—it is as little likely to occasion permanent estrangement or resentment as in that case. Slaves are perpetual children. It is not the common nature of man, unless it be depraved by its own misery, to delight in witnessing pain. It is more grateful to behold contented and cheerful beings than sullen and wretched ones. That men are sometimes wayward, depraved, and brutal, we know. That atrocious and brutal cruelties have been perpetrated on slaves, and on those who were not slaves, by such wretches, we also know. But that the institution of slavery has a natural tendency to form such a character, that such crimes are more common or more aggravated than in other states of society, or produce among us less surprise and horror, we utterly deny, and challenge the comparison. Indeed, I have little hesitation in saying, that if full evidence could be obtained, the comparison would result in our favor, and that the tendency of slavery is rather to humanize than to brutalize.

The accounts of travellers in Oriental countries give a very favorable representation of the kindly relations which exist between the master and slave; the latter being often the friend, and sometimes the heir of the former. Generally, however, especially if they be English travellers, if they say any thing which may seem to give a favorable complexion to slavery, they think it necessary to enter their protest, that they shall not be taken to give any sanction to slavery as it exists in America. Yet human nature is the same in all countries. There are very obvious reasons why in those countries there should be a nearer approach to equality in their manners. The master and slave are often cognate races, and therefore tend more to assimilate. There is, in fact, less inequality in mind and character where the master is but imperfectly civilized. Less labor is exacted, because the master has fewer motives to accumulate. But is it an

injury to a human being, that regular, if not excessive, labor should be required of him? The primeval curse, with the usual benignity of providential contrivance, has been turned into the solace of an existence that would be much more intolerable without it. If they labor less, they are much more subject to the outrages of capricious passion. If it were put to the choice of any human being, would he prefer to be the slave of a civilized man, or of a barbarian or semi-barbarian? But if the general tendency of the institution in those countries is to create kindly relations, can it be imagined why it should operate differently in this? It is true, as suggested by President Dew, with the exception of the ties of close consanguinity, it forms one of the most intimate relations of society. And it will be more and more so, the longer it continues to exist. The harshest features of slavery were created by those who were strangers to slavery—who supposed that it consisted in keeping savages in subjection by violence and terror. The severest laws to be found on our statute book were enacted by such, and such are still found to be the severest masters. As society becomes settled, and the wandering habits of our countrymen altered, there will be a larger and larger proportion of those who were reared by the owner, or derived to him from his ancestors, and who, therefore, will be more and more intimately regarded as forming a portion of his family.

It is true that the slave is driven to labor by stripes; and if the object of punishment be to produce obedience or reformation, with the least permanent injury, it is the best method of punishment. But is it not intolerable that a being formed in the image of his Maker should be degraded by blows? This is one of the perversions of mind and feeling to which I shall have occasion again to refer. Such punishment would be degrading to a freeman, who had the thoughts and aspirations of a freeman. In general, it is not degrading to a slave, nor is it felt to be so. The evil is the bodily pain. Is it degrading to a child? Or if in any particular instance it would be so felt, it is sure not to be inflicted, unless in those rare cases which constitute the startling and eccentric evils, from which no society is exempt, and against which no institutions of society can provide.

OBJECTION ANSWERED—"THE SLAVE IS CUT OFF FROM THE MEANS OF INTELLECTUAL, MORAL, AND RELIGIOUS IMPROVEMENT, AND IN CONSEQUENCE HIS MORAL CHARACTER BECOMES DEPRAVED, AND HE ADDICTED TO DEGRADING VICES."—PART III.—*The slave is cut off from the means of intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and in consequence his moral character becomes depraved, and he addicted to degrading vices.* The slave receives such instruction as qualifies him to discharge the

duties of his particular station. The Creator did not intend that every individual human being should be highly cultivated, morally and intellectually, for, as we have seen, he has imposed conditions on society which would render this impossible. There must be general mediocrity, or the highest cultivation must exist along with ignorance, vice, and degradation. But is there, in the aggregate of society, less opportunity for intellectual and moral cultivation, on account of the existence of slavery? We must estimate institutions from their aggregate of good or evil. I refer to the views which I have before expressed to this society. It is by the existence of slavery, exempting so large a portion of our citizens from the necessity of bodily labor, that we have a greater proportion than any other people who have leisure for intellectual pursuits, and the means of obtaining a liberal education. If we throw away this opportunity, we shall be morally responsible for the neglect or abuse of our advantages, and shall most unquestionably pay the penalty. But the blame will rest on ourselves, and not on the character of our institutions.

I add further, notwithstanding that *equality* seems to be the passion of the day, if, as Providence has evidently decreed, there can be but a certain portion of intellectual excellence in any community, it is better that it should be *unequally* divided. It is better that a part should be fully and highly cultivated, and the rest utterly ignorant. To constitute a society, a variety of offices must be discharged, from those requiring but the lowest degree of intellectual power to those requiring the very highest, and it should seem that the endowments ought to be apportioned according to the exigencies of the situation. In the course of human affairs, there arise difficulties which can only be comprehended or surmounted by the strongest native power of intellect, strengthened by the most assiduous exercise, and enriched by the most extended knowledge; and even these are sometimes found inadequate to the exigency. The first want of society is—leaders. Who shall estimate the value to Athens of Solon, Aristides, Themistocles, Cymon, or Pericles? If society have not leaders qualified as I have said, they will have those who will lead them blindly to their loss and ruin. Men of no great native power of intellect, and of imperfect and superficial knowledge, are the most mischievous of all; none are so busy, meddling, confident, presumptuous, and intolerant. The whole of society receives the benefit of the exertions of a mind of extraordinary endowments. Of all communities, one of the least desirable would be that in which imperfect, superficial, half-education should be universal. The first care of a state which regards its own safety, prosperity and honor, should be, that when minds of extraordinary power

appear—to whatever department of knowledge, art, or science their exertions may be directed—the means should be provided of their most consummate cultivation. Next to this, that education should be as widely extended as possible.

Odium has been cast upon our legislation on account of its forbidding the elements of education to be communicated to slaves. But, in truth, what injury is done to them by this? He who works during the day with his hands, does not read in intervals of leisure for his amusement or the improvement of his mind—or the exceptions are so very rare as scarcely to need the being provided for. Of the many slaves whom I have known capable of reading, I have never known one to read any thing but the Bible, and this task they impose on themselves as matter of duty. Of all methods of religious instruction, however, this, of reading for themselves, would be the most inefficient—their comprehension is defective, and the employment is to them an unusual and laborious one. There are but very few who do not enjoy other means, more effectual for religious instruction. There is no place of worship opened for the white population from which they are excluded. I believe it a mistake to say that the instructions there given are not adapted to their comprehension, or calculated to improve them. If they are given as they ought to be, practically and without pretension, and are such as are generally intelligible to the free part of the audience, comprehending all grades of intellectual capacity, they will not be unintelligible to slaves. I doubt whether this be not better than instruction addressed specially to themselves, which they might look upon as a device of the master's, to make them more obedient and profitable to himself. Their minds, generally, show a strong religious tendency, and they are fond of assuming the office of religious instructors to each other; and perhaps their religious notions are not much more extravagant than those of a large portion of the free population of our country. I am not sure that there is a much smaller proportion of them than of the free population, who make some sort of religious profession. It is certainly the master's *interest* that they should have proper religious sentiments, and if he fails in his duty towards them, we may be sure that the consequences will be visited not upon them, but upon him.

If there were any chance of their elevating their rauk and condition in society, it might be matter of hardship that they should be debarred those rudiments of knowledge which open the way to further attainments. But this they know cannot be, and that further attainments would be useless to them. Of the evil of this I shall speak hereafter. A knowledge of reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic is convenient and impor-

tant to the free laborer, who is the transactor of his own affairs, and the guardian of his own interests; but of what use would they be to the slave? These alone do not elevate the mind or character; if such elevation were desirable.

If we estimate their morals according to that which should be the standard of a free man's morality, then I grant they are degraded in morals though by no means to the extent which those who are unacquainted with the institution seem to suppose. We justly suppose, that the Creator will require of man the performance of the duties of the station in which his providence has placed him, and the cultivation of the virtues which are adapted to their performance; that He will make allowance for all imperfection of knowledge, and the absence of the usual helps and motives which lead to self-correction and improvement. The degradation of morals relates principally to loose notions of honesty, leading to petty thefts; to falsehood, and to licentious intercourse between the sexes. Though with respect even to these, I protest against the opinion, which seems to be elsewhere entertained, that they are universal, or that slaves, in respect to them, might not well bear a comparison with the lowest laborious class of other countries. But certainly there is much dishonesty, leading to petty thefts. It leads, however, to nothing else. They have no contracts or dealings which might be a temptation to fraud, nor do I know that their characters have any tendency that way. They are restrained by the constant, vigilant, and interested superintendence which is exercised over them, from the commission of offenses of greater magnitude, even if they were disposed to them, which I am satisfied they are not. Nothing is so rarely heard of as an atrocious crime committed by a slave; especially since they have worn off the savage character which their progenitors brought with them from Africa. Their offenses are confined to petty depredations, principally for the gratification of their appetites, and these, for reasons already given, are chiefly confined to the property of their owner, which is most exposed to them. They could make no use of a considerable booty, if they should obtain it. It is plain that this is a less evil to society, in its consequences and example, than if committed by a freeman, who is a master of his own time and actions. With reference to society, then, the offense is less in itself—and may we not hope it is less in the sight of God? A slave has no hope that, by a course of integrity, he can materially elevate his condition in society, nor can his offense materially depress it, or affect his means of support or that of his family. Compared to the freeman, he has no character to establish or to lose. He has not been exercised to self-government, and, being without intellectual resources, can

less resist the solicitations of appetite. Theft in a freeman is a crime ; in a slave, it is a vice. I recollect to have heard it said, in reference to some question of a slave's theft, which was agitated in a court—" Courts of justice have no more to do with a slave's stealing than with his lying—that is a matter for the domestic forum." It was truly said—the theft of a slave is no offense against society. Compare all the evils resulting from this, with the enormous amount of vice, crime, and depravity which in a European, or one of our northern cities, disgusts the moral feelings, and renders life and property insecure. So with respect to his falsehood. I have never heard or observed that slaves have any particular proclivity to falsehood, unless it be in denying or concealing their own offenses, or those of their fellows. I have never heard of falsehood told by a slave for a malicious purpose. Lies of vanity are sometimes told, as among the weak and ignorant of other conditions. Falsehood is not attributed to an individual charged with an offense before a court of justice, who pleads *not guilty* ; and certainly the strong temptation to escape punishment, in the highest degree extenuates, if it does not excuse, falsehood told by a *slave*. If the object be to screen a fellow-slave, the act bears some semblance of fidelity, and perhaps truth could not be told without breach of confidence. I know not how to characterize the falsehood of a slave.

It has often been said by the denouncers of slavery, that marriage does not exist among slaves. It is difficult to understand this, unless wilful falsehood were intended. We know that marriages are contracted ; may be, and often are, solemnized with the forms usual among other classes of society, and often faithfully adhered to during life. The law has not provided for making those marriages indissoluble, nor could it do so. If a man abandons his wife, being without property, and being both property themselves, he cannot be required to maintain her. If he abandons his wife, and lives in a state of concubinage with another, the law cannot punish him for bigamy. It may, perhaps, be meant, that the chastity of wives is not protected by law from the outrages of violence. I answer, as with respect to their lives, that they are protected by manners, and their position. Who ever heard of such outrages being offered ? At least as seldom, I will venture to say, as in other communities of different forms of polity. One reason, doubtless, may be, that often there is no disposition to resist. Another reason, also, may be, that there is little temptation to such violence, as there is so large a proportion of this class of females who set little value on chastity, and afford easy gratification to the hot passions of men. It might be supposed, from the representations of some writers, that a slaveholding

country were one wide stew for the indulgence of unbridled lust. Particular instances of intemperate and shameless debauchery are related, which may, perhaps, be true, and it is left to be inferred that this is the universal state of manners. Brutes and shameless debauchees there are in every country ; we know that if such things are related as general or characteristic, the representation is false. Who would argue from the existence of a Col. Chartres in England, or of some individuals who might, perhaps, be named in other portions of this country, of the horrid dissoluteness of manners occasioned by the want of the institution of slavery ? Yet the argument might be urged quite as fairly, and really, it seems to me, with a little more justice—for there, such depravity is attended with much more pernicious consequences. Yet let us not deny or extenuate the truth. It is true that in this respect the morals of this class are very loose, (by no means so universally so as is often supposed,) and that the passions of men of the superior caste tempt and find gratification in the easy chastity of the females. This is evil, and to be remedied, if we can do so, without the introduction of greater evil. But evil is incident to every condition of society, and, as I have said, we have only to consider in which institution it most predominates.

Compare these prostitutes of our country, (if it is not injustice to call them so,) and their condition, with those of other countries—the seventy thousand prostitutes of London, or of Paris, or the ten thousand of New-York, or our other northern cities. Take the picture given of the first from the author whom I have before quoted : " The laws and customs of England conspire to sink this class of English women into a state of vice and misery below that which necessarily belongs to their condition. Hence their extreme degradation, their troopers' oaths, their love of gin, their desperate recklessness, and the shortness of their miserable lives."

" English women of this class—or rather girls, for few of them live to be women—die like sheep with the rot ; so fast that soon there would be none left, if a fresh supply were not obtained equal to the number of deaths. But a fresh supply is always obtained without the least trouble : seduction easily keeps pace with prostitution or mortality. Those that die are, like factory children that die, instantly succeeded by new competitors for misery and death." There is no hour of a summer's or a winter's night, in which there may not be found in the streets a ghastly wretch, expiring under the double tortures of disease and famine. Though less aggravated in its features, the picture of prostitution in New-York or Philadelphia would be of like character.

In such communities, the unmarried woman

who becomes a mother is an outcast from society; and though sentimentalists lament the hardship of the case, it is justly and necessarily so. She is cut off from the hope of useful and profitable employment, and driven by necessity to further vice. Her misery, and the hopelessness of retrieving, render her desperate, until she sinks into every depth of depravity, and is prepared for every crime that can contaminate and infest society. She has given birth to a human being who, if it be so unfortunate as to survive its miserable infancy, is commonly educated to a like course of vice, depravity, and crime.

Compare with this the female slave under similar circumstances. She is not a less useful member of society than before. If shame be attached to her conduct, it is such a shame as would be elsewhere felt for a venial impropriety. She has not impaired her means of support, nor materially impaired her character, or lowered her station in society; she has done no great injury to herself, or any other human being. Her offspring is not a burden, but an acquisition to her owner; his support is provided for, and he is brought up to usefulness; if the fruit of intercourse with a free-man, his condition is perhaps raised somewhat above that of his mother. Under these circumstances, with imperfect knowledge, tempted by the strongest of human passions, unrestrained by the motives which operate to restrain, but are so often found insufficient to restrain the conduct of females elsewhere, can it be matter of surprise that she should so often yield to the temptation? Is not the evil less in itself, and in reference to society—much less in the sight of God and man? As was said of theft, the want of chastity—which among females of other countries is sometimes vice, sometimes crime, among the free of our own, much more aggravated—among slaves, hardly deserves a harsher term than that of weakness. I have heard of complaint made by a free prostitute, of the greater countenance and indulgence shown by society towards colored persons of her profession, (always regarded as of an inferior and servile class, though individually free,) than to those of her own complexion. The former readily obtain employment, are even admitted into families, and treated with some degree of kindness and familiarity, while any approach to intercourse with the latter is shunned as contamination. The distinction is habitually made, and it is founded on the unerring instinct of nature. The colored prostitute is, in fact, a far less contaminated and depraved being. Still, many, in spite of temptation, do preserve a perfectly virtuous conduct, and I imagine it hardly ever entered into the mind of one of these that she was likely to be forced from it by authority or violence.

It may be asked, if we have no prostitutes

from the free class of society among ourselves? I answer, in no assignable proportion. With general truth it might be said that there are none. When such a case occurs, it is among the rare evils of society. And apart from other and better reasons, which we believe to exist, it is plain that it must be so, from the comparative absence of temptation. Our brothels, comparatively very few—and these should not be permitted to exist at all—are filled, for the most part, by importation from the cities of our confederate states where slavery does not exist. In return for the benefits which they receive from our slavery, along with tariffs, libels, opinions moral, religious or political, they furnish us also with a supply of thieves and prostitutes. Never, but in a single instance, have I heard of an imputation on the general purity of manners among the free females of the slaveholding states. Such an imputation, however, and made in coarse terms, we have never heard here—*here*, where divorce was never known; where no court was ever polluted by an action for criminal conversation with a wife; where it is related rather as a matter of tradition, not unmingled with wonder, that a Carolinian woman of education and family proved false to her conjugal faith—an imputation deserving only of such reply as self-respect would forbid us to give, if respect for the author of it did not. And can it be doubted that this purity is caused by, and is a compensation for, the evils resulting from the existence of an enslaved class of more relaxed morals?

It is mostly the warm passions of youth which give rise to licentious intercourse. But I do not hesitate to say that the intercourse which takes place with enslaved females is less depraving in its effects than when it is carried on with females of their own caste. In the first place, as like attracts like, that which is unlike repels; and though the strength of passion be sufficient to overcome the repulsion, still the attraction is less. He feels that he is connecting himself with one of an inferior and servile caste, and that there is something of degradation in the act. The intercourse is generally casual; he does not make her habitually an associate, and is less likely to receive any taint from her habits and manners. He is less liable to those extraordinary fascinations with which worthless women sometimes entangle their victims, to the utter destruction of all principle, worth, and vigor of character. The female of his own race offers greater allurements. The haunts of vice often present a show of elegance, and various luxury tempts the senses. They are made an habitual resort, and their inmates associates, till the general character receives a taint from the corrupted atmosphere. Not only the practice is licentious, but the understanding is sophisticated; the moral feelings

are bewildered, and the boundaries of virtue and vice confused. Where such licentiousness very extensively prevails, society is rotten to the heart.

But is it a small compensation for the evils attending the relation of the sexes among the enslaved class, that they have universally the opportunity of indulging the first instinct of nature, by forming matrimonial connections? What painful restraint—what constant effort to struggle against the strongest impulses, are habitually practised elsewhere, and by other classes! And they must be practised, unless greater evils would be encountered. On the one side, all the evils of vice, with the miseries to which it leads; on the other, a marriage cursed and made hateful by want, the sufferings of children, and agonizing apprehensions concerning their future fate. Is it a small good that the slave is free from all this? He knows that his own subsistence is secure, and that his children will be in as good a condition as himself. To a refined and intellectual nature, it may not be difficult to practise the restraint of which I have spoken. But the reasoning from such to the great mass of mankind is most fallacious. To these, the supply of their natural and physical wants, and the indulgence of the natural domestic affections, must, for the most part, afford the greatest good of which they are capable. To the evils which sometimes attend their matrimonial connections, arising from their looser morality, slaves, for obvious reasons, are comparatively insensible. I am no apologist for vice, nor would I extenuate the conduct of the profligate and unfeeling, who would violate the sanctity of even these engagements, and occasion the pain which such violations no doubt do often inflict. Yet such is the truth, and we cannot make it otherwise. We know that a woman's having been before a mother, is very seldom indeed an objection to her being made a wife. I know perfectly well how this will be regarded, by a class of reasoners or declaimers, as imposing a character of deeper horror on the whole system; but still, I will say, that if they are to be exposed to the evil, it is mercy that the sensibility to it should be blunted. Is it no compensation, also, for the vices incident to slavery, that they are to a great degree secured against the temptation to greater crimes and more atrocious vices, and the miseries which attend them; against their own disposition to indolence, and the profligacy which is its common result?

But if they are subject to the vices, they have also the virtues of slaves. Fidelity—often proof against all temptation, even death itself; an eminently cheerful and social temper; what the Bible imposes as a duty, but which might seem an equivocal virtue in the code of modern morality—submission to constituted authority, and a disposition to be attached to, as well as to respect those whom

they are taught to regard as superiors. They may have all the knowledge which will make them useful in the station in which God has been pleased to place them, and may cultivate the virtues which will render them acceptable to him. But what has the slave of any country to do with heroic virtues, liberal knowledge, or elegant accomplishments? It is for the master—arising out of his situation, imposed on him as a duty, dangerous and disgraceful if neglected—to compensate for this, by his own more assiduous cultivation of the more generous virtues and liberal attainments.

It has been supposed one of the great evils of slavery, that it affords the slave no opportunity of raising himself to a higher rank in society, and that he has therefore no inducement to meritorious exertion or the cultivation of his faculties. The indolence and carelessness of the slave, and the less productive quality of his labor, are traced to the want of such excitement. The first compensation for this disadvantage is his security. If he can rise no higher, he is just in the same degree secured against the chances of falling lower. It has been sometimes made a question, whether it were better for man to be freed from the perturbations of hope and fear, or to be exposed to their vicissitudes. But I suppose there could be little question with respect to a situation in which the fears must greatly predominate over the hopes. And such I apprehend to be the condition of the laboring poor in countries where slavery does not exist. If not exposed to present suffering, there is continual apprehension for the future, for themselves, for their children, of sickness and want, if not of actual starvation. They expect to improve their circumstances! Would any one person of ordinary candor say that there is one in a hundred of them who does not well know that, with all the exertion he can make, it is out of his power materially to improve his circumstances? I speak not so much of menial servants, who are generally of a superior class, as of the agricultural and manufacturing laborers. They labor with no such view. It is the instinctive struggle to preserve existence, and when the superior efficiency of their labor over that of our slaves is pointed out as being animated by a free-man's hopes, might it not well be replied—it is because they labor under a sterner compulsion? The laws interpose no obstacle to their raising their condition in society. 'Tis a great boon; but as to the great mass, they know that they never will be able to raise it; and it should seem not very important in effect, whether it be the interdict of law, or imposed by the circumstances of the society. One in a thousand is successful. But does his success compensate for the sufferings of the many who are tantalized, baffled, and tortured in vain attempts to attain a like result? If the

individual be conscious of intellectual power, the suffering is greater. Even where success is apparently attained, he sometimes gains it but to die, or, with all capacity, to enjoy it exhausted, worn out in the struggle with fortune. If it be true that the African is an inferior variety of the human race, of less elevated character and more limited intellect, is it not desirable that the inferior laboring class should be made up of such, who will conform to their condition without painful aspirations and vain struggles?

The slave is certainly liable to be sold. But perhaps it may be questioned whether this is a greater evil than the liability of the laborer, in fully peopled countries, to be dismissed by his employer, with the uncertainty of being able to obtain employment or the means of subsistence elsewhere. With us, the employer cannot dismiss his laborer without providing him with another employer. His means of subsistence are secure, and this is a compensation for much. He is also liable to be separated from wife or child—though not more frequently, that I am aware of, than the exigency of their condition compels the separation of families among the laboring poor elsewhere—but, from native character and temperament, the separation is much less severely felt. And it is one of the compensations, that he may sustain these relations without suffering a still severer penalty for the indulgence.

The love of liberty is a noble passion—to have the free, uncontrolled disposition of ourselves, our words and actions. But, alas! it is one in which we know that a large portion of the human race can never be gratified. It is mockery to say that the laborer any where has such disposition of himself, though there may be an approach to it in some peculiar—and those, perhaps, not the most desirable—states of society. But unless he be properly disciplined and prepared for its enjoyment, it is the most fatal boon that could be conferred—fatal to himself and others. If slaves have less freedom of action than other laborers, which I by no means admit, they are saved in a great degree from the responsibility of self-government, and the evils springing from their own perverse wills. Those who have looked most closely into life, and know how great a portion of human misery is derived from these sources—the undecided and wavering purpose, producing ineffectual exertion, or indolence with its thousand attendant evils—the wayward conduct, intemperance or profligacy—will most appreciate this benefit. The line of a slave's duty is marked out with precision, and he has no choice but to follow it. He is saved the double difficulty, first of determining the proper course for himself, and then of summoning up the energy which will sustain him in pursuing it.

If some superior power should impose on the laborious poor of any other country, this as their unalterable condition: You shall be saved from the torturing anxiety concerning your own future support, and that of your children, which now pursues you through life and haunts you in death; you shall be under the necessity of regular and healthful, though not excessive labor; in return, you shall have the ample supply of your natural wants; you may follow the instinct of nature in becoming parents, without apprehending that this supply will fail yourselves or your children; you shall be supported and relieved in sickness, and in old age wear out the remains of existence among familiar scenes and accustomed associates, without being driven to beg, or to resort to the hard and miserable charity of a workhouse; you shall of necessity be temperate, and shall have neither the temptation nor opportunity to commit great crimes, nor practise the more destructive vices—how inappreciable would the boon be thought! And is not this a very near approach to the condition of our slaves? The evils of their situation they but lightly feel, and would hardly feel at all, if they were not sedulously instructed into sensibility. Certain it is, that if their fate were at the absolute disposal of a council of the most enlightened philanthropists in Christendom, with unlimited resources, they could place them in no situation so favorable to themselves as that which they at present occupy. But whatever good there may be, or whatever mitigation of evil, it is worse than valueless, because it is the result of slavery.

I am aware that, however often answered, it is likely to be repeated again and again—How can that institution be tolerable by which a large class of society is cut off from the hope of improvement in knowledge; to whom blows are not degrading, theft no more than a fault, falsehood and the want of chastity almost venial; and in which a husband or parent looks with comparative indifference on that which to a freeman would be the dishonor of a wife or child?

But why not, if it produces the greatest aggregate of good? Sin and ignorance are only evils because they lead to misery. It is not our institution, but the institution of nature, that in the progress of society a portion of it should be exposed to want, and the misery which it brings, and therefore involved in ignorance, vice, and depravity. In anticipating some of the good, we also anticipate a portion of the evil of civilization. But we have it in a mitigated form. The want and the misery are unknown; the ignorance is less a misfortune, because the being is not the guardian of himself, and partly on account of that involuntary ignorance, the vice is less vice—less hurtful to man, and less displeasing to God.

IN WHAT OUR SLAVERY DIFFERS FROM THE SERVITUDE OF OTHER COUNTRIES.—GENERAL INFLUENCES OF SLAVERY.—PART IV.—There is something in this word *Slavery* which seems to partake of the qualities of the insane root, and distempers the minds of men. That which would be true in relation to one predicament, they misapply to another, to which it has no application at all. Some of the virtues of a freeman would be the vices of slaves. To submit to a blow would be degrading to a freeman, because he is the protector of himself. It is not degrading to a slave—neither is it to a priest or a woman. And is it a misfortune that it should be so? The freeman of other countries is compelled to submit to indignities hardly more endurable than blows—indignities to make the sensitive feelings shrink, and the proud heart swell; and this very name of freeman gives them double rancor. If, when a man is born in Europe, it were certainly foreseen that he was destined to a life of painful labor—to obscurity, contempt, and privation—would it not be mercy that he should be reared in ignorance and apathy, and trained to the endurance of the evils he must encounter? It is not certainly foreseen as to any individual, but it is foreseen as to the great mass of those born of the laboring poor; and it is for the mass, not for the exception, that the institutions of society are to provide. Is it not better that the character and intellect of the individual should be suited to the station which he is to occupy? Would you do a benefit to the horse or the ox, by giving him a cultivated understanding, or fine feelings? So far as the mere laborer has the pride, the knowledge, or the aspirations of a freeman, he is unfitted for his situation, and must doubly feel its infelicity. If there are sordid, servile, and laborious offices to be performed, is it not better that there should be sordid, servile, and laborious beings to perform them? If there were infallible marks by which individuals of inferior intellect, and inferior character, could be selected at their birth, would not the interests of society be served, and would not some sort of fitness seem to require, that they should be selected for the inferior and servile offices? And if this race be generally marked by such inferiority, is it not fit that they should fill them?

I am well aware that those whose aspirations are after a state of society from which evil shall be banished, and who look in life for that which life will never afford, contemplate that all the offices of life may be performed without contempt or degradation—all be regarded as equally liberal, or equally respected. But theorists cannot control Nature and bend her to their views, and the inequality of which I have before spoken is deeply founded in nature. The offices which employ knowledge and intellect will always be regarded as more liberal than those which only

require the labor of the hands. When there is competition for employment, he who gives it bestows a favor, and it will be so received. He will assume superiority from the power of dismissing his laborers, and from fear of this, the latter will practise deference, often amounting to servility. Such in time will become the established relation between the employer and the employed, the rich and the poor. If want be accompanied with sordidness and squalor, though it be pitied, the pity will be mixed with some degree of contempt. If it lead to misery, and misery to vice, there will be disgust and aversion.

What is the essential character of *Slavery*, and in what does it differ from the *servitude* of other countries? If I should venture on a definition, I should say that where a man is compelled to labor at the will of another, and to give him much the greater portion of the product of his labor, there *Slavery* exists; and it is immaterial by what sort of compulsion the will of the laborer is subdued. It is what no human being would do without some sort of compulsion. He cannot be compelled to labor by blows. No—but what difference does it make, if you can inflict any other sort of torture which will be equally effectual in subduing the will? if you can starve him, or alarm him for the subsistence of himself or his family? And is it not under this compulsion that the *freeman* labors? I do not mean in every particular case, but in the general. Will any one be hardy enough to say that he is at his own disposal, or has the government of himself? True, he may change his employer if he is dissatisfied with his conduct towards him; but this is a privilege he would in the majority of cases gladly abandon, and render the connection between them indissoluble. There is far less of the interest and attachment in his relation to his employer, which so often exists between the master and the slave, and mitigates the condition of the latter. An intelligent English traveller has characterized as the most miserable and degraded of all beings, “a masterless slave.” And is not the condition of the laboring poor of other countries too often that of masterless slaves? Take the following description of a *free* laborer, no doubt highly colored, quoted by the author to whom I have before referred: “What is that defective being, with callous legs and stooping shoulders, weak in body and mind, inert, pusillanimous, and stupid, whose premature wrinkles and furtive glance tell of misery and degradation? That is an English peasant or pauper, for the words are synonymous. His sire was a pauper, and his mother’s milk wanted nourishment. From infancy his food has been bad, as well as insufficient; and he now feels the pains of unsatisfied hunger nearly whenever he is awake. But half clothed, and never supplied with more warmth than suffices to cook his scanty meals, cold and

wet come to him, and stay by him with the weather. He is married, of course; for to this he would have been driven by the poor laws, even if he had been, as he never was, sufficiently comfortable and prudent to dread the burden of a family. But though instinct and the overseer have given him a wife, he has not tasted the highest joys of husband and father. His partner and his little ones being, like himself, often hungry, seldom warm, sometimes sick without aid, and always sorrowful without hope, are greedy, selfish, and vexing; so, to use his own expression, he hates the sight of them, and resorts to his hovel only because a hedge affords less shelter from the wind and rain. Compelled by parish law to support his family, which means, to join them in consuming an allowance from the parish, he frequently conspires with his wife to get that allowance increased, or prevent its being diminished. This brings beggary, trickery, and quarrelling, and ends in settled craft. Though he have the inclination, he wants the courage to become, like more energetic men of his class, a poacher or smuggler on a small scale, but he pilfers occasionally, and teaches his children to lie and steal. His subdued and slavish manner towards his great neighbors shows that they treat him with suspicion and harshness. Consequently, he at once hates and dreads them; but he will never harm them by violent means. Too degraded to be desperate, he is only thoroughly depraved. His miserable career will be short; rheumatism and asthma are conducting him to the workhouse, where he will breathe his last without one pleasant recollection, and so make room for another wretch, who may live and die in the same way." And this description, or some other not much less revolting, is applied to the "bulk of the people—the great body of the people." Take the following description of the condition of childhood, which has justly been called eloquent:*

"The children of the very poor have no young times. It makes the very heart bleed to overhear the casual street talk between a poor woman and her little girl—a woman of the better sort of poor, in a condition rather above the squalid beings we have been contemplating. It is not of toys, of nursery books, of summer holidays (fitting that age), of the promised sight or play, of praised sufficiency at school; it is of mangling and clear-starching—of the price of coals or of potatoes. The questions of the child, that should be the very outpourings of curiosity in idleness, are marked with forecast and melancholy providence. It has come to be a woman before it was a child. It has learned to go to market; it chaffers, it haggles, it envies, it murmurs; it is knowing, acute, sharpened; it never prattles." Imagine such a description applied to

the children of negro slaves, the most vacant of human beings, whose life is a holiday.

And this people to whom these horrors are familiar, are those who fill the world with clamor concerning the injustice and cruelty of slavery. I speak in no invidious spirit; neither the laws nor the government of England are to be reproached with the evils which are inseparable from the state of their society. As little, undoubtedly, are we to be reproached with the existence of our slavery. Including the whole United States—and, for reasons already given, the whole ought to be included, as receiving in no unequal degree the benefit—may we not say justly that we have less slavery, and more mitigated slavery, than any country in the civilized world?

That they are called free, undoubtedly aggravates the sufferings of the slaves of other regions. They see the enormous inequality which exists, and feel their own misery, and can hardly conceive otherwise than that there is some injustice in the institutions of society to occasion these. They regard the apparently more fortunate class as oppressors; and it adds bitterness that they should be of the same name and race. They feel indignity more acutely, and more of discontent and evil passion is excited. They feel that it is mockery that calls them free. Men do not so much hate and envy those who are separated from them by a wide distance, and some apparently impassable barrier, as those who approach nearer to their own condition, and with whom they habitually bring themselves into comparison. The slave with us is not tantalized with the name of freedom, to which his whole condition gives the lie, and would do so if he were emancipated to-morrow. The African slave sees that Nature herself has marked him as a separate—and if left to himself, I have no doubt he would feel it to be an inferior—race, and interposed a barrier almost insuperable to his becoming a member of the same society, standing on the same footing of right and privilege with his master.

That the African negro is an inferior variety of the human race, is, I think, now generally admitted, and his distinguishing characteristics are such as peculiarly mark him out for the situation which he occupies among us; and those are no less marked in their original country than we have daily occasion to observe them. The most remarkable is their indifference to personal liberty. In this they have followed their instincts, since we have any knowledge of their continent, by enslaving each other; but, contrary to the experience of every other race, the possession of slaves has no material effect in raising the character, and promoting the civilization, of the master. Another trait is the want of domestic affections, and insensibility to the ties of kindred. In the travels of the Landers, after speaking of a single exception, in the person of a wo-

* *Essays of Elia.*

man who betrayed some transient emotion in passing by the country from which she had been torn as a slave, the author adds—"That Africans, generally speaking, betray the most perfect indifference on losing their liberty and being deprived of their relatives, while love of country is equally a stranger to their breasts, as social tenderness or domestic affection." "Marriage is celebrated by the natives as unconcernedly as possible; a man thinks as little of taking a wife as of cutting an ear of corn; affection is altogether out of the question." They are, however, very submissive to authority, and seem to entertain great reverence for chiefs, priests, and masters. No greater indignity can be offered an individual than to throw opprobrium on his parents. On this point of their character I think I have remarked that, contrary to the instincts of nature in other races, they entertain less regard for children than for parents, to whose authority they have been accustomed to submit. Their character is thus summed up by the traveller quoted:—"The few opportunities we have had of studying their characters induce us to believe that they are a simple, honest, inoffensive, but weak, timid, and cowardly race. They seem to have no social tenderness, very few of those amiable private virtues which could win our affections, and none of those public qualities that claim respect or command admiration. The love of country is not strong enough in their bosoms to entice them to defend it against a despicable foe; and of the active energy, noble sentiments, and contempt of danger, which distinguish the North American tribes, and other savages, no traces are to be found among this slothful people. Regardless of the past, as reckless of the future, the present alone influences their actions. In this respect they approach nearer to the nature of the brute creation than perhaps any other people on the face of the globe." Let me ask, if this people do not furnish the very material out of which slaves ought to be made; and whether it be not an improving of their condition to make them the slaves of civilized masters? There is a variety in the character of the tribes. Some are brutally and savagely ferocious and bloody, whom it would be mercy to enslave. From the travellers' account, it seems not unlikely that the negro race is tending to extermination, being daily encroached on and overrun by the superior Arab race. It may be, that when they shall have been loosed from their native seats, they may be found numerous, and in no unhappy condition, on the continent to which they have been transplanted.

The opinion which connects form and features with character and intellectual power, is one so deeply impressed on the human mind, that perhaps there is scarcely any man who does not almost daily act upon it, and in some measure verify its truth. Yet in spite of this

intimation of nature, and though the anatomist and physiologist may tell them that the races differ in every bone and muscle, and in the proportion of brain and nerves, yet there are some who, with a most bigoted and fanatical determination to free themselves from what they have prejudged to be prejudice, will still maintain that this physiognomy, evidently tending to that of the brute, when compared with that of the Caucasian race, may be enlightened by as much thought, and animated by as lofty sentiments. We, who have the best opportunity of judging, are pronounced to be incompetent to do so, and to be blinded by our interests and prejudices—often by those who have no opportunity at all. Are we to be taught to distrust or disbelieve that which we daily observe, and familiarly know, on such authority? Our prejudices are spoken of. But the truth is, that, until very lately, since circumstances have compelled us to think of ourselves, we took our opinion on this subject, as on every other, ready formed, from the country of our origin. And so deeply rooted were they, that we adhered to them, as most men will do to deeply rooted opinions, even against the evidence of our own observations and our own senses. If the inferiority exists, it is attributed to the apathy and degradation produced by slavery. Though of the hundreds of thousands scattered over other countries, where the laws impose no liability upon them, none has given evidence of an approach to even mediocrity of intellectual excellence, this, too, is attributed to the slavery of a portion of their race. They are regarded as a servile caste, and degraded by opinions, and thus every generous effort is repressed. Yet, though this should be the general effect, this very estimation is calculated to produce the contrary effect in particular instances. It is observed by Bacon, with respect to deformed persons and eunuchs, that though in general there is something of perversity in their character, the disadvantage often leads to extraordinary displays of virtue and excellence. "Whosoever hath any thing in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself, to rescue and deliver himself from scorn." So it would be with them if they were capable of European aspirations;—genius, if they possessed it, would be doubly fired with noble rage to rescue itself from this scorn. Of course I do not mean to say that there may not be found among them some of superior capacity to many white persons; but that great intellectual powers are, perhaps, never found among them, and that in general their capacity is very limited, and that capacity animal and coarse, fitting them peculiarly to discharge the lower and merely mechanical offices of society. And why should it not be so? We have among domestic animals infinite varieties, distinguished by various degrees of sagacity, courage, strength, swiftness, and

other qualities. And it may be observed, that this is no objection to their being derived from a common origin, which we suppose them to have had. Yet these accidental qualities, as they may be termed, however acquired in the first instance, we know that they transmit unimpaired to their posterity for an indefinite succession of generations. It is most important that these varieties should be preserved, and that each should be applied to the purposes for which it is best adapted. No philo-zoist, I believe, has suggested it as desirable, that these varieties should be melted down into one equal, undistinguished race of curs or road-horses. Slavery, as it is said in an eloquent article published in a southern periodical work,* to which I am indebted for other ideas, "has done more to elevate a degraded race in the scale of humanity; to tame the savage; to civilize the barbarous; to soften the ferocious; to enlighten the ignorant; and to spread the blessings of Christianity among the heathen, than all the missionaries that philanthropy and religion have ever sent forth." Yet, unquestionable as this is, and though human ingenuity and thought may be tasked in vain to devise any other means by which these blessings could have been conferred, yet a sort of sensibility which would be only mawkish and contemptible, if it were not mischievous, affects still to weep over the wrongs of "injured Africa." Can there be a doubt of the immense benefit which has been conferred on the race, by transplanting them from their native, dark, and barbarous regions, to the American continent and islands? There three fourths of the race are in a state of the most deplorable personal slavery. And those who are not, are in a scarcely less deplorable condition of political slavery to barbarous chiefs, who value neither life nor any other human right, or enthralled by priests to the most abject and atrocious superstitions. Take the following testimony of one of the most distinguished observers, who has had an opportunity of observing them in both situations:† "The wild savage is the child of passion, unaided by one ray of religion or morality to direct his course, in consequence of which his existence is stained with every crime that can debase human nature to a level with the brute creation. Who can say that the slaves in our colonies are such? Are they not, by comparison with their still savage brethren, enlightened beings? Is not the West Indian negro, therefore, greatly indebted to his master for making him what he is—for having raised him from the state of debasement in which he was born, and placed him in a scale of civilized society? How can he repay him? He is

possessed of nothing—the only return in his power is his servitude. The man who has seen the wild African, roaming in his native woods, and the well-fed, happy-looking negro of the West Indies, may, perhaps, be able to judge of their comparative happiness: the former, I strongly suspect, would be glad to change his state of boasted freedom, starvation and disease, to become the slave of sinners, and the commiseration of saints." It was a useful and beneficent work, approaching the heroic, to tame the wild her-e, and subdue him to the use of man; how much more to tame the nobler animal that is capable of reason, and subdue him to usefulness.

We believe that the tendency of slavery is to elevate the character of the master. No doubt the character—especially of youth—has sometimes received a taint and premature knowledge of vice, from the contact and association with ignorant and servile beings of gross manners and morals. Yet still we believe that the entire tendency is to inspire disgust and aversion towards their peculiar vices. It was not without a knowledge of nature that the Spartans exhibited the vices of slaves by way of negative example to their children. We flatter ourselves that the view of this degradation, mitigated as it is, has the effect of making probity more strict, the pride of character more high, the sense of honor more strong, than is commonly found where this institution does not exist. Whatever may be the prevailing faults or vices of the masters of slaves, they have not commonly been understood to be those of dishonesty, cowardice, meanness, or falsehood. And so most unquestionably it ought to be. Our institutions would indeed be intolerable in the sight of God and man, if, condemning one portion of society to hopeless ignorance and comparative degradation, they should make no atonement by elevating the other class by higher virtues and more liberal attainments—if, besides degraded slaves, there should be ignorant, ignoble, and degraded freemen. There is a broad and well marked line, beyond which no slavish vice should be regarded with the least toleration or allowance. One class is cut off from all interest in the state—that abstraction so potent to the feelings of a generous nature. The other must make compensation by increased assiduity and devotion to its honor and welfare. The love of wealth—so laudable when kept within proper limits, so base and mischievous when it exceeds them—so infectious in its example, an infection to which, I fear, we have been too much exposed—should be pursued by no arts in any degree equivocal, or at any risk of injustice to others. So surely as there is a just and wise Governor of the universe, who punishes the sins of nations and communities, as well as of indivi-

* Southern Literary Messenger for January, 1835.

† Journal of an officer employed in the expedition under the command of Captain Owen, on the West-ern Coast of Africa, 1822.

duals, so surely shall we suffer punishment, if we are indifferent to that moral and intellectual cultivation of which the means are furnished to us, and to which we are called and incited by our situation.

I would to Heaven I could express, as I feel, the conviction how necessary this cultivation is, not only to our prosperity and consideration, but to our safety and very existence. We, the slaveholding states, are in a hopeless minority in our own confederated republic—to say nothing of the great confederacy of civilized states. It is admitted, I believe, not only by slaveholders, but by others, that we have sent to our common councils more than our due share of talent, high character, and eloquence. Yet in spite of all these, most strenuously exerted measures have been sometimes adopted, which we believed to be dangerous and injurious to us, and threatening to be fatal. What would be our situation, if, instead of these, we were only represented by ignorant and grovelling men, incapable of raising their views beyond a job or a petty office, and incapable of commanding hearing or consideration? May I be permitted to advert—by no means invidiously—to the late contest carried on by South Carolina against federal authority, and so happily terminated by the moderation which prevailed in our public councils? I have often reflected what one circumstance, more than any other, contributed to the successful issue of a contest, apparently so hopeless, in which one weak and divided state was arrayed against the whole force of the confederacy—unsustained and uncountenanced even by those who had a common interest with her. It seemed to me to be, that we had for leaders an unusual number of men of great intellectual power, coöperating cordially and in good faith, and commanding respect and confidence at home and abroad, by elevated and honorable character. It was from these that we—the followers at home—caught hope and confidence in the gloomiest aspect of our affairs. These, by their eloquence and the largeness of their views, at least shook the faith of the dominant majority in the wisdom and justice of their measures, or the practicability of carrying them into successful effect, and by their bearing and well-known character, satisfied them that South Carolina would do all that she had pledged herself to do. Without these, how different might have been the result! And who shall say what at this day would have been the aspect of the now flourishing fields and cities of South Carolina? Or rather without these, it is probable the contest would never have been begun; but that, without even the animation of a struggle, we should have sunk silently into a hopeless and degrading subjection. While I

have memory—in the extremity of age—in sickness—under all the reverses and calamities of life—I shall have one source of pride and consolation—that of having been associated, according to my humbler position, with the noble spirits who stood prepared to devote themselves for Liberty—the Constitution—the Union. May such character and such talent never be wanting to South Carolina!

I am sure that it is unnecessary to say to an assembly like this, that the conduct of the master to his slave should be distinguished by the utmost humanity. That we should indeed regard them as wards and dependants on our kindness, for whose well being in every way we are deeply responsible. This is no less the dictate of wisdom and just policy, than of right feeling. It is wise with respect to the services to be expected from them. I have never heard of an owner whose conduct in their management was distinguished by undue severity, whose slaves were not in a great degree worthless to him. A cheerful and kind demeanor, with the expression of interest in themselves and their affairs, is, perhaps, calculated to have a better effect on them, than what might be esteemed more substantial favors and indulgences. Throughout nature, attachment is the reward of attachment. It is wise, too, in relation to the civilized world around us, to avoid giving occasion to the odium which is so industriously excited against ourselves and our institutions. For this reason, public opinion should, if possible, bear even more strongly and indignantly than it does at present, on masters who practise any wanton cruelty on their slaves. The miscreant who is guilty of this, not only violates the law of God and of humanity, but as far as in him lies, by bringing odium upon, endangers the institutions of his country, and the safety of his countrymen. He casts a shade upon the character of every individual of his fellow-citizens, and does every one of them a personal injury. So of him who indulges in any odious excess of intemperate or licentious passion. It is detached instances of this sort, of which the existence is, perhaps, hardly known among ourselves, that, collected with pertinacious and malevolent industry, afford the most formidable weapons to the mischievous zealots, who array them as being characteristic of our general manners and state of society.

I would by no means be understood to intimate, that a vigorous, as well as just government, should not be exercised over slaves. This is part of our duty towards them, no less obligatory than any other duty, and no less necessary towards their well-being than to ours. I believe that at least as much injury has been done and suf-

fering inflicted by weak and injudicious indulgence, as by inordinate severity. He whose business is to labor, should be made to labor, and that with due diligence, and should be vigorously restrained from excess or vice. This is no less necessary to his happiness than to his usefulness. The master who neglects this, not only makes his slaves unprofitable to himself, but discontented and wretched—a nuisance to his neighbors and to society.

I have said that the tendency of our institution is to elevate the female character, as well as that of the other sex, and for similar reasons. In other states of society, there is no well-defined limit to separate virtue and vice. There are degrees of vice, from the most flagrant and odious, to that which scarcely incurs the censure of society. Many individuals occupy an unequivocal position; and as society becomes accustomed to this, there will be a less peremptory requirement of purity in female manners and conduct; and often the whole of the society will be in a tainted and uncertain condition with respect to female virtue. Here, there is that certain and marked line, above which there is no toleration or allowance for any approach to license of manners or conduct, and she who falls below it, will fall far below even the slave. How many will incur this penalty?

And permit me to say, that this elevation of the female character is no less important and essential to us, than the moral and intellectual cultivation of the other sex. It would indeed be intolerable, if, when one class of society is necessarily degraded in this respect, no compensation were made by the superior elevation and purity of the other. Not only essential purity of conduct, but the utmost purity of manners, and, I will add, though it may incur the formidable charge of affectation or prudery, a greater severity of decorum than is required elsewhere, is necessary among us. Always should be strenuously resisted the attempts which have been sometimes made to introduce among us the freedom of foreign European, and especially of continental manners. This freedom, the remotest in the world from that which sometimes springs from simplicity of manners, is calculated and commonly intended to confound the outward distinctions of virtue and vice. It is to prepare the way for licentiousness—to produce this effect—that, if those who are clothed with the outward color and garb of vice may be well received by society, those who are actually guilty may hope to be so too. It may be said, that there is often perfect purity where there is very great freedom of manners. And, I have no doubt, this may be true in particular instances, but it is never true of any *society* in which this is the general

state of manners. What guards can there be to purity, when every thing that *may possibly* be done innocently, is habitually practised; when there can be no impropriety which is not vice? And what must be the depth of the depravity, when there is a departure from that which they admit as principle? Besides, things which may perhaps be practised innocently where they are familiar, produce a moral dilaceration in the course of their being introduced where they are new. Let us say, we will not have the manners of South Carolina changed.

I have before said, that free labor is cheaper than the labor of slaves, and so far as it is so, the condition of the free laborer is worse. But I think President Dew has sufficiently shown that this is only true of northern countries. It is matter of familiar remark, that the tendency of warm climates is to relax the human constitution and indispose to labor. The earth yields abundantly—in some regions almost spontaneously—under the influence of the sun, and the means of supporting life are obtained with but slight exertion; and men will use no greater exertion than is necessary to the purpose. This very luxuriance of vegetation, where no other cause concurs, renders the air less salubrious, and even when positive malady does not exist, the health is habitually impaired. Indolence renders the constitution more liable to these effects of the atmosphere, and these again aggravate the indolence. Nothing but the coercion of slavery can overcome the repugnance to labor under these circumstances, and by subduing the soil, improve and render wholesome the climate.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS.—PART V.—It is worthy of remark, that there does not now exist on the face of the earth a people in a tropical climate, or one approaching to it, where slavery does not exist, that is in a state of high civilization, or exhibits the energies which mark the progress towards it. Mexico and the South American republics,* starting

* The author of England and America thus speaks of the Colombian republic:

“During some years, this colony has been an independent state; but the people dispersed over these vast and fertile plains have almost ceased to cultivate the good land at their disposal; they subsist principally, many of them entirely, on the flesh of wild cattle; they have lost most of the arts of civilized life; not a few of them are in a state of deplorable misery; and if they should continue, as it seems probable they will, to retrograde as at present, the beautiful pampas of Buenos Ayres will soon be fit for another experiment in colonization. Slaves, black or yellow, would have cultivated those plains, would have kept together, would have been made to assist each other; would, by keeping together and assisting each other, have raised a surplus produce exchangeable in distant markets; would have kept their masters together for the sake of markets; would, by combination of labor, have preserved among their masters the arts and habits of civilized life.” Yet this writer, the whole practical effect of whose work, whatever he may have thought or intended, is to show the ab-

on their new career of independence, and having gone through a farce of abolishing slavery, are rapidly degenerating, even from semi-barbarism. The only portion of the South American continent which seems to be making any favorable progress, in spite of a weak and arbitrary civil government, is Brazil, in which slavery has been retained. Cuba, of the same race with the continental republics, is daily and rapidly advancing in industry and civilization; and this is owing exclusively to her slaves. St. Domingo is struck out of the map of civilized existence, and the British West Indies will shortly be so. On the other continent, Spain and Portugal are degenerate, and their rapid progress is downward. Their southern coast is infested with disease, arising from causes which industry might readily overcome, but that industry they will never exert. Greece is still barbarous and scantily peopled. The work of an English physician, distinguished by strong sense and power of observation,* gives a most affecting picture of the condition of Italy, especially south of the Apennines. With the decay of industry, the climate has degenerated towards the condition from which it was first rescued by the labor of slaves. There is poison in every man's veins, affecting the very springs of life, dulling or extinguishing, with the energies of the body, all energy of mind, and often exhibiting itself in the most appalling forms of disease. From year to year the pestilential atmosphere creeps forward, narrowing the circles within which it is possible to sustain human life. With disease and misery, industry still more rapidly decays, and if the process goes on, it seems that Italy will soon be ready for another experiment of colonization.

Yet once it was not so, when Italy was possessed by the masters of slaves; when Rome contained her millions, and Italy was a garden; when their iron energies of body corresponded with the energies of mind, which made them conquerors in every climate and on every soil; rolled the tide of conquest, not as in later times, from the south to the north; extended their laws and their civilization, and created them lords of the earth.

"What conflux issuing forth or entering in;
Prætors, pro-consuls to their provinces,
Hasting, or on return in robes of state.
Lictors and rods, the ensigns of their power,
Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings;
Or embassies from regions far remote,
In various habits, on the Applan road,
Or on th' Emilian; some from farthest south,

solute necessity and immense benefits of slavery, finds it necessary to add, I suppose, in deference to the general sentiment of his countrymen, "that slavery might have done all this, seems not more plain than that so much good would have been bought too dear, if its price had been slavery." Well may we say that the word makes men mad.

* Johnson on Change of Air.

Syene, and where the shadow both way falls,
Meroe, Nilotic isle, and more to west,
The realms of Boeuchus to the Blackmoor sea;
From th' Asian kings, and Parthian among these;
From India and the golden Chersonese,
And utmost India's isle, Taprobona,
Dusk faces, with white silken turbans wreathed;
From Gallia, Gades, and the British West;
Germans and Scythians, and Sarmatians, north
Beyond Danubius to the Tauric Pool!
All nations now to Rome obedience pay."

Such was and such is the picture of Italy. Greece presents a contrast not less striking. What is the cause of the great change? Many causes, no doubt, have concurred; but though

"War, famine, pestilence, and flood and fire
Have dealt upon the seven-hilled city's pride,"

I will venture to say that nothing has dealt upon it more heavily than the loss of domestic slavery. Is not this evident? If they had slaves, with an energetic civil government, would the deadly miasma be permitted to overspread the Campagna and invade Rome herself? Would not the soil be cultivated, and the wastes reclaimed? A late traveller* mentions a canal, cut for miles through rock and mountain, for the purpose of carrying off the waters of the lake of Celeno, on which thirty thousand Roman slaves were employed for eleven years, and which remains almost perfect to the present day. This, the government of Naples was ten years in repairing with an hundred workmen. The imperishable works of Rome which remain to the present day were, for the most part, executed by slaves. How different would be the condition of Naples, if for her wretched lazzaroni were substituted negro slaves, employed in rendering productive the plains whose fertility now serves only to infect the air!

To us, on whom this institution is fastened, and who could not shake it off even if we desired to do so, the great republics of antiquity offer instruction of inestimable value. They teach us that slavery is compatible with the freedom, stability, and long duration of civil government, with denseness of population, great power, and the highest civilization. And in what respect does this modern Europe, which claims to give opinions to the world, so far excel them—notwithstanding the immense advantages of the Christian religion and the discovery of the art of printing? They are not more free, nor have performed more glorious actions, nor displayed more exalted virtue. In the higher department of intellect—in all that relates to taste and imagination—they will hardly venture to claim equality. Where they have gone beyond them in the results of mechanical philosophy, or discoveries which contribute to the wants and enjoyments of physical life, they have done so by the help

* Eight days in the Abruzzi.—*Blackwood's Magazine*, November, 1835.

of means with which they were furnished by the Grecian mind—the mother of civilization—and only pursued a little farther the track which that had always pointed out. In the development of intellectual power, they will hardly bear comparison. Those noble republics, in the pride of their strength and greatness, may have anticipated for themselves—as some of their poets did for them—an everlasting duration and predominance. But they could not have anticipated, that when they had fallen under barbarous arms, that when arts and civilization were lost, and the whole earth in darkness, the first light should break from their tombs; that in a renewed world, unconnected with them by ties of locality, language, or descent, they should still be held the models of all that is profound in science, or elegant in literature, or all that is great in character, or elevated in imagination. And perhaps when England herself, who now leads the war with which we are on all sides threatened, shall have fulfilled her mission, and like the other glorious things of the earth, shall have passed away; when she shall have diffused her noble race and noble language, her laws, her literature, and her civilization, over all quarters of the earth, and shall perhaps be overrun by some northern horde—sunk into an ignoble and anarchical democracy,* or subdued to the dominion of some Caesar,—demagogue and despot,—then, in southern regions, there may be found many republics, triumphing in Grecian arts and civilization, and worthy of British descent and Roman institutions.

If after a time, when the mind and almost the memory of the republic were lost, Romans degenerated, they furnish conclusive evidence that this was owing not to their domestic, but to their political slavery. The same thing is observed over all the eastern monarchies; and so it must be, wherever property is insecure, and it is dangerous for a man to raise himself to such eminence by intellectual or moral excellence as would give him influence over his society. So it is in Egypt and the other regions bordering the Mediterranean, which once comprehended the civilization of the world, where Carthage, Tyre, and Phœnicia flourished. In short, the uncontradicted experience of the world is, that in southern states where good government and prædial and domestic slavery are found, there are prosperity and greatness; where either of these conditions is wanting, degeneracy and barbarism. The former, however, is equally essential in all climates and under all institutions. And can we suppose it to be the design of the Creator

that these regions, constituting half of the earth's surface, and the more fertile half and more capable of sustaining life, should be abandoned for ever to depopulation and barbarism? Certain it is, that they will never be reclaimed by the labor of freemen. In our own country, look at the lower valley of the Mississippi, which is capable of being made a far greater Egypt. In our own state, there are extensive tracts of the most fertile soil, which are capable of being made to swarm with life. These are at present pestilential swamps, and valueless, because there is abundance of other fertile soil in more favorable situations, which demand all and more than all the labor which our country can supply. Are these regions of fertility to be abandoned at once and for ever to the alligator and tortoise—with here and there perhaps a miserable, shivering, crouching *free* black savage? Does not the finger of Heaven itself seem to point to a race of men—not to be enslaved by us, but already enslaved, and who will be in every way benefited by the change of masters—to whom such climate is not uncongenial; who, though disposed to indolence, are yet patient and capable of labor; on whose whole features, mind, and character, nature has indelibly written—slave; and indicate that we should avail ourselves of these in fulfilling the first great command, to subdue and replenish the earth?

It is true that this labor will be dearer than that of northern countries, where, under the name of freedom, they obtain cheaper and perhaps better slaves. Yet it is the best we can have, and this too has its compensation. We see it compensated at present by the superior value of our agricultural products. And this superior value they must probably always have. The southern climate admits of a greater variety of productions. Whatever is produced in northern climates, the same thing, or something equivalent, may be produced in the southern. But the northern have no equivalent for the products of southern climates. The consequence will be, that the products of southern regions will be demanded all over the civilized world. The agricultural products of northern regions are chiefly for their own consumption. They must therefore apply themselves to the manufacturing of articles of luxury, elegance, convenience or necessity—which requires cheap labor—for the purpose of exchanging them with their southern neighbors. Thus nature herself indicates that agriculture should be the predominating employment in southern countries, and manufactures in northern. Commerce is necessary to both—but less indispensable to the southern, which produce within themselves a greater variety of things desirable to life. They will therefore have somewhat less of the commercial spirit. We must avail ourselves of such labor as we can com-

* I do not use the word democracy in the Athenian sense, but to describe the government in which the slave and his master have an equal voice in public affairs.

mand. The slave must labor, and is inured to it; while the necessity of energy in his government, of watchfulness, and of preparation and power to suppress insurrection, added to the moral force derived from the habit of command, may help to prevent the degeneracy of the master.

The task of keeping down insurrection is commonly supposed, by those who are strangers to our institution, to be a very formidable one. Even among ourselves, accustomed as we have been to take our opinions on this as on every other subject, ready formed from those whom we regarded as instructors, in the teeth of our own observation and experience, fears have been entertained which are absolutely ludicrous. We have been supposed to be nightly reposing over a mine, which may at any instant explode to our destruction. The first thought of a foreigner sojourning in one of our cities, who is awakened by any nightly alarm, is of servile insurrection and massacre. Yet if any thing is certain in human affairs, it is certain, and from the most obvious considerations, that we are more secure in this respect than any civilized and fully-peopled society upon the face of the earth. In every such society, there is a much larger proportion than with us, of persons who have more to gain than to lose by the overthrow of government, and the embroiling of social order. It is in such a state of things that those who were before at the bottom of society, rise to the surface. From causes already considered, they are peculiarly apt to consider their sufferings the result of injustice and misgovernment, and to be rancorous and embittered accordingly. They have every excitement therefore of resentful passion, and every temptation which the hope of increased opulence or power or consideration can hold out, to urge them to innovation and revolt. Supposing the same disposition to exist in equal degree among our slaves, what are their comparative means or prospect of gratifying it? The poor of other countries are called free. They have, at least, no one interested to exercise a daily and nightly superintendence and control over their conduct and actions. Emissaries of their class may traverse, unchecked, every portion of the country, for the purpose of organizing insurrection. From their greater intelligence, they have greater means of communicating with each other. They may procure and secrete arms. It is not alone the ignorant, or those who are commonly called the poor, that will be tempted to revolution. There will be many disappointed men, and men of desperate fortune—men perhaps of talent and daring—to combine them and direct their energies. Even those in the higher ranks of society who contemplate no such result, will contribute to it, by declaiming on their hardships and rights.

With us, it is almost physically impossible

that there should be any very extensive combination among the slaves. It is absolutely impossible that they should procure and conceal efficient arms. Their emissaries traversing the country would carry their commission on their foreheads. If we suppose among them an individual of sufficient talent and energy to qualify him for a revolutionary leader, he could not be so extensively known as to command the confidence which would be necessary to enable him to combine and direct them. Of the class of freemen, there would be no individual so poor or degraded (with the exception perhaps of here and there a reckless and desperate outlaw and felon) who would not have much to lose by the success of such an attempt; every one therefore would be vigilant and active to detect and suppress it. Of all impossible things, one of the most impossible would be a successful insurrection of our slaves, originating with themselves.

Attempts at insurrection have indeed been made—excited, we believe, by the agitation of abolitionists and declaimers on slavery; but these have been in every instance promptly suppressed. We fear not to compare the riots, disorder, revolt and bloodshed which have been committed in our own, with those of any other civilized communities, during the same lapse of time. And let it be observed under what extraordinary circumstances our peace has been preserved. For the last half century, one half of our population has been admonished, in terms the most calculated to madden and excite, that they are the victims of the most grinding and cruel injustice and oppression. We know that these exhortations continually reach them, through a thousand channels we cannot detect, as if carried by the birds of the air; and what human being, especially when unfavorably distinguished by outward circumstances, is not ready to give credit when he is told that he is the victim of injustice and oppression? In effect, if not in terms, they have been continually exhorted to insurrection. The master has been painted a criminal, tyrant and robber, justly obnoxious to the vengeance of God and man, and they have been assured of the countenance and sympathy, if not of the active assistance of all the rest of the world. We ourselves have in some measure pleaded guilty to the impeachment. It is not long since a great majority of our free population, servile to the opinions of those whose opinions they had been accustomed to follow, would have admitted slavery to be a great evil, unjust and indefensible in principle, and only to be vindicated by the stern necessity which was imposed upon us. Thus stimulated by every motive and passion which ordinarily actuate human beings—not as to a criminal enterprise, but as to something generous and heroic—what has been the result? A few imbecile

and uncombined plots—in every instance detected before they broke out into action, and which, perhaps, if undetected, would never have broken into action; one or two sudden, unpromeditated attempts, frantic in their character, if not prompted by actual insanity, and these instantly crushed. As it is, we are not less assured of safety, order and internal peace than any other people; and but for the pertinacious and fanatical agitation of the subject, would be much more so.

This experience of security, however, should admonish us of the folly and wickedness of those who have sometimes taken upon themselves to supersede the regular course of law, and by rash and violent acts to punish supposed disturbers of the peace of society. This can admit of no justification or palliation whatever. Burke, I think, somewhere remarks something to this effect,—that when society is in the last stage of depravity, when all parties are alike corrupt and alike wicked and unjustifiable in their measures and objects, a good man may content himself with standing neuter, a sad disheartened spectator of the conflict between the rival vices. But are we in this wretched condition? It is fearful to see with what avidity the worst and most dangerous characters of society seized on the occasion of obtaining the countenance of better men, for the purpose of throwing off the restraints of law. It is always these who are most zealous and forward in constituting themselves the protectors of the public peace. To such men—men without reputation or principle or stake in society—disorder is the natural element. In that, desperate fortunes and the want of all moral principle and moral feeling constitute power. They are eager to avenge themselves upon society. Anarchy is not so much the absence of government as the government of the worst—not aristocracy but kakistocracy—a state of things which, to the honor of our nature, has seldom obtained amongst them, and which perhaps was only fully exemplified during the worst times of the French revolution, when that horrid hell burnt with its most lurid flame. In such a state of things, to be accused is to be condemned—to protect the innocent is to be guilty; and what perhaps is the worst effect, even men of better nature, to whom their own deeds are abhorrent, are goaded by terror to be forward and envious in deeds of guilt and violence. The scenes of lawless violence which have been acted in some portions of our country, rare and restricted as they have been, have done more to tarnish its reputation than a thousand libels. They have done more to discredit, and if any thing could, to endanger, not only our domestic, but our republican institutions, than the abolitionists themselves. Men can never be permanently and effectually disgraced but by themselves, and rarely endangered but by their own in-

judicious conduct, giving advantage to the enemy. Better, far better, would it be to encounter the dangers with which we are supposed to be threatened, than to employ such means for averting them. But the truth is, that in relation to this matter, so far as respects actual insurrection, when alarm is once excited, danger is absolutely at an end. Society can then employ legitimate and more effectual measures for its own protection. The very commission of such deeds is proof that they are unnecessary. Let those who attempt them then, or make any demonstration towards them, understand that they will meet only the discountenance and abhorrence of all good men, and the just punishment of the laws they have dared to outrage.

It has commonly been supposed, that this institution will prove a source of weakness in relation to military defense against a foreign enemy. I will venture to say, that in a slaveholding community, a larger military force may be maintained permanently in the field, than in any state where there are not slaves. It is plain that almost the whole of the able-bodied free male population, making half of the entire able-bodied male population, may be maintained in the field, and this without taking in any material degree from the labor and resources of the country. In general the labor of our country is performed by slaves. In other countries, it is their laborers that form the material of their armies. What proportion of these can be taken away without fatally crippling their industry and resources? In the war of the Revolution, though the strength of our state was wasted and paralyzed by the unfortunate divisions which existed among ourselves, yet it may be said with general truth, that every citizen was in the field, and acquired much of the qualities of the soldier.

It is true that this advantage will be attended with its compensating evils and disadvantages; to which we must learn to submit, if we are determined on the maintenance of our institutions. We are as yet hardly at all aware how little the maxims and practices of modern civilized government will apply to us. Standing armies, as they are elsewhere constituted, we cannot have; for we have not, and for generations cannot have, the materials out of which they are to be formed. If we should be involved in serious wars, I have no doubt but that some sort of conscription, requiring the services of all citizens for a considerable term, will be necessary. Like the people of Athens, it will be necessary that every citizen should be a soldier, and qualified to discharge efficiently the duties of a soldier. It may seem a melancholy consideration, that an army so made up should be opposed to the disciplined mercenaries of foreign nations. But we must learn to know our true situation. But may we not hope

that, made of superior materials, of men having home and country to defend; inspired by higher pride of character, of greater intelligence, and trained by an effective, though honorable discipline, such an army will be more than a match for mercenaries? The efficiency of an army is determined by the qualities of its officers; and may we not expect to have a greater proportion of men better qualified for officers, and possessing the true spirit of military command? And let it be recollected, that if there were otherwise reason to apprehend danger from insurrection, there will be the greatest security when there is the largest force on foot within the country. Then it is that any such attempt would be most instantly and effectually crushed.

And perhaps a wise foresight should induce our state to provide, that it should have within itself such military knowledge and skill as may be sufficient to organize, discipline and command armies, by establishing a military academy or school of discipline. The school of the militia will not do for this. From the general opinion of our weakness, if our country should at any time come into hostile collision, we shall be selected for the point of attack; making us, according to Mr. Adams's anticipation, the Flanders of the United States. Come from what quarter it may, the storm will fall upon us. It is known that lately, when there was apprehension of hostility with France, the scheme was instantly devised of invading the southern states and organizing insurrection. In a popular English periodical work, I have seen the plan suggested by an officer of high rank and reputation in the British army, of invading the southern states at various points and operating by the same means. He is said to be a gallant officer, and certainly had no conception that he was devising atrocious crime, as alien to the true spirit of civilized warfare as the poisoning of streams and fountains. But the folly of such schemes is no less evident than their wickedness. Apart from the consideration of that which experience has most fully proved to be true—that in general their attachment and fidelity to their masters is not to be shaken, and that from sympathy with the feelings of those by whom they are surrounded, and from whom they derive their impressions, they contract no less terror and aversion towards an invading enemy—it is manifest that this recourse would be an hundred fold more available to us than to such an enemy. They are already in our possession, and we might at will arm and organize them in any number that we might think proper. The Helots were a regular constituent part of the Spartan armies. Thoroughly acquainted with their characters, and accustomed to command them, we might use any strictness of discipline which would be necessary to render

them effective, and from their habits of subordination already formed, this would be a task of less difficulty. Though morally most timid, they are by no means wanting in physical strength of nerve. They are excitable by praise; and, directed by those in whom they have confidence, would rush fearlessly and unquestioning upon any sort of danger. With white officers and accompanied by a strong white cavalry, there are no troops in the world from whom there would be so little reason to apprehend insubordination or mutiny.

This I admit might be a dangerous resource, and one not to be resorted to but in great extremity. But I am supposing the case of our being driven to extremity. It might be dangerous to disband such an army, and reduce them, with the habits of soldiers, to their former condition of laborers. It might be found necessary, when once embodied, to keep them so, and subject to military discipline—a permanent standing army. This in time of peace would be expensive, if not dangerous. Or, if at any time we should be engaged in hostilities with our neighbors, and it were thought advisable to send such an army abroad to conquer settlements for themselves, the invaded regions might have occasion to think that the scourge of God was again let loose to afflict the earth.

President Dew has very fully shown how utterly vain are the fears of those who, though there may be no danger for the present, yet apprehend great danger for the future, when the number of slaves shall be greatly increased. He has shown that the larger and more condensed society becomes, the easier it will be to maintain subordination, supposing the relative numbers of the different classes to remain the same—or even if there should be a very disproportionate increase of the enslaved class. Of all vain things, the vainest, and that in which man most shows his impotence and folly, is the taking upon himself to provide for a very distant future—at all events, by any material sacrifice of the present. Though experience has shown that revolutions and political movements—unless when they have been conducted with the most guarded caution and moderation—have generally terminated in results just the opposite of what was expected from them, the angry ape will still play his fantastic tricks, and put in motion machinery, the action of which he no more comprehends or foresees than he comprehends the mysteries of infinity. The insect that is borne upon the current, will fancy that he directs its course. Besides the fear of insurrection and servile war, there is also alarm lest when their numbers shall be greatly increased, their labor will become utterly unprofitable, so that it will be equally difficult for the master to retain and support them, or to get rid of them. But at what age of the

world is this likely to happen? At present, it may be said that almost the whole of the southern portion of this continent is to be subdued to cultivation; and in the order of providence, this is the task allotted to them. For this purpose, more labor will be required for generations to come than they will be able to supply. When that task is accomplished, there will be many objects to which their labor may be directed.

At present they are employed in accumulating individual wealth, and this in one way, to wit, as agricultural laborers; and this is perhaps the most useful purpose to which their labor can be applied. The effect of slavery has not been to counteract the tendency to dispersion, which seems epidemical among our countrymen, invited by the unbounded extent of fertile and unexhausted soil, though it counteracts many of the evils of dispersion. All the customary trades, professions, and employments, except the agricultural, require a condensed population for their profitable exercise. The agriculturist who can command no labor but that of his own hands or that of his family, must remain comparatively poor and rude. He who acquires wealth by the labor of slaves, has the means of improvement for himself and his children. He may have a more extended intercourse, and consequently means of information and refinement, and may seek education for his children where it may be found. I say, what is obviously true, that he has the means of obtaining those advantages; but I say nothing to palliate or excuse the conduct of him who, having such means, neglects to avail himself of them.

I believe it to be true, that in consequence of our dispersion, though individual wealth is acquired, the face of the country is less adorned and improved by useful and ornamental public works, than in other societies of more condensed population, where there is less wealth. But this is an effect of that which constitutes perhaps our most conspicuous advantage. Where population is condensed, they must have the evils of condensed population, and among these is the difficulty of finding profitable employment for capital. He who has accumulated even an inconsiderable sum, is often puzzled to know what use to make of it. Ingenuity is therefore tasked to cast about for every enterprise which may afford a chance of profitable investment. Works useful and ornamental to the country are thus undertaken and accomplished, and though the proprietors may fail of profit, the community no less receives the benefit. Among us, there is no such difficulty. A safe and profitable method of investment is offered to every one who has capital to dispose of, which is further recommended to his feelings by the sense of independence and the comparative leisure which the employment affords

to the proprietor engaged in it. It is for this reason that few of our citizens engage in the pursuits of commerce. Though these may be more profitable, they are also more hazardous and more laborious.

When the demand for agricultural labor shall be fully supplied, then of course the labor of slaves will be directed to other employments and enterprises. Already it begins to be found, that in some instances it may be used as profitably in works of public improvement. As it becomes cheaper and cheaper, it will be applied to more various purposes and combined in larger masses. It may be commanded and combined with more facility than any other sort of labor; and the laborer, kept in stricter subordination, will be less dangerous to the security of society than in any other country, which is crowded and overstocked with a class of what are called free laborers. Let it be remembered, that all the great and enduring monuments of human art and industry—the wonders of Egypt, the everlasting works of Rome—were created by the labor of slaves. There will come a stage in our progress when we shall have facilities for executing works as great as any of these—more useful than the pyramids—not less magnificent than the sea of Moris. What the end of all is to be; what mutations lie hid in the womb of the distant future; to what convulsions our societies may be exposed; whether the master, finding it impossible to live with his slaves, may not be compelled to abandon the country to them; of all this it were presumptuous and vain to speculate.

I have hitherto, as I proposed, considered it as a naked, abstract question of the comparative good and evil of the institution of slavery. Very far different indeed is the practical question presented to us, when it is proposed to get rid of an institution which has interwoven itself with every fibre of the body politic; which has formed the habits of our society, and is consecrated by the usage of generations. If this be not a vicious prescription, which the laws of God forbid to ripen into right, it has a just claim to be respected by all tribunals of man. If the negroes were now free, and it were proposed to enslave them, then it would be incumbent on those who proposed the measure to show clearly that their liberty was incompatible with the public security. When it is proposed to innovate on the established state of things, the burthen is on those who propose the innovation, to show that advantage will be gained from it. There is no reform, however necessary, wholesome or moderate, which will not be accompanied with some degree of inconvenience, risk or suffering. Those who acquiesce in the state of things which they found existing, can hardly be thought criminal. But most deeply criminal are they who give rise to

the enormous evil with which great revolutions in society are always attended, without the fullest assurance of the greater good to be ultimately obtained. But if it can be made to appear, even probably, that no good will be obtained, but that the results will be evil and calamitous as the process, what can justify such innovations? No human being can be so mischievous, if acting conscientiously, none can be so wicked, as those who, finding evil in existing institutions, rush blindly upon change, unforeseeing and reckless of consequences, and leaving it to chance or fate to determine whether the end shall be improvement, or greater and more intolerable evil. Certainly the instincts of nature prompt to resist intolerable oppression. For this resistance no rule can be prescribed, but it must be left to the instincts of nature. To justify it, however, the insurrectionists should at least have a reasonable probability of success, and be assured that their condition will be improved by success. But most extraordinary is it, when those who complain and clamor are not those who are supposed to feel the oppression, but persons at a distance from them, and who can hardly at all appreciate the good or evil of their situation. It is the unalterable condition of humanity, that men must achieve civil liberty for themselves. The assistance of allies has sometimes enabled nations to repel the attacks of foreign power; but to conquer liberty as against their own internal government.

In one thing I concur with the abolitionists: that if emancipation is to be brought about, it is better that it should be immediate and total. But let us suppose it to be brought about in any manner, and then inquire what would be the effects.

The first and most obvious effect would be to put an end to the cultivation of our great southern staple. And this would be equally the result, if we suppose the emancipated negroes to be in no way distinguished from the free laborers of other countries, and that their labor would be equally effective. In that case, they would soon cease to be laborers for hire, but would scatter themselves over our unbounded territory, to become independent land-owners themselves. The cultivation of the soil on an extensive scale can only be carried on where there are slaves, or in countries superabounding with free labor. No such operations are carried on in any portion of our own country where there are not slaves. Such are carried on in England, where there is an overflowing population and intense competition for employment. And our institutions seem suited to the exigencies of our respective situations. There, a much greater number of laborers is required at one season of the year than at another, and the farmer may enlarge or diminish the quantity of labor he employs, as circumstances may

require. Here, about the same quantity of labor is required at every season, and the planter suffers no inconvenience from retaining his laborers throughout the year. Imagine an extensive rice or cotton plantation cultivated by free laborers, who might perhaps *strike* for an increase of wages at a season when the neglect of a few days would insure the destruction of the whole crop: even if it were possible to procure laborers at all, what planter would venture to carry on his operations under such circumstances? I need hardly say, that these staples cannot be produced to any extent where the proprietor of the soil cultivates it with his own hands. He can do little more than produce the necessary food for himself and his family.

And what would be the effect of putting an end to the cultivation of these staples, and thus annihilating at a blow two thirds or three fourths of our foreign commerce? Can any sane mind contemplate such a result without terror? I speak not of the utter poverty and misery to which we ourselves would be reduced, and the desolation which would overspread our own portion of the country. Our slavery has not only given existence to millions of slaves within our own territories, it has given the means of subsistence, and therefore existence, to millions of freemen in our confederate states; enabling them to send forth their swarms, to overspread the plains and forests of the west, and appear as the harbingers of civilization. The products of the industry of those states are in general similar to those of the civilized world, and are little demanded in their markets. By exchanging them for ours, which are every where sought for, the people of these states are enabled to acquire all the products of art and industry, all that contributes to convenience or luxury, or gratifies the taste or the intellect, which the rest of the world can supply. Not only on our own continent, but on the other, it has given existence to hundreds of thousands, and the means of comfortable subsistence to millions. A distinguished citizen of our own state, than whom none can be better qualified to form an opinion, has lately stated that our great staple, cotton, has contributed more than any thing else of later times to the progress of civilization. By enabling the poor to obtain cheap and becoming clothing, it has inspired a taste for comfort, the first stimulus to civilization. Does not *self-defense* then demand of us steadily to resist the abrogation of that which is productive of so much good? It is more than self-defense. It is to defend millions of human beings, who are far removed from us, from the intensest suffering, if not from being struck out of existence. It is the defense of human civilization.

But this is but a small part of the evil which would be occasioned. After President

Dew, it is unnecessary to say a single word on the practicability of colonizing our slaves. The two races, so widely separated from each other by the impress of nature, must remain together in the same country. Whether it be accounted the result of prejudice or reason, it is certain that the two races will not be blended together so as to form a homogeneous population. To one who knows any thing of the nature of man and human society, it would be unnecessary to argue that this state of things cannot continue; but that the one race must be driven out by the other, or exterminated, or again enslaved. I have argued on the supposition that the emancipated negroes would be as efficient as other free laborers. But whatever theorists, who know nothing of the matter, may think proper to assume, we well know that this would not be so. We know that nothing but the coercion of slavery can overcome their propensity to indolence, and that not one in ten would be an efficient laborer. Even if this disposition were not grounded in their nature, it would be a result of their position. I have somewhere seen it observed, that to be degraded by opinion is a thousand fold worse, so far as the feelings of the individual are concerned, than to be degraded by the laws. They would be thus degraded, and this feeling is incompatible with habits of order and industry. Half our population would at once be paupers. Let an inhabitant of New-York or Philadelphia conceive of the situation of their respective states, if one half of their population consisted of free negroes. The tie which now connects them being broken, the different races would be estranged from each other, and hostility would grow up between them. Having the command of their own time and actions, they could more effectually combine insurrection and provide the means of rendering it formidable. Released from the vigilant superintendence which now restrains them, they would infallibly be led from petty to greater crimes, until all life and property would be rendered insecure. Aggression would beget retaliation, until open war, and that a war of extermination, were established. From the still remaining superiority of the white race, it is probable that they would be the victors, and if they did not exterminate, they must again reduce the others to slavery—when they could be no longer fit to be either slaves or freemen. It is not only in self-defense, in defense of our country and of all that is dear to us, but in defense of the slaves themselves, that we refuse to emancipate them.

If we suppose them to have political privileges, and to be admitted to the elective franchise, still worse results may be expected. It is hardly necessary to add any thing to what has been said by Mr. Paulding on this subject, who has treated it fully. It is already

known, that if there be a class unfavorably distinguished by any peculiarity from the rest of society, this distinction forms a tie which binds them to act in concert, and they exercise more than their due share of political power and influence; and still more as they are of inferior character and looser moral principle. Such a class form the very material for demagogues to work with. Other parties court them and concede to them. So it would be with the free blacks in the case supposed. They would be used by unprincipled politicians, of irregular ambition, for the advancement of their schemes, until they should give them political power and importance beyond even their own intentions. They would be courted by excited parties in their contests with each other. At some time, they may perhaps attain political ascendancy, and this is more probable, as we may suppose that there will have been a great emigration of whites from the country. Imagine the government of such legislators. Imagine then the sort of laws that will be passed, to confound the invidious distinction which has so long been assumed over them, and if possible to obliterate the very memory of it. These will be resisted. The blacks will be tempted to avenge themselves by oppression and proscription of the white race, for their long superiority. Thus matters will go on, until universal anarchy, or kakistocracy, the government of the worst, is fully established. I am persuaded that if the spirit of evil should devise or send abroad upon the earth all possible misery, discord, horror and atrocity, he could contrive no scheme so effectual as the emancipation of negro slaves within our country.

The most feasible scheme of emancipation, and that which I verily believe would involve the least danger and sacrifice, would be that the *entire* white population should emigrate, and abandon the country to their slaves. Here would be triumph to philanthropy. This wide and fertile region would be again restored to ancient barbarism—to the worst of barbarism—barbarism corrupted and depraved by intercourse with civilization. And this is the consummation to be wished, upon a *speculation* that, in some distant future age, they may become so enlightened and improved as to be capable of sustaining a position among the civilized races of the earth. But I believe moralists allow men to defend their homes and their country, even at the expense of the lives and liberties of others.

Will any philanthropist say that the evils, of which I have spoken, would be brought about only by the obduracy, prejudices and overweening self-estimation of the whites in refusing to blend the races by marriage, and so create a homogeneous population? But what if it be not prejudice, but truth and nature, and right reason, and just moral feel-

ing? As I have before said, throughout the whole of nature, like attracts like, and that which is unlike repels. What is it that makes so unspeakably loathsome crimes not to be named, and hardly alluded to? Even among the nations of Europe, so nearly homogeneous, there are some peculiarities of form and feature, mind and character, which may be generally distinguished by those accustomed to observe them. Though the exceptions are numerous, I will venture to say that not in one instance in a hundred is the man of sound and unsophisticated tastes and propensities so likely to be attracted by the female of a foreign stock as by one of his own, who is more nearly conformed to himself. Shakspeare spoke the language of nature, when he made the senate and people of Venice attribute to the effect of witchcraft Desdemona's passion for Othello—though, as Coleridge has said, we are to conceive of him not as a negro, but as a high-bred Moorish chief.

If the negro race, as I have contended, be inferior to our own in mind and character, marked by inferiority of form and features, then ours would suffer deterioration from such intermixture. What would be thought of the moral conduct of the parent who should voluntarily transmit disease or fatuity or deformity to his offspring? If man be the most perfect work of the Creator, and the civilized European man the most perfect variety of the human race, is he not criminal who would desecrate and deface God's fairest work; estranging it further from the image of himself, and conforming it more nearly to that of the brute? I have heard it said, as if it afforded an argument, that the African is as well satisfied of the superiority of his own complexion, form and features, as we can be of ours. If this were true, as it is not, would any one be so recreant to his own civilization, as to say that his opinion ought to weigh against ours; that there is no universal standard of truth and grace and beauty; that the Hottentot Venus may perchance possess as great perfection of form as the Medicean? It is true, the licentious passions of men overcome the natural repugnance, and find transient gratification in intercourse with females of the other race. But this is a very different thing from making her the associate of life, the companion of the bosom and the hearth. Him who would contemplate such an alliance for himself, or regard it with patience when proposed for a son, or daughter, or sister, we should esteem a degraded wretch; with justice, certainly, if he were found among ourselves; and the estimate would not be very different if he were found in Europe. It is not only in defense of ourselves, of our country, and of our own generation, that we refuse to emancipate our slaves, but to defend our posterity and race from degeneracy and degradation.

Are we not justified then in regarding as

criminals, the fanatical agitators whose efforts are intended to bring about the evils I have described? It is sometimes said that their zeal is generous and disinterested, and that their motives may be praised, though their conduct be condemned. But I have little faith in the good motives of those who pursue bad ends. It is not for us to scrutinize the hearts of men, and we can only judge of them by the tendency of their actions. There is much truth in what was said by Coleridge: "I have never known a trader in philanthropy who was not wrong in heart somehow or other. Individuals so distinguished are usually unhappy in their family relations—men not benevolent or beneficent to individuals, but almost hostile to them, yet lavishing money and time on the race—the abstract notion." The prurient love of notoriety actuates some. There is much luxury in sentiment, especially if it can be indulged at the expense of others; and if there be added some share of envy or malignity, the temptation to indulgence is almost irresistible. But certainly they may be justly regarded as criminal, who obstinately shut their eyes and close their ears to all instruction with respect to the true nature of their actions.

It must be manifest to every man of sane mind that it is impossible for them to achieve ultimate success; even if every individual in our country, out of the limits of slaveholding states, were united in their purposes. They cannot have even the miserable triumph of St. Domingo, of advancing through scenes of atrocity, blood and massacre to the restoration of barbarism. They may agitate and perplex the world for a time. They may excite to desperate attempts and particular acts of cruelty and horror, but these will always be suppressed or avenged at the expense of the objects of their truculent philanthropy. But short of this, they can hardly be aware of the extent of the mischief they perpetrate. As I have said, their opinions, by means to us inscrutable, do very generally reach our slave population. What human being, if unfavorably distinguished by outward circumstances, is not ready to believe when he is told that he is the victim of injustice? Is it not cruelty to make men restless and dissatisfied in their condition, when no effort of theirs can alter it? The greatest injury is done to their characters, as well as to their happiness. Even if no such feelings or designs should be entertained or conceived by the slave, they will be attributed to him by the master, and all his conduct scanned with a severe and jealous scrutiny. Thus distrust and aversion are established, where, but for mischievous interference, there would be confidence and goodwill, and a sterner control is exercised over the slave who thus becomes the victim of his cruel advocates.

An effect is sometimes produced on the

mind of slaveholders, by the publications of the self-styled philanthropists, and their judgments staggered and consciences alarmed. It is natural that the oppressed should hate the oppressor. It is still more natural that the oppressor should hate his victim. Convince the master that he is doing injustice to his slave, and he at once begins to regard him with distrust and malignity. It is a part of the constitution of the human mind, that when circumstances of necessity or temptation induce men to continue in the practice of what they believe to be wrong, they become desperate and reckless of the degree of wrong. I have formerly heard of a master who accounted for his practising much severity upon his slaves, and exacting from them an unusual degree of labor, by saying that the thing (slavery) was altogether wrong, and therefore it was well to make the greatest possible advantage out of it. This agitation occasions some slaveholders to hang more loosely on their country. Regarding the institution as of questionable character, condemned by the general opinion of the world, and one which must shortly come to an end, they hold themselves in readiness to make their escape from the evil which they anticipate. Some sell their slaves to new masters, (always a misfortune to the slave,) and remove themselves to other societies, of manners and habits uncongenial to their own. And though we may suppose that it is only the weak and the timid who are liable to be thus affected, still it is no less an injury and public misfortune. Society is kept in an unquiet and restless state, and every sort of improvement is retarded.

Some projectors suggest the education of slaves, with a view to prepare them for freedom, as if there were any method of a man's being educated to freedom but by himself. The truth is, however, that supposing that they are shortly to be emancipated, and that they have the capacities of any other race, they are undergoing the very best education which it is possible to give. They are in the course of being taught habits of regular and patient industry, and this is the first lesson which is required. I suppose that their most zealous advocates would not desire that they should be placed in the high places of society immediately upon their emancipation, but that they should begin their course of freedom as laborers, and raise themselves afterwards as their capacities and characters might enable them. But how little would what are commonly called the rudiments of education add to their qualifications as laborers! But for the agitation which exists, however, their education would be carried further than this. There is a constant tendency in our society to extend the sphere of their employments, and consequently to give them the information which is necessary to the discharge of those

employments. And this for the most obvious reason, it promotes the master's interest. How much would it add to the value of a slave, that he should be capable of being employed as a clerk, or be able to make calculations as a mechanic? In consequence, however, of the fanatical spirit which has been excited, it has been thought necessary to repress this tendency by legislation, and to prevent their acquiring the knowledge of which they might make a dangerous use. If this spirit were put down, and we restored to the consciousness of security, this would be no longer necessary, and the process of which I have spoken would be accelerated. Whenever indications of superior capacity appeared in a slave, it would be cultivated; gradual improvement would take place, until they might be engaged in as various employments as they were among the ancients—perhaps even liberal ones. Thus, if in the adorable providence of God, at a time and in a manner which we can neither foresee nor conjecture, they are to be rendered capable of freedom and to enjoy it, they would be prepared for it in the best and most effectual, because in the most natural and gradual manner. But fanaticism hurries to its effect at once. I have heard it said, God does good, but it is by imperceptible degrees; the devil is permitted to do evil, and he does it in a hurry. The beneficent processes of nature are not apparent to the senses. You cannot see the plant grow, or the flower expand. The volcano, the earthquake, and the hurricane, do their work of desolation in a moment. Such would be the desolation, if the schemes of fanatics were permitted to have effect. They do all that in them lies to thwart the beneficent purposes of Providence. The whole tendency of their efforts is to aggravate present suffering, and to cut off the chance of future improvement, and in all their bearings and results have produced, and are likely to produce, nothing but "pure, unmixed, deplored, defecated evil."

NEGRO SLAVERY AT THE SOUTH.—

LETTERS OF GOVERNOR HAMMOND TO THOMAS CLARKSON.—INTRODUCTION; THE SLAVE TRADE, AND FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO ABOLISH IT; PRESCRIPTIVE RIGHT; SLAVERY IN THE ABSTRACT; IN ITS MORAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECT; IN ITS POLITICAL INFLUENCES, AS AFFECTING PUBLIC ORDER, AND THE SAFETY AND POWER OF THE STATE.—SIR: I received, a short time ago, a letter from the Rev. Willoughby M. Dickinson, dated at your residence, "Playford Hall, near Ipswich, 26th November, 1844," in which was inclosed a copy of your circular letter, addressed to professing Christians in our northern states, having no concern with slavery, and to others there. I presume that Mr. Dickinson's letter was written with your knowledge, and the document inclosed with your

consent and approbation. I therefore feel that there is no impropriety in my addressing my reply directly to yourself, especially as there is nothing in Mr. Dickinson's communication requiring serious notice. Having abundant leisure, it will be a recreation to devote a portion of it to an examination and free discussion of the question of slavery as it exists in our southern states; and since you have thrown down the gauntlet to me, I do not hesitate to take it up.

Familiar as you have been with the discussions of this subject in all its aspects, and under all the excitements it has occasioned for sixty years past, I may not be able to present much that will be new to you. Nor ought I to indulge the hope of materially affecting the opinions you have so long cherished, and so zealously promulgated. Still, time and experience have developed facts, constantly furnishing fresh tests to opinions formed sixty years since, and continually placing this great question in points of view which could scarcely occur to the most consummate intellect even a quarter of a century ago; and which may not have occurred yet to those whose previous convictions, prejudices, and habits of thought have thoroughly and permanently biased them to one fixed way of looking at the matter; while there are peculiarities in the operation of every social system, and special local as well as moral causes materially affecting it, which no one, placed at the distance you are from us, can fully comprehend or properly appreciate. Besides, it may be, possibly, a novelty to you to encounter one who conscientiously believes the domestic slavery of these states to be not only an inexorable necessity for the present, but a moral and humane institution, productive of the greatest political and social advantages, and who is disposed, as I am, to defend it on these grounds.

I do not propose, however, to defend the African slave trade. That is no longer a question. Doubtless great evils arise from it as it has been, and is now conducted; unnecessary wars and cruel kidnapping in Africa; the most shocking barbarities in the Middle Passage; and perhaps a less humane system of slavery in countries continually supplied with fresh laborers at a cheap rate. The evils of it, however, it may be fairly presumed, are greatly exaggerated. And if I might judge of the truth of transactions stated as occurring in this trade, by that of those reported as transpiring among us, I should not hesitate to say, that a large proportion of the stories in circulation are unfounded, and most of the remainder highly colored.

On the passage of the act of Parliament prohibiting this trade to British subjects, rests what you esteem the glory of your life. It required twenty years of arduous agitation, and the intervening extraordinary political events, to convince your countrymen, and

among the rest your pious king, of the expediency of the measure; and it is but just to say, that no one individual rendered more essential service to the cause than you did. In reflecting on the subject, you cannot but often ask yourself, What after all has been accomplished; how much human suffering has been averted; how many human beings have been rescued from transatlantic slavery? And on the answers you can give these questions must, in a great measure, I presume, depend the happiness of your life. In framing them, how frequently must you be reminded of the remark of Mr. Grosvenor, in one of the early debates upon the subject, which I believe you have yourself recorded, "that he had twenty objections to the abolition of the slave trade: the first was, *that it was impossible*—the rest he need not give." Can you say to yourself or to the world, that this *first* objection of Mr. Grosvenor has been yet confuted? It was estimated at the commencement of your agitation in 1787, that forty-five thousand Africans were annually transported to America and the West Indies. And the mortality of the Middle Passage, computed by some at five, is now admitted not to have exceeded nine per cent. Notwithstanding your act of parliament, the previous abolition by the United States, and that all the powers in the world have subsequently prohibited this trade (some of the greatest of them declaring it piracy, and covering the African seas with armed vessels to prevent it)—Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, a coadjutor of yours, declared, in 1840, that the number of Africans now annually sold into slavery beyond the sea amounts, at the very least, to one hundred and fifty thousand souls; while the mortality of the Middle Passage has increased, in consequence of the measures taken to suppress the trade, to twenty-five or thirty per cent. And of the one hundred and fifty thousand slaves who have been captured and liberated by British men-of-war since the passage of your act, Judge Jay, an American abolitionist, asserts that one hundred thousand, or two thirds, have perished between their capture and liberation. Does it not really seem that Mr. Grosvenor was a prophet? That though nearly all the "impossibilities" of 1787 have vanished, and become as familiar *facts* as our household customs, under the magic influence of steam, cotton, and universal peace, yet this wonderful prophecy still stands, defying time and the energy and genius of mankind? Thousands of valuable lives and fifty millions of pounds sterling have been thrown away by your government in fruitless attempts to overturn it. I hope you have not lived too long for your own happiness, though you have been thus spared to see that, in spite of all your toils and those of your fellow laborers, and the accomplishment of all that human agency could do, the African slave-trade has increased threefold under your own

eyes—more rapidly, perhaps, than any other ancient branch of commerce; and that your efforts to suppress it have effected *nothing* more than a threefold increase of its horrors. There is a God who rules this world—all-powerful—far-seeing. He does not permit his creatures to foil his designs. It is He who, for his all-wise, though to us often inscrutable purposes, throws “impossibilities” in the way of our fondest hopes and most strenuous exertions. Can you doubt this?

Experience having settled the point, that this trade *cannot be abolished by the use of force*, and that blockading squadrons only serve to make it more profitable and more cruel, I am surprised that the attempt is persisted in, unless it serves as a cloak to other purposes. It would be far better than it now is, for the African, if the trade was free from all restrictions, and left to the mitigation and decay which time and competition would surely bring about. If kidnapping, both secretly and by war made for the purpose, could be by any means prevented in Africa, the next greatest blessing you could bestow upon that country would be to transport its actual slaves in comfortable vessels across the Atlantic. Though they might be perpetual bondsmen, still they would emerge from darkness into light—from barbarism to civilization—from idolatry to Christianity—in short, from death to life.

But let us leave the African slave-trade, which has so signally defeated the *philanthropy* of the world, and turn to American slavery, to which you have now directed our attention, and against which a crusade has been preached as enthusiastic and ferocious as that of Peter the Hermit—destined, I believe, to be about as successful. And here, let me say, there is a vast difference between the two, though you may not acknowledge it. The wisdom of ages has concurred in the justice and expediency of establishing rights by prescriptive use, however tortuous in their origin they may have been. You would deem a man insane, whose keen sense of equity would lead him to denounce your right to the lands you hold, and which, perhaps, you inherited from a long line of ancestry, because your title was derived from a Saxon or Norman conqueror, and your lands were originally wrested by violence from the vanquished Britons. And so would the New-England abolitionist regard any one who would insist that he should restore his farm to the descendants of the slaughtered red men, to whom God had as clearly given it as he gave life and freedom to the kidnapped African. That time does not consecrate wrong is a fallacy which all history exposes, and which the best and wisest men of all ages and professions of religious faith have practically denied. The means, therefore, whatever they may have been, by which the African race now in this

country have been reduced to slavery, cannot affect us, since they are our property, as your land is yours, by inheritance, or purchase and prescriptive right. You will say that man cannot hold *property in man*. The answer is, that he can and *actually does* hold property in his fellow all the world over, in a variety of forms, and *has always done so*. I will show presently his authority for doing it.

If you were to ask me whether I am an advocate of slavery in the abstract, I should probably answer that I am not, according to my understanding of the question. I do not like to deal in abstractions. It seldom leads to any useful ends. There are few universal truths. I do not now remember any single moral truth universally acknowledged. We have no assurance that it is given to our finite understanding to comprehend abstract moral truth. Apart from the revelation and the inspired writings, what ideas should we have even of God, salvation, and immortality? Let the heathen answer. Justice itself is impalpable as an abstraction, and abstract liberty the merest phantasy that ever amused the imagination. This world was made for man, and man for the world as it is. Ourselves, our relations with one another, and with all matter, are real, not ideal. I might say that I am no more in favor of slavery in the abstract, than I am of poverty, disease, deformity, idiocy, or any other inequality in the condition of the human family; that I love perfection, and I think I should enjoy a millennium such as God has promised. But what would it amount to? A pledge that I would join you to set about eradicating those apparently inevitable evils of our nature, in equalizing the condition of all mankind, consummating the perfection of our race, and introducing the millennium? By no means. To effect these things belongs exclusively to a higher power. And it would be well for us to leave the Almighty to perfect his own works and fulfil his own covenants. Especially, as the history of the past shows how entirely futile all human efforts have proved, when made for the purpose of aiding him in carrying out even his revealed designs, and how invariably he has accomplished them by unconscious instruments, and in the face of human expectation. Nay, more, that every attempt which has been made by fallible man to extort from the world obedience to his “abstract” notions of right and wrong, has been invariably attended with calamities, dire and extended, just in proportion to the breadth and vigor of the movement. On slavery in the abstract, then, it would not be amiss to have as little as possible to say. Let us contemplate it as it is; and thus contemplating it, the first question we have to ask ourselves is, whether it is contrary to the will of God, as revealed to us in his Holy Scriptures—the only certain means given us to ascertain his will. If it is, then slavery

is a sin; and I admit at once, that every man is bound to set his face against it, and to emancipate his slaves should he hold any.

Let us open these Holy Scriptures. In the twentieth chapter of Exodus, seventeenth ver., I find the following words: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's;" which is the tenth of those commandments that declare the essential principles of the great moral law delivered to Moses by God himself. Now, discarding all technical and verbal quibbling as wholly unworthy to be used in interpreting the Word of God, what is the plain meaning, undoubted intent, and true spirit of this commandment? Does it not emphatically and explicitly forbid you to disturb your neighbor in the enjoyment of his property; and more especially of that which is here specifically mentioned as being lawfully and by this commandment sacredly made his? Prominent in the catalogue stands "his man-servant and his maid-servant," who are thus distinctly *consecrated as his property*, and guaranteed to him for his exclusive benefit in the most solemn manner. You attempt to avert the otherwise irresistible conclusion, that slavery was thus ordained by God, by declaring that the word "slave" is not used here, and is not to be found in the Bible. And I have seen many learned dissertations on this point from abolition pens. It is well known that both the Hebrew and Greek words translated "servant" in the Scriptures, mean also and most usually "slave." The use of the one word instead of the other was a mere matter of taste with the translators of the Bible, as it has been with all the commentators and religious writers, the latter of whom have, I believe, for the most part, adopted the term "slave," or used both terms indiscriminately. If, then, these Hebrew and Greek words include the idea of both systems of servitude, the conditional and unconditional, they should, as the major includes the minor proposition, be always translated "slaves," unless the sense of the whole text forbids it. The real question, then, is, what idea is intended to be conveyed by the words used in the commandment quoted? And it is clear to my mind, that as no limitation is affixed to them, and the express intention was to secure to mankind the peaceful enjoyment of every species of property, that the terms "men-servants and maid-servants" include all classes of servants, and establish a lawful, exclusive and indefeasible interest equally in the "Hebrew brother who shall go out in the seventh year," and "yearly hired servant," and "those purchased from the heathen round about," who were to be "bondmen for ever," *as the property of their fellow-man*.

You cannot deny that there were among the Hebrews "bondmen for ever." You can-

not deny that God especially authorized his chosen people to purchase "bondmen for ever" from the heathen, as recorded in the *twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus*, and that they are there designated by the very Hebrew word used in the tenth commandment. Nor can you deny that a "BONDMAN FOR EVER" is a "SLAVE": yet you endeavor to hang an argument of immortal consequence upon the wretched subterfuge, that the precise word "slave" is not to be found in the *translation* of the Bible. As if the translators were canonical expounders of the Holy Scriptures, and *their words*, not *God's meaning*, must be regarded as his revelation.

It is in vain to look to Christ or any of his apostles, to justify such blasphemous perversions of the Word of God. Although slavery in its most revolting form was every where visible around them, no visionary notions of piety or philanthropy ever tempted them to gainsay the LAW, even to mitigate the cruel severity of the existing system. On the contrary, regarding slavery as an *established*, as well as *inevitable condition of human society*, they never hinted at such a thing as its termination on earth, any more than that "the poor may cease out of the land," which God affirms to Moses shall never be; and they exhort "all servants under the yoke" to "count their masters as worthy of all honor;" "to obey them in all things according to the flesh; not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God; not only the good and gentle, but also the froward; for what glory is it, if, when ye are buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable to God." St. Paul actually apprehended a runaway slave and sent him to his master! Instead of deriving from the Gospel any sanction for the work you have undertaken, it would be difficult to imagine sentiments and conduct more strikingly in contrast, than those of the Apostles and Abolitionists.

It is impossible, therefore, to suppose that slavery is contrary to the will of God. It is equally absurd to say that American slavery differs in form or principle from that of the chosen people. *We accept the Bible terms as the definition of our slavery, and its precepts as the guide of our conduct.* We desire nothing more. Even the right to "buffet," which is esteemed so shocking, finds its express license in the Gospel. *1 Peter ii. 20.* Nay, what is more, God directs the Hebrews to "bore holes in the ears of their brothers" to mark them, when under certain circumstances they become *perpetual slaves*. *Exodus xxi. 6.*

I think, then, I may safely conclude, and I firmly believe, that American slavery is not only not a sin, but especially commanded by God through Moses, and approved by

Christ through his Apostles. And here I might close its defense; for what God ordains, and Christ sanctifies, should surely command the respect and toleration of man. But I fear there has grown up, in our time, a transcendental religion, which is throwing even transcendental philosophy into the shade—a religion too pure and elevated for the Bible, which seeks to erect among men a higher standard of morals than the Almighty has revealed or our Saviour preached; and which is probably destined to do more to impede the extension of God's kingdom on earth than all the infidels who have ever lived. Error is error. It is as dangerous to deviate to the right hand as to the left. And when men, professing to be holy men, and who are by numbers so regarded, declare those things to be sinful which our Creator has expressly authorized and instituted, they do more to destroy his authority among mankind than the most wicked can effect by proclaiming that to be innocent which he has forbidden. To this self-righteous and self-exalted class belong all the abolitionists whose writings I have read. With them, it is no end of the argument to prove your propositions by the texts of the Bible, interpreted according to its plain and palpable meaning, and as understood by all mankind for three thousand years before their time. They are more ingenious at construing and interpolating to accommodate it to their new-fangled and ethereal code of morals, than ever were Voltaire or Hume in picking it to pieces to free the world from what they considered a delusion. When the abolitionists proclaim "man-stealing" to be a sin, and show me that it is so written down by God, I admit them to be right, and shudder at the idea of such a crime. But when I show them that to hold "bondmen for ever" is ordained by God, *they deny the Bible, and set up in its place a law of their own making.* I must then cease to reason with them on this branch of the question. Our religion differs as widely as our manners. The great Judge, in our day of final account, must decide between us.

Turning from our considerations of slaveholding in its relations to man as an accountable being, let us examine it in its influence on his political and social state. Though, being foreigners to us, you are in no wise entitled to interfere with the civil institutions of this country, it has become quite common for your countrymen to decry slavery as an enormous political evil to us, and even to declare that our northern states ought to withdraw from the confederacy rather than continue or be contaminated by it. The American abolitionists appear to concur fully in these sentiments, and a portion at least of them are incessantly threatening to dissolve the Union. Nor should I be at all surprised if they succeeded. It would not be difficult, in my

opinion, to conjecture which region, the north or south, would suffer most by such an event. For one, I should not object, by any means, to cast my lot in a confederacy of states, whose citizens might all be slaveholders.

I endorse, without reserve, the much-abused sentiment of Governor McDuffie, that "slavery is the corner-stone of our republican edifice"; while I repudiate as ridiculously absurd, that much lauded but no where accredited dogma of Mr. Jefferson, "that all men are born equal." No society has ever yet existed, and I have already incidentally quoted the highest authority to show that none ever will exist, without a natural variety of classes. The most marked of these must, in a country like ours, be the rich and poor, the educated and the ignorant. It will scarcely be disputed that the very poor have less leisure to prepare themselves for a proper discharge of public duties than the rich; and that the ignorant are wholly unfit for them at all. In all countries save ours, these two classes, or the poor rather, who are presumed to be necessarily ignorant, are by law expressly excluded from all participation in the management of public affairs. In a republican government this cannot be done. Universal suffrage, though not essential in theory, seems to be in fact a necessary appendage to a republican system. Where universal suffrage obtains, it is obvious that the government is in the hands of a numerical majority; and it is hardly necessary to say, that in every part of the world more than half the people are ignorant and poor. Though no one can look upon poverty as a crime, and we do not generally here regard it as an objection to a man in his individual capacity; still, it must be admitted that it is a wretched and insecure government which is administered by its most ignorant citizens, and those who have the least at stake under it. Though intelligence and wealth have great influence here as every where, in keeping in check reckless and unenlightened numbers, yet it is evident to close observers, if not to all, that these are rapidly usurping all power in the non-slaveholding states, and threaten a fearful crisis in republican institutions there at no remote period. In the slaveholding states, however, nearly one half of the whole population, and those the poorest and the most ignorant, have no political influence whatever, because they are slaves. Of the other half a large proportion are both educated and independent in their circumstances, while those who unfortunately are not so, being still elevated far above the mass, are higher toned and more deeply interested in preserving a stable and well ordered government, than the same class in any other country. Hence, slavery is truly the "corner-stone" and foundation of every well-designed and durable "republican edifice."

With us, every citizen is concerned in the

maintenance of order, and in promoting honesty and industry among those of the lowest class who are our slaves; and our habitual vigilance renders standing armies, whether of soldiers or policemen, entirely unnecessary. Small guards in our cities, and occasional patrols in the country, insure us a repose and security known no where else. You cannot be ignorant that, excepting the United States, there is no country in the world whose existing government would not be overturned in a month but for its standing armies, maintained at an enormous and destructive cost to those whom they are destined to overawe, so rampant and combative is the spirit of discontent wherever nominal free labor prevails, with its ostensible privileges, and its dismal servitude. Nor will it be long before the "*Free States*" of this Union will be compelled to introduce the same expensive machinery, to preserve order among their "free and equal" citizens. Already has Philadelphia organized a permanent battalion for this purpose; New-York, Boston, and Cincinnati will soon follow her example; and then the smaller towns and densely populated counties. The intervention of their militia to repress violations of the peace is becoming a daily affair. A strong government, after some of the old fashions, though probably with a new name, sustained by the force of armed mercenaries, is the ultimate destiny of the non-slaveholding section of this confederacy, and one which may not be very distant.

It is a great mistake to suppose, as is generally done abroad, that, in case of war, slavery would be a source of weakness. It did not weaken Rome, nor Athens, nor Sparta, though their slaves were comparatively far more numerous than ours, of the same color, for the most part, with themselves, and large numbers of them familiar with the use of arms. I have no apprehension that our slaves would seize such an opportunity to revolt. The present generation of them, born among us, would never think of such a thing at any time, unless instigated to it by others. Against such instigations we are always on our guard. In time of war we should be more watchful and better prepared to put down insurrections than at any other periods. Should any foreign nation be so lost to every sentiment of civilized humanity as to attempt to erect among us the standard of revolt, or to invade us with black troops for the base and barbarous purpose of stirring up servile war, their efforts would be signally rebuked. Our slaves could not be easily seduced, nor would any thing delight them more than to assist in stripping Cuffee of his regimentals to put him in the cotton-field, which would be the fate of most black invaders, without any prolix form of "apprenticeship." If, as I am satisfied would be the case, our slaves remained peacefully on our plantations, and cultivated

them in time of war, under the superintendence of a limited number of our citizens, it is obvious that we could put forth more strength in such an emergency, at less sacrifice, than any other people of the same numbers. And thus we should in every point of view, "out of this nettle danger, pluck the flower safety."

How far slavery may be an advantage or disadvantage to those not owning slaves, yet united with us in political association, is a question for their sole consideration. It is true that our representation in Congress is increased by it. But so are our taxes; and the non-slaveholding states, being the majority, divide among themselves far the greater portion of the amount levied by the federal government. And I doubt not that when it comes to a close calculation, they will not be slow in finding out that the balance of profit arising from the connection is vastly in their favor.

SLAVERY AND ITS SOCIAL EFFECTS; DUELING; MOBS; REPUDIATION; LICENTIOUSNESS; COMPARATIVE EXPENSE OF FREE AND SLAVE LABOR; TREATMENT OF SLAVES; INSTRUCTION; PUNISHMENTS (CONTINUED.)—In a social point of view the abolitionists pronounce slavery to be a monstrous evil. If it was so, it would be our own peculiar concern, and superfluous benevolence in them to lament over it. Seeing their bitter hostility, they might leave us to cope with our own calamities. But they make war upon us out of excess of charity, and attempt to purify by covering us with calumny. You have read, and assisted to circulate, a great deal about affrays, duels, and murders occurring here, and all attributed to the terrible demoralization of slavery. Not a single event of this sort takes place among us, but it is caught up by the abolitionists, and paraded over the world with endless comments, variations, and exaggerations. You should not take what reaches you as a mere sample, and infer that there is a vast deal more you never hear. You hear all, and more than all, the truth.

It is true that the point of honor is recognized throughout the slave region, and that disputes of certain classes are frequently referred for adjustment to the "trial by combat." It would not be appropriate for me to enter, in this letter, into a defense of the practice of duelling, nor to maintain at length that it does not tarnish the character of a people to acknowledge a standard of honor. Whatever evils may arise from it, however, they cannot be attributed to slavery—since the same custom prevails both in France and England. Few of your prime-ministers, of the last half century even, have escaped the contagion, I believe. The affrays of which so much is said, and in which rifles, bowie-knives, and pistols are so prominent, occur mostly in the frontier states of the southwest. They are naturally incidental to the condition of society

as it exists in many sections of these recently settled countries, and will as naturally cease in due time. Adventurers from the older states and from Europe, as desperate in character as they are in fortune, congregate in these wild regions, jostling one another, and often forcing the peaceable and honest into rencontres in self-defense. Slavery has nothing to do with these things. Stability and peace are the first desires of every slaveholder, and the true tendency of the system. It could not possibly exist amid the eternal anarchy and civil broils of the ancient Spanish dominions in America. And for this very reason, domestic slavery has ceased there. So far from encouraging strife, such scenes of riot and bloodshed as have, within the last few years, disgraced our northern cities, and as you have lately witnessed in Birmingham and Bristol and Wales, not only never have occurred, but I will venture to say, never will occur in our slaveholding states. The only thing that can create a mob (as you might call it) here, is the appearance of an abolitionist whom the people assemble to chastise. And this is no more of a mob than a rally of shepherds to chase a wolf out of their pastures would be one.

But we are swindlers and repudiators! Pennsylvania is not a slave State. A majority of the states which have failed to meet their obligations punctually are non-slaveholding; and two thirds of the debt said to be repudiated is owed by these states. Many of the states of this Union are heavily encumbered with debt—none so hopelessly as England. Pennsylvania owes \$22 for each inhabitant—England \$222, counting her paupers in. Nor has there been any repudiation, definite and final, of a lawful debt, that I am aware of. A few states have failed to pay some instalments of interest. The extraordinary financial difficulties which occurred a few years ago account for it. Time will set all things right again. Every dollar of both principal and interest owed by any state, north or south, will be ultimately paid, *unless the abolition of slavery overwhelms us all in one common ruin.* But have no other nations failed to pay? When were the French assignats redeemed? How much interest did your National Bank pay on its immense circulation from 1797 to 1821, during which period that circulation was inconvertible, and for the time repudiated? How much of your national debt has been incurred for money borrowed to meet the interest upon it, thus avoiding delinquency in detail, by insuring inevitable bankruptcy and repudiation in the end? And what sort of operation was that by which your present ministry recently expunged a handsome amount of that debt by substituting, through a process just not compulsory, one species of security for another? I am well aware that the faults of others do not excuse our own, but when failings are

charged to slavery which are shown to occur to equal extent where it does not exist, surely slavery must be acquitted of the accusation.

It is roundly asserted that we are not so well educated nor so religious as elsewhere. I will not go into tedious statistical statements on these subjects. Nor have I, to tell the truth, much confidence in the details of what are commonly set forth as statistics. As to education, you will probably admit that slaveholders should have more leisure for mental culture than most people. And I believe it is charged against them that they are peculiarly fond of power and ambitious of honors. If this be so, as all the power and honors of this country are won mainly by intellectual superiority, it might be fairly presumed that slaveholders would not be neglectful of education. In proof of the accuracy of this presumption I point you to the facts, that our Presidential chair has been occupied for forty-four out of the fifty-six years by slaveholders; that another has been recently elected to fill it for four years more, over an opponent who was a slaveholder also; and that in the federal offices and both Houses of Congress, considerably more than a due proportion of those acknowledged to stand in the first rank are from the south. In this arena the intellects of the free and slave states meet in full and fair competition. Nature must have been unusually bountiful to us, or we have been, at least, reasonably assiduous in the cultivation of such gifts as she has bestowed—unless, indeed, you refer our superiority to moral qualities, which I am sure *you* will not. More wealthy we are not, nor would mere wealth avail in such rivalry.

The piety of the south is unobtrusive. We think it proves but little, though it is a confident thing for a man to claim that he stands higher in the estimation of his Creator, and is less a sinner, than his neighbor. If vociferation is to carry the question of religion, the north and probably the Scotch have it. Our sects are few, harmonious, pretty much united among themselves, and pursue their avocations in humble peace. In fact, our professors of religion seem to think—whether correctly or not—that it is their duty to do “good in secret,” and to carry their holy comforts to the heart of each individual, without reference to class or *color*, for his special enjoyment, and not with a view to exhibit their zeal before the world. So far as numbers are concerned, I believe our clergymen, when called on to make a showing, have never had occasion to blush, if comparisons were drawn between the free and slave states. And although our presses do not teem with controversial pamphlets, nor our pulpits shake with excommunicating thunders, the daily walk of our religious communicants furnishes apparently as little food for gossip as is to be found in most other regions. It may be regarded as a mark of

our want of excitability—though that is a quality accredited to us in an eminent degree—that few of the remarkable religious *isms* of the present day have taken root among us. We have been so irreverent as to laugh at Mormonism and Millerism, which have created such commotions further north; and modern prophets have no honor in our country. Shakers, Rappists, Dunkers, Socialists, Fourierists, and the like, keep themselves afar off. Even Puseyism has not yet moved us. You may attribute this to our domestic slavery if you choose. I believe you would do so justly. There is no material here for such characters to operate upon.

But your grand charge is, that licentiousness, in intercourse between the sexes, is a prominent trait of our social system, and that it necessarily arises from slavery. This is a favorite theme with the abolitionists, male and female. Folios have been written on it. It is a common observation, that there is no subject on which ladies of eminent virtue so much delight to dwell, and on which, in especial, learned old maids like Miss Martineau linger with such insatiable relish. They expose it in the slave states with the most minute observance and endless iteration. Miss Martineau, with peculiar gusto, relates a series of scandalous stories, which would have made Boccaccio jealous of her pen, but which are so ridiculously false as to leave no doubt that some wicked wag, knowing she would write a book, has furnished her materials—a game too often played on tourists in this country. The constant recurrence of the female abolitionists to this topic, and their bitterness in regard to it, cannot fail to suggest to even the most charitable mind, that

“Such rage without betrays the fires within.”

Nor are their immaculate coadjutors of the other sex, though perhaps less specific in their charges, less violent in their denunciations. But recently, in your island, a clergyman has, at a public meeting, stigmatized the whole slaveholding region as a “brothel.” Do these people thus cast stones, being “without sin”? Or do they only

“Compound for sins they are inclined to,
By damning those they have no mind to!”

Alas that David and Solomon should be allowed to repose in peace; that Leo should be almost canonized, and Luther more than sainted; that, in our day, courtesans should be formally licensed in Paris, and tenements in London rented for years to women of the town, for the benefit of the church, with the knowledge of the bishop; and the poor slave states of America alone pounced upon, and offered up as a holocaust on the Altar of Immaculateness, to atone for the abuse of natural instinct by all mankind; and if

not actually consumed, at least exposed, anathematized and held up to scorn, by those who

“write
Or with a rival’s or an eunuch’s spite.”

But I do not intend to admit that this charge is just or true. Without meaning to profess uncommon modesty, I will say that I wish the topic could be avoided. I am of opinion, and I doubt not every right-minded man will concur, that the public exposure and discussion of this vice, even to rebuke, invariably does more harm than good; and that if it cannot be checked by instilling pure and virtuous sentiments, it is far worse than useless to attempt to do it by exhibiting its deformities. I may not, however, pass it over; nor ought I to feel any delicacy in examining a question to which the slaveholder is invited and challenged by clergymen and virgins. So far from allowing, then, that licentiousness pervades this region, I broadly assert, and I refer to the records of our courts, to the public press, and to the knowledge of all who have ever lived here, that, among our white population, there are fewer cases of divorce, separation, crim. con., seduction, rape, and bastardy, than among any other five millions of people on the civilized earth. And this fact, I believe, will be conceded by the abolitionists of this country themselves. I am almost willing to refer it to them, and submit to their decision on it. I would not hesitate to do so, if I thought them capable of an impartial judgment on any matter where slavery is in question. But it is said that the licentiousness consists in the constant intercourse between white males and colored females. One of your heavy charges against us has been that we regard and treat these people as brutes; you now charge us with habitually taking them to our bosoms. I will not comment on the inconsistency of these accusations. I will not deny that some intercourse of the sort does take place. Its character and extent, however, are grossly and atrociously exaggerated. No authority, divine or human, has yet been found sufficient to arrest all such irregularities among men. But it is a known fact, that they are perpetrated here, for the most part, in the cities. Very few mulattoes are reared on our plantations. In the cities, a large proportion of the inhabitants do not own slaves. A still larger proportion are natives of the north or foreigners. They should share, and justly too, an equal part, in this sin, with the slaveholders. Facts cannot be ascertained, or, I doubt not, it would appear that they are the chief offenders. If the truth be otherwise, then persons from abroad have stronger prejudices against the African race than we have. Be this as

it may, it is well known that this intercourse is regarded, in our society, as highly disreputable. If carried on habitually, it seriously affects a man's standing, so far as it is known; and he who takes a colored mistress—with rare and extraordinary exceptions—loses caste at once. You will say that *one* exception should damn our whole country. How much less criminal is it to take a white mistress? In your eyes it should be at least an equal offense. Yet look around you at home, from the cottage to the throne, and count how many mistresses are kept, in unblushing notoriety, without any loss of caste. Such cases are nearly unknown here, and down even to the lowest walks of life, it is almost invariably fatal to a man's position and prospects, to keep a mistress openly, whether white or black. What Miss Martineau relates of a young man's purchasing a colored concubine from a lady, and avowing his designs, is too absurd even for contradiction. No person would dare to allude to such a subject, in such a manner, to any decent female in this country. If he did, he would be *lynched*—doubtless with your approbation.

After all, however, the number of the mixed breed, in proportion to that of the black, is infinitely small, and, out of the towns, next to nothing. And when it is considered that the African race has been among us for two hundred years, and that those of the mixed breed continually intermarry, often rearing large families, it is a decided proof of our continence, that so few comparatively are to be found. Our misfortunes are two-fold. From the prolific propagation of these mongrels among themselves, we are liable to be charged by tourists with delinquencies where none have been committed, while, where one has been, it cannot be concealed. Color marks indelibly the offense, and reveals it to every eye. Conceive that, even in your virtuous and polished country, if every bastard through all the circles of your social system was thus branded by nature and known to all, what shocking developments might there not be! How little indignation might your saints have to spare for the licentiousness of the slave region. But I have done with this disgusting topic. And I think I may justly conclude, after all the scandalous charges which tea-table gossip and long-gowned hypocrisy have brought against the slaveholders, that a people whose men are proverbially brave, intellectual and hospitable, and whose women are unaffectedly chaste, devoted to domestic life, and happy in it, can neither be degraded nor demoralized, whatever their institutions may be. My decided opinion is, that our system of slavery contributes largely to the

development and culture of these high and noble qualities.

In an economical point of view—which I will not omit—slavery presents some difficulties. As a general rule, I agree that it must be admitted, that free labor is cheaper than slave labor. It is a fallacy to suppose that ours is *unpaid labor*. The slave himself must be paid for, and thus his labor is all purchased at once, and for no trifling sum. His price was, in the first place, paid mostly to your countrymen, and assisted in building up some of those colossal English fortunes, since illustrated by patents of nobility and splendid piles of architecture, stained and cemented, if you like the expression, with the blood of kidnapped innocents; but loaded with no heavier curses than abolition, and its begotten fanaticisms, have brought upon your land—some of them fulfilled, some yet to be. But besides the first cost of the slave, he must be fed and clothed—well fed and well clothed, if not for humanity's sake, that he may do good work, retain health and life, and rear a family to supply his place. When old or sick he is a clear expense, and so is the helpless portion of his family. No poor-law provides for him when unable to work, or brings up his children for our service when we need them. These are all heavy charges on slave labor. Hence, in all countries where the denseness of the population has reduced it to a matter of perfect certainty that labor can be obtained whenever wanted, and the laborer be forced, by sheer necessity, to hire for the smallest pittance that will keep soul and body together, and rags upon his back, while in actual employment—dependent, at all other times, on alms or poor-rates—in all such countries it is found cheaper to pay this pittance than to clothe, feed, nurse, support through childhood and pension in old age, a race of slaves. Indeed, the advantage is so great as speedily to compensate for the loss of the value of the slave. And I have no hesitation in saying, that if I could cultivate my lands on these terms, I would, without a word, resign my slaves, provided they could be properly disposed of. But the question is, whether free or slave labor is cheapest to us in this country, at this time, situated as we are. And it is decided at once by the fact, that we cannot avail ourselves of any other than slave labor. We neither have, nor can we procure, other labor to any extent, or on anything like the terms mentioned. We must, therefore, content ourselves with our dear labor, under the consoling reflection, that what is lost to us is gained to humanity; and that, inasmuch as our slave costs us more than your freeman costs you, by so much is he better off. You will promptly say, emancipate your slaves,

and then you will have free labor on suitable terms. That might be, if there were five hundred where there is now one, and the continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, was as densely populated as your island. But until that comes to pass, no labor can be procured in America on the terms you have it.

While I thus freely admit that, to the individual proprietor, slave labor is dearer than free, I do not mean to admit it as equally clear, that it is dearer to the community and to the state. Though it is certain that the slave is a far greater consumer than your laborer, the year round, yet your pauper system is costly and wasteful. Supported by your community at large, it is not administered by your hired agents with that interested care and economy—not to speak of humanity—which mark the management of ours, by each proprietor of his own non-effectives; and is both more expensive to those who pay, and less beneficial to those who receive its bounties. Besides this, slavery is rapidly filling up our country with a hardy and healthy race, peculiarly adapted to our climate and productions, and conferring signal political and social advantages on us as a people, to which I have already referred.

I have yet to reply to the main ground on which you and your coadjutors rely for the overthrow of our system of slavery. Failing in all your attempts to prove that it is sinful in its nature, immoral in its effects, a political evil, and profitless to those who maintain it, you appeal to the sympathies of mankind, and attempt to arouse the world against us, by the most shocking charges of tyranny and cruelty. You begin by a vehement denunciation of "the irresponsible power of one man over his fellow-men." The question of the responsibility of power is a vast one. It is the great political question of modern times. Whole nations divide off upon it, and establish different fundamental systems of government. That "responsibility" which, to one set of millions, seems amply sufficient to check the government, to the support of which they devote their lives and fortunes, appears to another set of millions a mere mockery of restraint. And accordingly as the opinions of these millions differ, they honor each other with the epithets of "serfs" or "anarchists." It is ridiculous to introduce such an idea as this into the discussion of a mere domestic institution. But since you have introduced it, I deny that the power of the slaveholder in America is "irresponsible." He is responsible to God. He is responsible to a world—a responsibility which abolitionists do not intend to allow him to evade, and in acknowledgment of which I write you this letter. He is responsible to the

community in which he lives, and to the laws under which he enjoys his civil rights. These laws do not permit him to kill, to maim, or punish beyond certain limits, or to overtask, or to refuse to feed and clothe, his slave. In short, they forbid him to be tyrannical or cruel. If any of these laws have grown obsolete, it is because they are so seldom violated that they are forgotten. You have disinterred one of them from a compilation by some Judge Stroud of Philadelphia, to stigmatize its inadequate penalties for killing, maiming, &c. Your object appears to be—you can have no other—to produce the impression that it must be often violated on account of its insufficiency. You say as much, and that it marks our estimate of the slave. You forget to state that this law was enacted by *Englishmen*, and only indicates *their* opinion of the reparation due for their offenses. Ours is proved by the fact, though perhaps unknown to Judge Stroud or yourself, that we have essentially altered this law; and the murder of a slave has for many years been punishable with death in this state. And so it is, I believe, in most or all the slave states. You seem well aware, however, that laws have been recently passed in all these states making it penal to teach slaves to read. Do you know what occasioned their passage, and renders their stringent enforcement necessary? I can tell you. It was the abolition agitation. If the slave is not allowed to read his Bible, the sin rests upon the abolitionists; for they stand prepared to furnish him with a key to it, which would make it, not a book of hope and love and peace, but of despair, hatred, and blood; which would convert the reader, not into a Christian, but a demon. To preserve him from such a horrid destiny, it is a sacred duty which we owe to our slaves, not less than to ourselves, to interpose the most decisive means. If the Catholics deem it wrong to trust the Bible to the hands of ignorance, shall we be excommunicated because we will not give it, and with it the corrupt and fatal commentaries of the abolitionists, to our slaves? Allow our slaves to read your pamphlets, stimulating them to cut our throats! Can you believe us to be such unspeakable fools?

I do not know that I can subscribe in full to the sentiment so often quoted by the abolitionists, and by Mr. Dickinson in his letter to me: "*Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto*," as translated and practically illustrated by them. Such a doctrine would give wide authority to every one for the most dangerous intermeddling with the affairs of others. It will do in poetry—perhaps in some sorts of philosophy—but the attempt to make it a household maxim, and introduce it into the daily walks of life, has caused many an "homo" a broken crown, and probably will

continue to do it. Still, though a slaveholder, I freely acknowledge my obligations as a man; and that I am bound to treat humanely the fellow-creatures whom God has intrusted to my charge. I feel therefore somewhat sensitive under the accusation of cruelty, and disposed to defend myself and fellow slaveholders against it. It is certainly the interest of all, and I am convinced that it is also the desire of every one of us, to treat our slaves with proper kindness. It is necessary to our deriving the greatest amount of profit from them. Of this we are all satisfied. And you snatch from us the only consolation we Americans can derive from the opprobrious imputation of being wholly devoted to making money, which your disinterested and gold-despising countrymen delight to cast upon us, when you nevertheless declare that we are ready to sacrifice it for the pleasure of being inhuman. You remember that Mr. Pitt could never get over the idea that self-interest would insure kind treatment to slaves, until you told him your woful stories of the Middle Passage. Mr. Pitt was right in the first instance, and erred under your tuition, in not perceiving the difference between a temporary and a permanent ownership of them. Slaveholders are no more perfect than other men. They have passions. Some of them, as you may suppose, do not at all times restrain them. Neither do husbands, parents and friends. And in each of these relations as serious sufferings as frequently arise from uncontrolled passions as ever do in that of master and slave, and with as little chance of indemnity. Yet you would not on that account break them up. I have no hesitation in saying that our slaveholders are as kind masters as men usually are kind husbands, parents and friends—as a general rule, kinder. A bad master—he who overworks his slaves, provides ill for them, or treats them with undue severity—loses the esteem and respect of his fellow-citizens to as great an extent as he would for the violation of any of his social and most of his moral obligations. What the most perfect plan of management would be is a problem hard to solve. From the commencement of slavery in this country, this subject has occupied the minds of all slaveholders, as much as the improvement of the general condition of mankind has those of the most ardent philanthropists; and the greatest progressive amelioration of the system has been effected. You yourself acknowledge that in the early part of your career you were exceedingly anxious for the *immediate* abolition of the slave trade, lest those engaged in it should so mitigate its evils as to destroy the force of your arguments and facts. The improvement you then dreaded has gone on steadily here, and would doubtless have taken place in the slave trade but for the measures adopted to suppress it.

Of late years we have been not only annoyed, but greatly embarrassed in this matter by the abolitionists. We have been compelled to curtail some privileges; we have been debarred from granting new ones. In the face of discussions which aim at loosening all ties between master and slave, we have in some measure to abandon our efforts to attach them to us, and control them through their affections and pride. We have to rely more and more on the power of fear. We must in all our intercourse with them assert and maintain strict mastery, and impress it on them that they are slaves. This is painful to us, and certainly no present advantage to them. But it is the direct consequence of the abolition agitation. We are determined to continue masters, and to do so we have to draw the rein tighter and tighter day by day to be assured that we hold them in complete check. How far this process will go on, depends wholly and solely on the abolitionists. When they desist we can relax. We may not before. I do not mean by all this to say that we are in a state of actual alarm and fear of our slaves; but under existing circumstances we should be ineffably stupid not to increase our vigilance and strengthen our hands. You see some of the fruits of your labors. I speak freely and candidly—not as a colonist who, though a slaveholder, has a master; but as a free white man holding, under God, and resolved to hold, my fate in my own hands; but I assure you that my sentiments and feelings and determinations are those of every slaveholder in this country.

The research and ingenuity of the abolitionists, aided by the invention of runaway slaves—in which faculty, so far as improvising falsehood goes, the African race is without a rival—have succeeded in shocking the world with a small number of pretended instances of our barbarity. The only wonder is that, considering the extent of our country, the variety of our population, its fluctuating character, and the publicity of all our transactions, the number of cases collected is so small. It speaks well for us. Yet of these many are false, all highly colored, some occurring half a century, most of them many years ago; and no doubt a large proportion of them perpetrated by foreigners. With a few rare exceptions, the emigrant Scotch and English are the worst masters among us, and next to them our northern fellow-citizens. Slaveholders born and bred here are always more humane to slaves, and those who have grown up to a large inheritance of them, the most so of any, showing clearly that the effect of the system is to foster kindly feelings. I do not mean so much to impute inhumanity to foreigners, as to show that they come here with false notions of the treatment usual and necessary for slaves, and that newly acquired power here, as every where else, is apt to be abused.

I cannot enter into a detailed examination of the cases stated by the abolitionists. It would be disgusting and of little avail. I know nothing of them. I have seen nothing like them, though born and bred here, and have rarely heard of any thing at all to be compared with them. Permit me to say that I think most of *your* facts must have been drawn from the West Indies, where undoubtedly slaves were treated much more harshly than with us. This was owing to a variety of causes, which might, if necessary, be stated. One was, that they had at first to deal more extensively with barbarians fresh from the wilds of Africa; another, and a leading one, the absenteeism of proprietors. Agents are always more unfeeling than owners, whether placed over West Indian or American slaves, or Irish tenantry. We feel this evil greatly even here. You describe the use of *thumb-screws* as one mode of punishment among us. I doubt if a thumb-screw can be found in America. I never saw or heard of one in this country. Stocks are rarely used by private individuals, and confinement still more seldom, though both are common punishments for whites, all the world over. I think they should be more frequently resorted to with slaves, as substitutes for flogging, which I consider the most injurious and least efficacious mode of punishing them for serious offenses. It is not degrading, and unless excessive, occasions little pain. You may be a little astonished, after all the flourishes that have been made about "cart whips," etc., when I say flogging is not the most degrading punishment in the world. It may be so to a white man in most countries, but how is it to the white boy? That necessary coadjutor of the schoolmaster, the "birch," is never thought to have rendered infamous the unfortunate victim of pedagogue ire; nor did Solomon in his wisdom dream that he was counselling parents to debase their offspring, when he exhorted them not to spoil the child by sparing the rod. Pardon me for recurring to the now exploded ethics of the Bible. Custom, which, you will perhaps agree, makes most things in this world good or evil, has removed all infamy from the punishment of the lash to the slave. Your blood boils at the recital of stripes inflicted on a man; and you think you should be frenzied to see your own child flogged. You see how completely this is ideal, arising from the fashions of society. You doubtless submitted to the rod yourself, in other years, when the smart was perhaps as severe as it would be now; and you have never been guilty of the folly of revenging yourself on the preceptor who, in the plenitude of his "irresponsible power," thought proper to chastise your son. So it is with the negro and the negro father.

As to chains and irons, they are rarely used; never, I believe, except in cases of running

away. You will admit, that if we pretend to own slaves, they must not be permitted to abscond whenever they see fit; and that if nothing else will prevent it, these means must be resorted to. See the inhumanity necessarily arising from slavery, you will exclaim. Are such restraints imposed on no other class of people giving no more offense? Look to your army and navy. If your seamen, impressed from their peaceful occupations, and your soldiers, recruited at the gin shops—both of them as much kidnapped as the most unsuspecting victim of the slave trade, and doomed to a far more wretched fate—if these men manifest a propensity to desert, the heaviest manacles are the mildest punishment: it is most commonly death after summary trial. But armies and navies, you say, are indispensable, and must be kept up at every sacrifice. I answer that they are no more indispensable than slavery is to us—and to *you*; for you have enough of it in your country, though the form and name differ from ours.

Depend upon it that many things, and in regard to our slaves, most things, which appear revolting at a distance, and to slight reflection, would, on a nearer view and impartial comparison with the customs and conduct of the rest of mankind, strike you in a very different light. Remember that on our estates we dispense with the whole machinery of public police and public courts of justice. Thus we try, decide and execute the sentences in thousands of cases, which in other countries would go into the courts. Hence most of the acts of our alleged cruelty which have any foundation in truth. Whether our patriarchal mode of administering justice is less humane than the assizes, can only be determined by careful inquiry and comparison. But this is never done by the abolitionists. All our punishments are the outrages of "irresponsible power." If a man steals a pig in England, he is transported—torn from wife, children, parents, and sent to the antipodes, infamous, and an outcast for ever, though probably he took from the superabundance of his neighbor to save the lives of his famishing little ones. If one of our well-fed negroes, merely for the sake of fresh meat, steals a pig, he gets perhaps forty stripes. If one of your cottagers breaks into another's house, he is hung for burglary. If a slave does the same here, a few lashes, or it may be a few hours in the stocks, settles the matter. Are our courts or yours the most humane? If slavery were not in question, you would doubtless say ours is mistaken lenity. Perhaps it often is; and slaves too lightly dealt with sometimes grow daring. Occasionally, though rarely, and almost always in consequence of excessive indulgence, an individual rebels. This is the highest crime he can commit. It is treason. It strikes at the root of our whole system.

His life is justly forfeited, though it is never intentionally taken, unless after trial in our public courts. Sometimes, however, in capturing, or in self-defense, he is unfortunately killed. A legal investigation always follows. But terminate as it may, the abolitionists raise a hue and cry, and another "shocking case" is held up to the indignation of the world by tender-hearted male and female philanthropists, who would have thought all right had the master's throat been cut, and would have triumphed in it.

I cannot go into a detailed comparison between the penalties inflicted on a slave in our patriarchal courts and those of the courts of sessions to which freemen are sentenced in all civilized countries; but I know well that if there is any fault in our criminal code, it is that of excessive mildness.

PHYSICAL AND MORAL CONDITION OF SOUTHERN SLAVES COMPARED WITH ENGLISH LABORERS; SCHEMES OF ABOLITION; MORAL SUASION, FORCE; COMPETITION OF FREE LABOR; WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION. (CONTINUED).—Perhaps a few general facts will best illustrate the treatment this race receives at our hands. It is acknowledged that it increases at least as rapidly as the white. I believe it is an established principle that population thrives in proportion to its comforts. But when it is considered that these people are not recruited by emigration from abroad as the whites are, and that they are usually settled on our richest and least healthy lands, the fact of their equal comparative increase and greater longevity outweighs a thousand abolition falsehoods, in favor of the leniency and providence of our management of them. It is also admitted that there are incomparably fewer cases of insanity and suicide among them than among the whites. The fact is, that among the slaves of the African race, these things are almost wholly unknown. However frequent suicide may have been among those brought from Africa, I can say that, in my time, I cannot remember to have known or heard of a single instance of deliberate self-destruction, and but of one of suicide at all. As to insanity, I have seen but one permanent case of it, and that twenty years ago. It cannot be doubted that among three millions of people there must be some insane and some suicides; but I will venture to say, that more cases of both occur annually among every hundred thousand of the population of Great Britain than among all our slaves. Can it be possible, then, that they exist in that state of abject misery, goaded by constant injuries, outraged in their affections, and worn down with hardships, which the abolitionists depict, and so many ignorant and thoughtless persons religiously believe?

With regard to the separation of husbands and wives, parents and children, nothing can

be more untrue than the inferences drawn from what is so constantly harped on by abolitionists. Some painful instances perhaps may occur. Very few that can be prevented. It is, and it always has been, an object of prime consideration with our slaveholders to keep families together. Negroes are themselves both perverse and comparatively indifferent about this matter. It is a singular trait, that they almost invariably prefer forming connections with slaves belonging to other masters, and at some distance. It is, therefore, impossible to prevent separations sometimes, by the removal of one owner, his death or failure, and dispersion of his property. In all such cases, however, every reasonable effort is made to keep the parties together, if they desire it. And the negroes forming these connections, knowing the chance of their premature dissolution, rarely complain more than we all do of the inevitable strokes of fate. Sometimes it happens that a negro prefers to give up his family, rather than separate from his master. I have known such instances. As to wilfully selling off a husband, or wife, or child, I believe it is rarely, very rarely done, except when some offense has been committed demanding "transportation." At sales of estates, and even at sheriff's sales, they are always, if possible, sold in families. On the whole, notwithstanding the migratory character of our population, I believe there are more families among our slaves who have lived and died together without losing a single member from their circle, except by the process of nature, and in the enjoyment of constant, uninterrupted communion, than have flourished in the same space of time and among the same number of civilized people in modern times. And, to sum up all, if pleasure is correctly to be defined to be the absence of pain, (which, so far as the great body of mankind is concerned, is undoubtedly its true definition,) I believe our slaves are the happiest three millions of human beings on whom the sun shines. Into their Eden is coming Satan in the guise of an abolitionist.

As regards their religious condition, it is well known that a majority of the communicants of the Methodist and Baptist churches of the south are colored. Almost every where they have precisely the same opportunities of attending worship that the whites have, and besides, special occasions for themselves exclusively, which they prefer. In many places not so accessible to clergymen in ordinary, missionaries are sent and mainly supported by their masters, for the particular benefit of the slaves. There are none, I imagine, who may not, if they like, hear the Gospel preached at least once a month, most of them twice a month, and very many every week. In our thinly settled country the whites fare no better. But, in addition to

this, on plantations of any size, the slaves who have joined the church are formed into a class, at the head of which is placed one of their number, acting as deacon or leader, who is also sometimes a licensed preacher. This class assembles for religious exercises weekly, semi-weekly, or oftener, if the members choose. In some parts, also, Sunday-schools for blacks are established, and Bible classes are orally instructed by discreet and pious persons. Now where will you find a laboring population possessed of greater religious advantages than these? Not in London, I am sure, where it is known that your churches, chapels, and religious meeting-houses of all sorts, cannot contain one half of the inhabitants.

I have admitted, without hesitation, what it would be untrue and profitless to deny, that slaveholders are responsible to the world for the humane treatment of the fellow-beings whom God has placed in their hands. I think it would be only fair for you to admit what is equally undeniable, that every man in independent circumstances, all the world over, and every government, is, to the same extent, responsible to the whole human family for the condition of the poor and laboring classes in their own country and around them, wherever they may be placed, to whom God has denied the advantages he has given themselves. If so, it would naturally seem the duty of true humanity and rational philanthropy to devote their time and labor, their thoughts, writings and charity, first, to the objects placed, as it were, under their own immediate charge. And it must be regarded as a clear evasion and sinful neglect of this cardinal duty, to pass from those whose destitute situation they can plainly see, minutely examine, and efficiently relieve, to inquire after the condition of others in no way intrusted to their care, to exaggerate evils of which they cannot be cognizant, to expend all their sympathies and exhaust all their energies on these remote objects of their unnatural, not to say dangerous benevolence; and, finally, to calumniate, denounce, and endeavor to excite the indignation of the world against their unoffending fellow-creatures for not hastening, under their dictation, to redress wrongs which are stoutly and truthfully denied, while they themselves go but little further in alleviating those chargeable on them than openly and unblushingly to acknowledge them. There may be, indeed, a sort of merit in doing so much as to make such an acknowledgment, but it must be very modest if it expects appreciation.

Now I affirm that, in Great Britain, the poor and laboring classes of your own race and color, not only your fellow-beings, but your *fellow-citizens*, are more miserable and degraded, morally and physically, than our slaves; to be elevated to the actual condition of whom, would be to these, your *fellow-citi-*

zens, a most glorious act of *emancipation*. And I also affirm, that the poor and laboring classes of our older free states would not be in a much more enviable condition but for our slavery. One of their own senators has declared in the United States Senate, "that the repeal of the tariff would reduce New-England to a howling wilderness." And the American tariff is neither more nor less than a system by which the slave states are plundered for the benefit of those states which do not tolerate slavery.

To prove what I say of Great Britain to be true, I make the following extracts from the reports of commissioners appointed by Parliament, and published by order of the House of Commons. I can make but few, and short ones. But similar quotations might be made to any extent, and I defy you to deny that these specimens exhibit the real condition of your operatives in every branch of your industry. There is, of course, a variety in their sufferings. But the same incredible amount of toil, frightful destitution, and utter want of morals, characterize the lot of every class of them.

COLLIERIES.—"I wish to call the attention of the Board to pits about Brampton. The seams are so thin, that several of them have only two feet headway to all the working. They are worked altogether by boys from eight to twelve years of age, on all fours, with a dog belt and chain. The passages being neither ironed nor wooded, and often an inch or two thick with mud. In Mr. Barnes's pit, these poor boys have to drag the barrows with one hundred weight of coal or slack, sixty times a day, sixty yards, and the empty barrows back, without once straightening their backs, unless they choose to stand under the shaft, and run the risk of having their heads broken by a falling coal."—*Report on Mines*, 1842, p. 71.

"In Shropshire the seams are no more than eighteen or twenty inches."—*Ibid.* p. 67. "At the Booth pit," says Mr. Scriven, "I walked, rode, and crept, eighteen hundred yards to one of the nearest faces."—*Ibid.* "'Chokedamp,' 'firedamp,' 'wildfire,' sulphur,' and 'water,' at all times menace instant death to the laborers in these mines." "Robert North, aged sixteen: Went into the pit at seven years of age, to fill up skips. I drew about twelve months. When I drew by the girdle and chain, my skin was broken, and the blood ran down. I durst not say any thing. If we said any thing, the butty, and the reeve, who works under him, would take a stick and beat us."—*Ibid.* "The usual punishment for theft, is to place the culprit's head between the legs of one of the biggest boys, and each boy in the pit (sometimes there are twenty) inflicts twelve lashes on the back and rump with a cat."—*Ibid.* "Instances occur in which children are taken into these mines to work as early as four years of age, sometimes at five, not unfrequently at six or

seven; while from eight to nine is the ordinary age at which these employments commence."—*Ibid* "The wages paid at these mines is from \$2.50 to \$7.50 per month, for laborers, according to age and ability; and out of this they must support themselves. They work twelve hours a day."—*Ibid*.

IN CALICO PRINTING.—"It is by no means uncommon, in all the distriets, for children five or six years old to be kept at work four-teen to sixteen hours consecutively."—*Report on Children*, 1842, p. 59.

I could furnish extracts similar to these in regard to every branch of your manufactures, but I will not multiply them. Everybody knows that your operatives habitually labor from twelve to sixteen hours, men, women and children, and the men occasionally twenty hours per day. In lace making, says the last quoted report, children sometimes commence work at two years of age.

DESTITUTION.—It is stated by your commissioners, that forty thousand persons in Liverpool, and fifteen thousand in Manchester, live in cellars; while twenty-two thousand in England pass the night in barns, tents, or the open air. "There have been found such occurrences as seven, eight and ten persons in one cottage, I cannot say for one day, but for whole days, without a morsel of food. They have remained on their beds of straw for two successive days, under the impression that in a recumbent posture the pangs of hunger were less felt."—*Lord Brougham's Speech*, 11th July, 1842. A volume of frightful scenes might be quoted to corroborate the inferences to be necessarily drawn from the facts here stated. I will not add more, but pass on to the important inquiry as to

MORALS AND EDUCATION.—"Elizabeth Barrett, aged fourteen: I always work without stockings, shoes or trowsers. I wear nothing but a shift. I have to go up to the headings with the men. *They are all naked there*. I am got used to that."—*Report on Mines*. "As to illicit sexual intercourse, it seems to prevail universally, and from an early period of life." "The evidence might have been doubled, which attests the early commencement of sexual and promiscuous intercourse among boys and girls." "A lower condition of morals, in the fullest sense of the term, could not, I think, be found. I do not mean by this, that there are many more prominent vices among them, but that moral feelings and sentiments do not exist. *They have no morals*." "Their appearance, manners and moral natures, (so far as the word *moral* can be applied to them,) are in accordance with their half-civilized condition."—*Report on Children*. "More than half a dozen instances occurred in Manchester, where a man, his wife, and his wife's grown-up sister, habitually occu-

pied the same bed."—*Report on Sanitary Condition*. Robert Cruchilow, aged sixteen: "I don't know any thing of Moses—never heard of France. I don't know what America is. Never heard of Scotland or Ireland. Can't tell how many weeks there are in a year. There are twelve pence in a shilling, and twenty shillings in a pound. There are eight pints in a gallon of ale."—*Report on Mines*. Ann Eggly, aged eighteen: "I walk about and get fresh air on Sundays. I never go to church or chapel. I never heard of Christ at all."—*Ibid*. Others: "The Lord sent Adam and Eve on earth to save sinners." "I don't know who made the world—I never heard about God." "I don't know Jesus Christ—I never saw him—but I have seen Foster who prays about him." *Employer*: "You have expressed surprise at Thomas Mitchel's not hearing of God. I judge there are few colliers here-about that have."—*Ibid*.

I will quote no more. It is shocking beyond endurance to turn over your records, in which the condition of your laboring classes is but too faithfully depicted. Could our slaves but see it, they would join us in lynching abolitionists, which, by the by, they would not now be loth to do. We never think of imposing on them such labor, either in amount or kind. We never put them to *any work* under ten, more generally at twelve years of age, and then the very lightest. Destitution is absolutely unknown—never did a slave starve in America; while, in moral sentiments and feelings, in religious information, and even in general intelligence, they are infinitely the superiors of your operatives. When you look around you, how dare you talk to us, before the world, of slavery? For the condition of your wretched laborers, you, and every Briton who is not one of them, are responsible before God and man. If you are really humane, philanthropic and charitable, here are objects for you. Relieve them. Emancipate them. Raise them from the condition of brutes to the level of human beings—of American slaves, at least. Do not, for an instant, suppose that the *name* of being freemen is the slightest comfort to them, situated as they are, or that the bombastic boast that "whoever touches British soil stands redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled," can meet with any thing but the ridicule and contempt of mankind, while that soil swarms, both on and under its surface, with the most abject and degraded wretches that ever bowed beneath the oppressor's yoke.

I have said that slavery is an established and inevitable condition to human society. I do not speak of the *name*, but the *fact*. The Marquis of Normanby has lately declared your operatives to be "*in effect slaves*."

Can it be denied? Probably; for such philanthropists as your abolitionists care nothing for facts. They deal in terms and fictions. It is the word "slavery" which shocks their tender sensibilities; and their imaginations associate it with "hydras and chimeras dire." The thing itself, in its most hideous reality, passes daily under their view unheeded; a familiar face, touching no chord of shame, sympathy or indignation. Yet, so brutalizing is your iron bondage, that the English operative is a by-word through the world. When favoring fortune enables him to escape his prison-house, both in Europe and America he is shunned. With all the skill which fourteen hours of daily labor from the tenderest age has ground into him, his discontent, which habit has made second nature, and his depraved propensities, running riot when freed from his wonted fetters, prevent his employment whenever it is not a matter of necessity. If we derived no other benefit from African slavery in the southern states, than that it deterred your *freedmen* from coming hither, I should regard it as an inestimable blessing.

And how unaccountable is that philanthropy, which closes its eyes upon such a state of things as you have at home, and turns its blurred vision to our affairs beyond the Atlantic, meddling with matters which no way concern them—presiding, as you have lately done, at meetings to denounce the "iniquity of our laws," and "the atrocity of our practices," and to sympathize with infamous wretches imprisoned here for violating decrees promulgated both by God and man. Is this doing the work of "your Father which is in heaven," or is it seeking only "that you may have glory of man?" Do you remember the denunciation of our Saviour: "Wo unto you, Scribes and Pharisees; hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess."

But after all, supposing that every thing you say of slavery be true, and its abolition a matter of the last necessity, how do you expect to effect emancipation, and what do you calculate will be the result of its accomplishment? As to the means to be used, the abolitionists, I believe, affect to differ—a large proportion of them pretending that their sole purpose is to apply "moral suasion" to the slaveholders themselves. As a matter of curiosity, I should like to know what their idea of this "moral suasion" is. Their discourses (yours is no exception) are all tirades—the exordium, argument and peroration, turning on the epithets, "tyrants," "thieves," "murderers," addressed to us. They revile us as "atrocious monsters," "violators of the laws of nature, God and man;" our homes the abode of every in-

iquity, our land a "brothel." We retort that they are "incendiaries" and "assassins." Delightful argument! sweet, potent "moral suasion!" What slave has it freed—what proselyte can it ever make? But, if your course was wholly different—if you distilled nectar from your lips, and discoursed sweetest music, could you reasonably indulge the hope of accomplishing your object by such means? Nay, supposing that we were all convinced, and thought of slavery precisely as you do, at what era of "moral suasion" do you imagine you could prevail on us to give up a thousand millions of dollars in the value of our slaves, and a thousand millions of dollars more in the depreciation of our lands, in consequence of the want of laborers to cultivate them? Consider: were ever any people, civilized or savage, persuaded by any argument, human or divine, to surrender, voluntarily, two thousand millions of dollars? Would you think of asking five millions of Englishmen to contribute, either at once or gradually, four hundred and fifty millions of pounds sterling to the cause of philanthropy, even if the purpose to be accomplished were not a doubtful goodness? If you are prepared to undertake such a scheme, try it at home. Collect your fund—purchase our slaves, and do with them as you like. Be all the glory yours, fairly and honestly won. But you see the absurdity of such an idea. Away, then, with your pretended "moral suasion." You know it is mere nonsense. The abolitionists have no faith in it themselves. Those who expect to accomplish any thing, count on means altogether different. They aim, first, to alarm us; that failing, to compel us by force to emancipate our slaves, at our own risk and cost. To these purposes they obviously direct all their energies. Our northern liberty men have endeavored to disseminate their destructive doctrines among our slaves, and excite them to insurrection. But we have put an end to that, and stricken terror into them. They dare not show their faces here. Then they declared they would dissolve the Union. Let them do it. The North would repent it far more than the South. We are not alarmed at the idea. We are well content to give up the Union sooner than sacrifice two thousand millions of dollars, and with them all the rights we prize. You may take it for granted, that it is impossible to persuade or alarm us into emancipation, or to making the first step toward it. Nothing, then, is left to try, but sheer force. If the abolitionists are prepared to expend their own treasure and shed their own blood as freely as they ask us to do ours, let them come. We do not court the conflict; but we will not, and we cannot shrink from it. If they are not ready to go so far; if, as I expect, their

philanthropy recoils from it; if they are looking only for *cheap* glory, let them turn their thoughts elsewhere, and leave us in peace. Be the sin, the dangers and evils of slavery all our own. We compel, we ask, none to share them with us.

I am well aware that a notable scheme has been set on foot to achieve abolition, by making what is by courtesy called "free" labor so much cheaper than slave labor, as to force the abandonment of the latter. Though we are beginning to *manufacture with slaves*, I do not think you will attempt to pinch your operatives closer in Great Britain. You cannot curtail the rags with which they vainly attempt to cover their nakedness, nor reduce the porridge which barely, and not always, keeps those who have employment from perishing of famine. When you can do this, we will consider whether our slaves may not dispense with a pound or two of bacon per week, or a few garments annually. Your aim, however, is to cheapen labor in the tropics. The idea of doing this by exporting your "bold yeomanry" is, I presume, given up. Cromwell tried it when he *sold* the captured followers of Charles into *West Indian slavery*, where they speedily found graves. Nor have your recent experiments on British and even Dutch constitutions succeeded better. Have you still faith in carrying thither your Coolies from Hindoostan? Doubtless, that once wild robber race, whose highest eulogium was, that they did not murder merely for the love of blood, have been tamed down, and are, perhaps, "keen for immigration;" for since your civilization has reached it, plunder has grown scarce in Guzerat. But what is the result of the experiment thus far? Have the Coolies, ceasing to handle arms, learned to handle spades, and proved hardy and profitable laborers? On the contrary, broken in spirit, and stricken with disease at home, the wretched victims whom you have hitherto kidnapped for a bounty, confined in depots, put under hatches and carried across the ocean, forced into "voluntary immigration," have done little but lie down and die on the *pseudo* soil of freedom. At the end of five years two thirds, in some colonies a larger proportion, are no more! Humane and pious contrivance! To alleviate the fancied sufferings of the accursed posterity of Ham, you sacrifice, by a cruel death, two thirds of the children of the blessed Shem, and demand the applause of Christians, the blessing of Heaven! If this "experiment" is to go on, in God's name try your hand upon the Thugs. That other species of "immigration" to which you are resorting, I will consider presently.

But what do you calculate will be the result of emancipation, by whatever means

accomplished? You will probably point me, by way of answer, to the West Indies—doubtless to Antigua, the great boast of abolition. Admitting that it has succeeded there—which I will do for the sake of the argument—do you know the reason of it? The true and only causes of whatever success has attended it in Antigua are, that the population was before crowded, and all, or nearly all, the arable land in cultivation. The emancipated negroes could not, many of them, get away if they desired; and knew not where to go, in case they did. They had practically no alternative but to remain on the spot; and remaining, they must work on the terms of the proprietors, or perish—the strong arm of the mother country forbidding all hope of seizing the land for themselves. The proprietors, well knowing that they could thus command labor for the merest necessities of life, which was much cheaper than maintaining the non-effective as well as effective slaves in a style which decency and interest, if not humanity, required, willingly accepted half their value, and at once realized far more than the interest on the other half in the diminution of their expenses, and the reduced comforts of the *freemen*. One of your most illustrious judges, who was also a profound and philosophical historian, has said "that villenage was not abolished, but went into decay in England." This was the process. This has been the process wherever (the name of) villenage or slavery has been successfully abandoned. Slavery in fact "went into decay" in Antigua. I have admitted that under similar circumstances it might profitably cease here—that is, profitably to the individual proprietors. Give me half the value of my slaves, and compel them to remain and labor on my plantation at ten to eleven cents a day, as they do in Antigua, supporting themselves and families, and you shall have them to-morrow, and if you like dub them "free." Not to stickle, I would surrender them without price. No—I recall my words: my humanity revolts at the idea. I am attached to my slaves, and would not have art or part in reducing them to such a condition. I deny, however, that Antigua, as a community, is or ever will be *as prosperous*, under present circumstances, as she was before abolition, though fully ripe for it. The fact is well known. The reason is that the African, if not a distinct, is an inferior race, and never will effect, as it never has effected, as much in any other condition as in that of slavery.

I know of no *slaveholder* who has visited the West Indies since slavery was abolished, and published *his* views of it. All our facts and opinions come through the friends of the experiment, or at least those not opposed to it. Taking these, even without

allowance, to be true as stated, I do not see where the abolitionists find causes for exultation. The tables of exports, which are the best evidences of the condition of a people, exhibit a woful falling off—excused, it is true, by unprecedented droughts and hurricanes, to which their free labor seems unaccountably more subject than slave labor used to be. I will not go into detail. It is well known that a large proportion of British legislation and expenditure, and that proportion still constantly increasing, is most anxiously devoted to repairing the monstrous error of emancipation. You are actually galvanizing your expiring colonies. The truth, deduced from all the facts, was thus pithily stated by the London Quarterly Review, as long ago as 1840: "None of the benefits anticipated by mistaken good intentions have been realized, while every evil wished for by knaves, and foreseen by the wise, has been painfully verified. The wild rashness of fanaticism has made the emancipation of the slaves equivalent to the loss of one half of the West Indies, and yet put back the chance of negro civilization."—(*Art. Ld. Dudley's Letters.*) Such are the *real fruits* of your never-to-be-too-much-glorified abolition, and the valuable dividend of your twenty millions of pounds sterling invested therein.

If any further proof was wanted of the utter and well-known, though not yet openly avowed, failure of West India emancipation, it would be furnished by the startling fact, that THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE HAS BEEN ACTUALLY REVIVED UNDER THE AUSPICES AND PROTECTION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. Under the auspicious guise of "immigration" they are replenishing those islands with slaves from the coast of Africa. Your colony of Sierra Leone, founded on that coast to prevent the slave-trade, and peopled, by the by, in the first instance, by negroes stolen from the States during the Revolutionary war, is the depot where captives taken from slavers by your armed vessels are transported. I might say returned, since nearly half the Africans carried across the Atlantic are understood to be embarked in this vicinity. The wretched survivors, who are there set at liberty, are immediately seduced to "immigrate" to the West Indies. The business is systematically carried on by black "delegates," sent expressly from the West Indies, where, on arrival, the "immigrants" are *sold into slavery* for twenty-one years, under conditions ridiculously trivial and wickedly void, since few or none will ever be able to derive any advantage from them. The whole prime of life thus passed in bondage, it is contemplated, and doubtless it will be carried into effect, to turn them out in their old age to shift for themselves, and to supply their

places with fresh and vigorous "immigrants." Was ever a system of slavery so barbarous devised before? Can you think of comparing it with ours? Even your own religious missionaries at Sierra Leone denounce it "as worse than the slave state in Africa." And your black delegates, fearful of the influence of these missionaries, as well as on account of the inadequate supply of captives, are now preparing to procure the able-bodied and comparatively industrious Kroomen of the interior, by *purchasing from their head men* the privilege of inveigling them to the West India market! So ends the magnificent farce—perhaps I should say tragedy—of West India abolition! I will not harrow your feelings by asking you to review the labors of your life, and tell me what you and your brother enthusiasts have accomplished for "injured Africa," but while agreeing with Lord Stowell, that "villeinage decayed," and admitting that slavery might do so also, I think I am fully justified by past and passing events in saying, as Mr. Grosvenor said of the slave-trade, that its abolition is "impossible."

You are greatly mistaken, however, if you think that the consequences of emancipation here would be similar and no more injurious than those which followed from it in your little sea-girt West India islands, where nearly all were blacks. The system of slavery is not in "decay" with us. It flourishes in full and growing vigor. Our country is boundless in extent. Dotted here and there with villages and fields, it is for the most part covered with immense forests and swamps of almost unknown size. In such a country, with a people so restless as ours, communicating of course some of that spirit to their domestics, can you conceive that any thing short of the power of the master over the slave could confine the African race, notoriously idle and improvident, to labor on our plantations? Break this bond but for a day, and these plantations will be solitudes. The negro loves change, novelty and sensual excitements of all kinds, *when awake*. "Reason and order," of which Mr. Wilberforce said "liberty was the child," do not characterize him. Released from his present obligations, his first impulse would be to go somewhere. And here no natural boundaries would restrain him. At first they would all seek the towns, and rapidly accumulate in squalid groups upon their outskirts. Driven thence by the "armed police" which would immediately spring into existence, they would scatter in all directions. Some bodies of them might wander toward the "free" states, or to the western wilderness, marking their tracks by their depredations and their corpses. Many would roam wild in our "big woods." Many more would seek the recesses of our

swamps for secure covert. Few, very few, of them could be prevailed on to do a stroke of work, none to labor continuously, while a head of cattle, sheep or swine could be found in our ranges, or an ear of corn nodded in our abandoned fields. These exhausted, our folds and poultry yards, barns and store-houses, would become their prey. Finally, our scattered dwellings would be plundered, perhaps fired, and the inmates murdered. How long do you suppose that we could bear these things? How long would it be before we should sleep with rifles at our bedsides, and never move without one in our hands? This work once begun, let the story of our British ancestors and the aborigines of this country tell the sequel. Far more rapid, however, would be the catastrophe. "Ere many moons went by," the African race would be exterminated, or reduced again to slavery, their ranks recruited, after your example, by fresh "immigrants" from their fatherland.

Is timely preparation and gradual emancipation suggested to avert these horrible consequences? I thought your experience in the West Indies had at least done so much as to explode that idea. If it failed there, much more would it fail here, where the two races, approximating to equality in numbers, are daily and hourly in the closest contact. Give room but for a single spark of real jealousy to be kindled between them, and the explosion would be instantaneous and universal. It is the most fatal of all fallacies to suppose that these two races can exist together, after any length of time or any process of preparation, on terms at all approaching to equality. Of this, both of them are finally and fixedly convinced. They differ essentially in all the leading traits which characterize the varieties of the human species, and color draws an indelible and insuperable line of separation between them. Every scheme founded upon the idea that they can remain together on the same soil, beyond the briefest period, in any other relation than precisely that which now subsists between them, is not only preposterous, but fraught with deepest danger. If there was no alternative but to try the "experiment" here, reason and humanity dictate that the sufferings of "gradualism" should be saved, and the catastrophe of "immediate abolition" enacted as rapidly as possible. Are you impatient for the performance to commence? Do you long to gloat over the scenes I have suggested, but could not hold the pen to portray? In your long life many such have passed under your review. You know that *they* are not "*impossible*." Can they be to your taste? Do you believe that in laboring to bring them about, the abolitionists are doing the will of God? No! God is not there. It is the

work of Satan. The arch-fiend, under specious guises, has found his way into their souls, and with false appeals to philanthropy, and foul insinuations to ambition, instigates them to rush headlong to the accomplishment of his diabolical designs.

We live in a wonderful age. The events of the last three quarters of a century appear to have revolutionized the human mind. Enterprise and ambition are only limited in their purposes by the horizon of the imagination. It is the transcendental era. In philosophy, religion, government, science, arts, commerce, nothing that has been is to be allowed to be. Conservatism in any form is scoffed at. The slightest taint of it is fatal. Where will all this end? If you can tolerate one ancient maxim, let it be that the best criterion of the future is the past. That, if any thing, will give a clue. And looking back only through your time, what was the earliest feat of this same transcendentalism? The rays of the new moral Drummond Light were first concentrated to a focus at Paris, to illuminate the universe. In a twinkling it consumed the political, religious, and social systems of France. It could not be extinguished there until literally drowned in blood. And then from its ashes rose that supernatural man, who for twenty years kept affrighted Europe in convulsions. Since that time its scattered beams, refracted by broader surfaces, have nevertheless continued to scathe wherever they have fallen. What political structure, what religious creed, but has felt the galvanic shock, and even now trembles to its foundations? Mankind, still horror-stricken by the catastrophe of France, have shrunk from rash experiments upon social systems. But they have been practising in the East, around the Mediterranean, and through the West India islands. And growing confident, a portion of them seem desperately bent on kindling the all-devouring flame in the bosom of our land. Let it once again blaze up to heaven, and another cycle of blood and devastation will dawn upon the world. For our own sake, and for the sake of those infatuated men who are madly driving on the conflagration, for the sake of human nature, we are called on to strain every nerve to arrest it. And be assured our efforts will be bounded only with our being. Nor do I doubt that five millions of people, brave, intelligent, united, and prepared to hazard every thing, will, in such a cause, with the blessing of God, sustain themselves. At all events, come what may, it is ours to meet it.

We are well aware of the light estimation in which the abolitionists, and those who are taught by them, profess to hold us. We have seen the attempt of a portion of the Free Church of Scotland to reject our alms, on the ground that we are "slave drivers," after

sending missionaries to solicit them. And we have seen Mr. O'Connell, the "irresponsible master" of millions of ragged serfs, from whom, poverty-stricken as they are, he contrives to wring a splendid privy purse, throw back with contumely the "tribute" of his own countrymen from this land of "miscreants." These people may exhaust their slang and make blackguards of themselves, but they cannot defile us. And as for the suggestion to exclude slaveholders from your London clubs, we scout it. Many of us, indeed, do go to London, and we have seen your breed of gawky Lords, both there and here, but it never entered into our conceptions to look on them as better than ourselves. Nor can we be annoyed by the ridiculous airs of such upstarts as your O'Connells, Ritchies, Macaulays, and the like. The American slaveholders, collectively or individually, ask no favor of any man or race who tread the earth. In none of the attributes of men, mental or physical, do they acknowledge or fear superiority elsewhere. They stand in the broadest light of the knowledge, civilization and improvement of the age, as much favored of Heaven as any of the sons of Adam. Exacting nothing undue, they yield nothing but justice and courtesy, even to royal blood. They cannot be flattered, duped, nor bullied out of their rights or their propriety. They smile with contempt at scurrility and vamping beyond the seas, and they turn their backs upon it where it is "irresponsible;" but insolence that ventures to look them in the face, will never fail to be chastised.

I think I may trust you will not regard this letter as intrusive. I should never have entertained an idea of writing it, had you not opened the correspondence. If you think any thing in it harsh, review your own—which I regret that I lost soon after it was received—and you will probably find that you have taken your revenge beforehand. If you have not, transfer an equitable share of what you deem severe to the account of the abolitionists at large. They have accumulated against the slaveholders a balance of invective, which, with all our efforts, we shall not be able to liquidate much short of the era in which your national debt will be paid. At all events, I have no desire to offend you personally, and, with the best wishes for your continued health, I have the honor to be,

THE ARGUMENT FROM RELIGION; PROGRESS OF FANATICISM; DETERMINATION OF THE SOUTH, &c. (CONCLUDED).—In my letter to you of the 28th January—which I trust you have received ere this—I mentioned that I had lost your circular letter soon after it had come to hand. It was, I am glad to say, only mislaid, and has within a few days been recovered. A second perusal of it induces me to resume my pen. Unwilling to trust my recollections

from a single reading, I did not in my last communication attempt to follow the course of your argument, and meet directly the points made and the terms used. I thought it better to take a general view of the subject, which could not fail to traverse your most material charges. I am well aware, however, that, for fear of being tedious, I omitted many interesting topics altogether, and abstained from a complete discussion of some of those introduced. I do not propose now to *exhaust* the subject, which it would require volumes to do; but without waiting to learn—which I may never do—your opinion of what I have already said, I sit down to supply some of the deficiencies of my letter of January, and, with your circular before me, to reply to such parts of it as have not been fully answered.

It is, I perceive, addressed among others to "such as have never visited the southern states" of this confederacy, and professes to enlighten their ignorance of the actual "condition of the poor slave in their own country." I cannot help thinking you would have displayed prudence in confining the circulation of your letter altogether to such persons. You might then have indulged with impunity in giving, as you have done, a picture of slavery drawn from your own excited imagination, or from those impure fountains, the Martineaus, Marryatts, Trollopes and Dickenses, who have profited by catering, at our expense, to the jealous sensibilities and debauched tastes of your countrymen. Admitting that you are familiar with the history of slavery and the past discussions of it, as I did, I now think rather broadly, in my former letter, what can *you* know of the true condition of the "poor slave" here? I am not aware that you have ever visited this country, or even the West Indies. Can you suppose that because you have devoted your life to the investigation of the subject—commencing it under the influence of an enthusiasm so melancholy at first and so volcanic afterward as to be nothing short of hallucination; pursuing it as men of *one idea* do every thing, with the single purpose of establishing your own view of it; gathering your information from discharged seamen, disappointed speculators, factious politicians, visionary reformers and scurrilous tourists; opening your ears to every species of complaint, exaggeration and falsehood that interested ingenuity could invent, and never for a moment questioning the truth of any thing that could make for your cause—can you suppose that all this has qualified you, living the while in England, to form or approximate toward the formation of a correct opinion of the condition of slaves among us? I know the power of self-delusion. I have not the least doubt that you think yourself the very best

informed man alive on this subject, and that many think so likewise. So far as facts go, even after deducting from your list a great deal that is not fact, I will not deny that probably your collection is the most extensive in existence. But as to the *truth* in regard to slavery, there is not an adult in this region but knows more of it than you do. *Truth* and *fact* are, you are aware, by no means synonymous terms. Ninety-nine facts may constitute a falsehood: the hundredth, added or alone, gives the truth. With all your knowledge of facts, I undertake to say that you are entirely and grossly ignorant of the real condition of our slaves. And from all that I can see, you are equally ignorant of the essential principles of human association revealed in history, both sacred and profane, on which slavery rests, and which will perpetuate it for ever in some form or other. However you may declaim against it; however powerfully you may array atrocious incidents; whatever appeals you may make to the heated imaginations and tender sensibilities of mankind—believe me, your total blindness to the *whole truth*, which alone constitutes *the truth*, incapacitates you from ever making an impression on the sober reason and sound common sense of the world. You may seduce thousands—you can convince no one. Whenever and wherever you or the advocates of your cause can arouse the passions of the weak-minded and the ignorant, and, bringing to bear with them the interests of the vicious and unprincipled, overwhelm common sense and reason—as God sometimes permits to be done—you may triumph. Such a triumph we have witnessed in Great Britain. But I trust it is far distant here: nor can it from its nature be extensive or enduring. Other classes of reformers, animated by the same spirit as the abolitionists, attack the institution of marriage, and even the established relations of parent and child. And they collect instances of barbarous cruelty and shocking degradation which rival, if they do not throw into the shade, your slavery statistics. But the rights of marriage and parental authority rest upon truths as obvious as they are unchangeable—coming home to every human being, self-imposed for ever on the individual mind, and cannot be shaken until the whole man is corrupted, nor subverted until civilized society becomes a putrid mass. Domestic slavery is not so universally understood, nor can it make such a direct appeal to individuals or society beyond its pale. Here, prejudice and passion have room to sport at the expense of others. They may be excited and urged to dangerous action, remote from the victims they mark out. They may, as they have done, effect great mischief, but they cannot be made to maintain, in the long

run, dominion over reason and common sense, nor ultimately put down what God has ordained.

You deny, however, that slavery is sanctioned by God, and your chief argument is, that when he gave to Adam dominion over the fruits of the earth and the animal creation, he stopped there. "He never gave him any further right over his fellow-men." You restrict the descendants of Adam to a very short list of rights and powers, duties and responsibilities, if you limit them solely to those conferred and enjoined in the first chapter of Genesis. It is very obvious that in this narrative of the creation, Moses did not have it in view to record any part of the Law intended for the government of man in his social or political state. Eve was not yet created; the expulsion had not yet taken place; Cain was unborn; and no allusion whatever is made to the manifold decrees of God to which these events gave rise. The only serious answer this argument deserves is to say, what is so manifestly true, that God's not expressly giving to Adam "any right over his fellow-men" by no means excluded him from conferring that right on his descendants; which he in fact did. We know that Abraham, the chosen one of God, exercised it and held property in his fellow-man, even anterior to the period when property in land was acknowledged. We might infer that God had authorized it. But we are not reduced to inference or conjecture. At the hazard of fatiguing you by repetition, I will again refer you to the ordinances of the Scriptures. Innumerable instances might be quoted where God has given and commanded men to assume dominion over their fellow-men; but one will suffice. In the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus you will find *Domestic Slavery*—precisely such as is maintained at this day in these states—ordained and established by God, in language which I defy you to pervert so as to leave a doubt on any honest mind that this institution was founded by him and decreed to be perpetual. I quote the words:

Leviticus xxv. 44-46: "Both thy bondmen and thy bond-maids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen (Africans) that are round about you; of them ye shall buy bondmen and bondmaids."

"Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you which they begat in your land, (descendants of Africans?) and they shall be your possession."

"And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession. THEY SHALL BE YOUR BOND-MEN FOR EVER."

What human legislature could make a

decree more full and explicit than this? What court of law or chancery could defeat a title to a slave couched in terms so clear and complete as these? And this is the *Law of God*, whom you pretend to worship, while you denounce and traduce us for respecting it.

It seems scarcely credible, but the fact is so, that you deny this law so plainly written, and in the face of it have the hardihood to declare that, "though slavery is not specifically, yet it is *virtually forbidden* in the Scriptures, because all the crimes which necessarily arise out of slavery, and which can arise from no other source, are reprobated there and threatened with divine vengeance." Such an unworthy subterfuge is scarcely entitled to consideration. But its gross absurdity may be exposed in few words. I do not know what crimes you particularly allude to as arising from slavery. But you will, perhaps, admit—not because they are denounced in the decalogue, which the abolitionists respect only so far as they choose, but because it is the *immediate interest* of most men to admit—that disobedience to parents, adultery, and stealing, are crimes. Yet these crimes "necessarily arise from" the relations of parent and child, marriage, and the possession of private property; at least they "can arise from no other sources." Then, according to your argument, it is "virtually forbidden" to marry, to beget children, and to hold private property! Nay, it is forbidden to live, since murder can only be perpetrated on living subjects. You add that "in the same way the gladiatorial shows of old, and other barbarous customs, were not specifically forbidden in the New Testament, and yet Christianity was the sole means of their suppression." This is very true. But these shows and barbarous customs, thus suppressed, were not *authorized by God*. They were not ordained and commanded by God for the benefit of his chosen people and mankind, as the purchase and holding of bondmen and bondmaids were. Had they been, they would never have been "suppressed by Christianity," any more than slavery can be by your party. Although Christ came "not to destroy but fulfil the Law," he nevertheless did formally abrogate some of the ordinances promulgated by Moses, and all such as were at war with his mission of "peace and goodwill on earth." He "specifically" annuls, for instance, one "barbarous custom," sanctioned by those ordinances, where he says: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you that ye resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also." Now, in the time of Christ, it was usual for mas-

ters to put their slaves to death on the slightest provocation. They even killed and cut them up to feed their fishes. He was undoubtedly aware of these things, as well as of the law and commandment I have quoted. He could only have been restrained from denouncing them as he did the "*lex talionis*," because he knew that in despite of these barbarities the institution of slavery was at the bottom a sound and wholesome as well as lawful one. Certain it is, that in his wisdom and purity he did not see proper to interfere with it. In your wisdom, however, you make the sacrilegious attempt to overthrow it.

You quote the denunciation of Tyre and Sidon, and say that "the chief reason given by the prophet Joel for their destruction was, that they were notorious beyond all others for carrying on the slave trade." I am afraid you think we have no Bibles in the slave states, or that we are unable to read them. I cannot otherwise account for your making this reference, unless, indeed, your own reading is confined to an expurgated edition, prepared for the use of abolitionists, in which every thing relating to slavery that militates against their view of it is left out. The prophet Joel denounces the Tyrians and Sidonians because "The children also of Judah and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians." And what is the Divine vengeance for this "notorious slave-trading?" Hear it: "And I will sell your sons and daughters into the hands of the children of Judah, and they shall sell them to the Sabeans, to a people far off: for the Lord hath spoken it." Do you call this a condemnation of slave-trading? The prophet makes God himself a participator in the crime, if that be one. "The Lord hath spoken it," he says, that the Tyrians and Sidonians shall be *sold into slavery* to strangers. Their real offense was in enslaving the chosen people; and their sentence was a repetition of the old command, to make slaves of the "heathen round about."

I have dwelt upon your scriptural argument because you profess to believe the Bible; because a large porportion of the abolitionists profess to do the same, and to act under its sanction; because your circular is addressed in part to "professing Christians;" and because it is from that class, mainly, that you expect to seduce converts to your anti-Christian, I may say, infidel doctrines. It would be wholly unnecessary to answer you to any one who reads the Scriptures for himself, and construes them according to any other formula than that which the abolitionists are wickedly endeavoring to impose upon the world. The scriptural sanction of slavery is, in fact, so palpable and so strong, that both wings of

your party are beginning to acknowledge it. The more sensible and moderate admit, as the organ of the Free Church of Scotland, the North British Review, has lately done, that they "*are precluded by the statements and conduct of the apostles from regarding mere slaveholding as essentially sinful*;" while the desperate and reckless, who are bent on keeping up the agitation at every hazard, declare, as has been done in the Anti-Slavery Record, "If our inquiry turns out in favor of slavery, IT IS THE BIBLE THAT MUST FALL, AND NOT THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE." You cannot, I am satisfied, much longer maintain before the world the Christian platform, from which to wage war upon our institutions. Driven from it, you must abandon the contest; or repudiating REVELATION, rush into the horrors of NATURAL RELIGION.

You next complain, that our slaves are kept in bondage by the "law of force." In what country or condition of mankind do you see human affairs regulated merely by the law of love? Unless I am greatly mistaken, you will, if you look over the world, find nearly all certain and permanent rights, civil, social, and, I may even add, religious, resting on, and ultimately secured by, the "law of force." The power of majorities—of aristocracies—of kings—nay, of priests, for the most part, and of property, resolves itself, at last, into "force," and could not otherwise be long maintained. Thus, in every turn of your argument against our system of slavery, you advance, whether conscious of it or not, radical and revolutionary doctrines calculated to change the whole face of the world, to overthrow all government, disorganize society, and reduce man to a state of nature—red with blood, and shrouded once more in barbaric ignorance. But you greatly err, if you suppose, because we rely on force, in the last resort, to maintain our supremacy over our slaves, that ours is a stern and unfeeling domination at all to be compared in hard-hearted severity to that exercised, not over the mere laborer only, but by the higher over each lower order, wherever the British sway is acknowledged. You say, that if those you address were "to spend one day in the south, they would return home with impressions against slavery never to be erased." But the fact is universally the reverse. I have known numerous instances, and I never knew of a single one, where there was no other cause of offense and no object to promote by falsehood, that individuals from the non-slaveholding states did not, after residing among us long enough to understand the subject, "return home" *to defend our slavery*. It is matter of regret that you have never tried the experiment yourself. I do not doubt that you would have been converted, for I give you credit for an honest though perverted mind. You would have seen how weak and futile is all abstract

reasoning about this matter, and that, as a building may not be less elegant in its proportions, or tasteful in its ornaments, or virtuous in its uses, for being based upon granite, so a system of human government, though founded on force, may develop and cultivate the tenderest and purest sentiments of the human heart. And our patriarchal scheme of domestic servitude is indeed well calculated to awaken the higher and finer feelings of our nature. It is not wanting in its enthusiasm and its poetry. The relations of the most beloved and honored chief, and the most faithful and admiring subjects, which, from the time of Homer, have been the theme of song, are frigid and unfelt compared with those existing between the master and his slaves—who served his father, and rocked his cradle, or have been born to his household, and look forward to serve his children; who have been through life the props of his fortune and the objects of his care; who have partaken of his griefs, and looked to him for comfort in their own; whose sickness he has so frequently watched over and relieved; whose holidays he has so often made joyous by his bounties and his presence; for whose welfare when absent his anxious solicitude never ceases, and whose hearty and affectionate greetings never fail to welcome him home. In this cold, calculating, ambitious world of ours, there are few ties more heartfelt, or of more benignant influence, than those which mutually bind the master and the slave, under our ancient system, handed down from the Father of Israel. The unholy purpose of the abolitionists is to destroy by defiling it; to infuse into it the gall and bitterness which rankle in their own envenomed bosoms; to poison the minds of the master and the servant, turn love to hatred, array "*force*" *against force*, and hurl all,

"With hideous ruin and combustion, down
To bottomless perdition."

You think it a great "crime" that we do not pay our slaves "wages," and on this account pronounce us "robbers." In my former letter I showed that the labor of our slaves was not without great cost to us, and that, in fact, they themselves receive more in return for it than you hirelings do for theirs. For what purpose do men labor, but to support themselves and their families in what comfort they are able? The efforts of mere physical labor seldom suffice to provide more than a livelihood. And it is a well-known and shocking fact, that while few operatives in Great Britain succeed in securing a comfortable living, the greater part drag out a miserable existence, and sink at last under absolute want. Of what avail is it that you go through the form of paying them a pittance of what you call "wages," when you do not, in return for their services, allow them what alone they

ask, and have a just right to demand—enough to feed, clothe, and lodge them, in health and sickness, with reasonable comfort? Though we do not give “wages” in money, we do this for *our slaves*, and they are, therefore, better rewarded than *yours*. It is the prevailing vice and error of the age, and one from which the abolitionists, with all their saintly pretensions, are far from being free, to bring every thing to the standard of money. They make gold and silver the great test of happiness. The American slave must be wretched indeed, because he is not compensated for his services in cash. It is altogether praiseworthy to pay the laborer a shilling a day and let him starve on it. To supply all his wants abundantly, and at all times, yet withhold from him money, is among “the most reprobated crimes.” The fact cannot be denied, that the mere laborer is now, and always has been, everywhere that barbarism has ceased, enslaved. Among the innovations of modern times, following “the decay of villeinage,” has been the creation of a new system of slavery. The primitive and patriarchal, which may also be called the sacred and natural system, in which the laborer is under the personal control of a fellow-being, endowed with the sentiments and sympathies of humanity, exists among us. It has been almost everywhere else superseded by the modern artificial *money-power system*, in which man, his thews and sinews, his hopes and affections, his very being, are all subjected to the dominion of *Capital*—a monster without a heart—cold, stern, arithmetical—sticking to the bond—taking ever “the pound of flesh”—working up human life with engines, and retailing it out by weight and measure. His name of old was “Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell from heaven.” And it is to extend his empire, that you and your deluded coadjutors dedicate your lives. You are stirring up mankind to overthrow our heaven-ordained system of servitude, surrounded by innumerable checks, designed and planted deep in the human heart by God and nature, to substitute the absolute rule of this “spirit reprobate,” whose proper place was hell.

You charge us with looking on our slaves “as chattels or brutes,” and enter into a somewhat elaborate argument to prove that they have “human forms,” “talk,” and even “think.” Now the fact is, that however you may indulge in this strain for effect, it is the abolitionists, and not the slaveholders, who, practically, and in the most important point of view, regard our slaves as “chattels or brutes.” In your calculations of the consequences of emancipation, you pass over entirely those which must prove most serious, and which arise from the fact of their being *persons*. You appear to think that we might abstain from the use of them as readily as if they were machines to be laid aside, or cattle that might be turned out to find pasturage for

themselves. I have, heretofore, glanced at some of the results that would follow from breaking the bonds of so many *human beings* now peacefully and happily linked into our social system. The tragic horrors, the decay and ruin that would for years, perhaps for ages, brood over our land, if it could be accomplished, I will not attempt to portray. But do you fancy the blight would, in such an event, come to us alone? The diminution of the sugar crop of the West Indies affected Great Britain only, and there, chiefly the poor. It was a matter of no moment to capital, that labor should have one comfort less. Yet it has forced a reduction of the British duty on sugar. Who can estimate the consequences that must follow the annihilation of the cotton crop of the slaveholding states? I do not undervalue the importance of other articles of commerce, but no calamity could befall the world, at all comparable to the sudden loss of two millions of bales of cotton annually. From the deserts of Africa to the Siberian wilds—from Greenland to the Chinese wall—there is not a spot of earth but would feel the sensation. The factories of Europe would fall with a concussion that would shake down castles, palaces, and even thrones; while the “purse-proud, elbowing insolence” of our northern monopolists would disappear for ever under the smooth speech of the pedlar, scouring our frontiers for a livelihood, or the bluff vulgarity of the South Sea whaler, following the harpoon amid storms and shoals. Doubtless, the abolitionists think we could grow cotton without slaves, or that, at worst, the reduction of the crop would be moderate and temporary. Such gross delusions show how profoundly ignorant they are of our condition here.

You declare that “the character of the people of the south has long been that of *hardened infidels*, who fear not God and have no regard for religion.” I will not repeat what I said in my former letter on this point. I only notice it to ask you how you could possibly reconcile it to your profession of a Christian spirit, to make such a malicious charge—to defile your soul with such a calumny against an unoffending people?

“You are old;
Nature, in you, stands on the very verge
Of her confine. You should be ruled and led
By some discretion.”

May God forgive you.

Akin to this, is the wanton and furious assault made on us by Mr. Macaulay, in his late speech on the sugar duties in the House of Commons, which has just reached me. His denunciations are wholly without measure, and, among other things, he asserts that “Slavery in the United States wears its worst form; that, boasting of our civilization and freedom, and frequenting Christian churches, we breed

up slaves—nay, beget children for slaves, and sell them at so much a head.” Mr. Macaulay is a reviewer, and he knows that he is “nothing if not critical.” The practice of his trade has given him the command of all the slashing and vituperative phrases of our language, and the turn of his mind leads him to the habitual use of them. He is an author, and as no copyright law secures for him from this country a consideration for his writings, he is not only independent of us, but naturally hates every thing American. He is the representative of Edinburgh: it is his cue to decry our slavery, and, in doing so, he may safely indulge the malignity of his temper, his indignation against us, and his capacity for railing. He has suffered once, for being in advance of his time in favor of abolition, and he does not intend that it shall be forgotten, or his claim passed over to any crumb which may now be thrown to the vociferators in the cause. If he does not know that the statements he has made respecting the slaveholders of this country are vile and atrocious falsehoods, it is because he does not think it worth his while to be sure he speaks the truth, so that he speaks to his own purpose.

“*Hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto.*”

Such exhibitions as he has made may draw the applause of a British House of Commons, but, among the sound and high minded thinkers of the world, they can only excite contempt and disgust.

But you are not content with depriving us of all religious feelings. You assert that our slavery has also “demoralized the northern states,” and charge upon it, not only every common violation of good order there, but the “Mormon murders,” the “Philadelphia riots,” and all “the exterminating wars against the Indians.” I wonder that you did not increase the list by adding that it had caused the recent inundation of the Mississippi, and the hurricane in the West Indies—perhaps the insurrection of Rebecca, and the war in Scinde. You refer to the law prohibiting the transmission of abolition publications through the mail as a proof of general corruption. You could not do so, however, without noticing the late detected espionage over the British post-office by a Minister of State. It is true, as you say, it “occasioned a general outburst of national feeling,” from the opposition; and a “parliamentary inquiry was instituted,” that is, moved, but treated quite cavalierly. At all events, though the fact was admitted, Sir James Graham yet retains the Home Department. For one, I cannot undertake to condemn him. Such things are not against the laws and usages of your country. I do not know fully what reasons of state may have influenced him and justified his conduct. But I do know that there is a vast difference in point of “national morality,” between the

discretionary power, residing in your government, to open any letter in the public post-office, and a well-defined and limited law to prevent the circulation of certain specified incendiary writings by means of the United States mail.

Having now referred to every thing like argument on the subject of slavery, that is worthy of notice, in your letter, permit me to remark on its tone and style, and very extraordinary bearing upon other institutions of this country. You commence, by addressing certain classes of our people as belonging to “a nation whose character is *now so low* in the estimation of the civilized world”—and, throughout, you maintain this tone. Did the Americans who were “under your roof last summer,” inform you that such language would be gratifying to their fellow-citizens “having no practical concern with slaveholding”? Or do the infamous libels on America which you read in our abolition papers, induce you to believe that all that class of people are, like the abolitionists themselves, totally destitute of patriotism or pride of country? Let me tell you that you are grossly deceived. And, although your stock-brokers and other speculators, who have been bitten in American ventures, may have raised a stunning “cry” against us in England, there is a vast body of people here, besides slaveholders, who justly

“Deem their own land of every land the pride,
Beloved by Heaven o’er all the world beside;”

and who *know* that, at this moment, we rank among the first powers of the world—a position which we not only claim, but are always ready and able to maintain.

The style you assume in addressing your northern friends is in perfect keeping with your apparent estimation of them. Though I should be the last, perhaps, to criticise mere style, I could not but be struck with the extremely simple manner of your letter. You seem to have thought you were writing a tract for benighted heathen, and telling wonders never before suggested to their imagination, and so far above their untutored comprehension, as to require to be related in the primitive language of “the child’s own book.” This is sufficiently amusing; and would be more so but for the coarse and bitter epithets you continually apply to the poor slaveholders—epithets which appear to be stereotyped for the use of abolitionists, and which form a large and material part of all their arguments.

But perhaps the most extraordinary part of your letter is your bold denunciation of “the shameful compromises” of our constitution, and your earnest recommendation to those you address to overthrow or revolutionize it. In so many words you say to them, “*You must either separate yourselves from all political connection with the south, and make your own*

laws; or, if you do not choose such a separation, you must break up *the political ascendancy which the southern have had for so long a time over the northern states.*" The italics in this, as in all other quotations, are your own. It is well for those who circulate your letter here, that the constitution you denounce requires an overt act to constitute treason. It may be tolerated for an American by birth to use, on his own soil, the freedom of speaking and writing which is guaranteed to him, and abuse our constitution, our Union, and our people. But that a foreigner should use such seditious language, in a circular letter addressed to a portion of the American people, is a presumption well calculated to excite the indignation of all. The party known in this country as the abolition party has long since avowed the sentiments you express, and adopted the policy you enjoin. At the recent presidential election they gave over sixty-two thousand votes for their own candidate, and held the balance of power in two of the largest states—wanting but little of doing it in several others. In the last four years their vote has quadrupled. Should the infatuation continue and their vote increase in the same ratio in the next four years, it will be as large as the vote of the *actual slaveholders* of the Union. Such a prospect is doubtless extremely gratifying to you. It gives hope of a contest on such terms as may insure the downfall of slavery or our constitution. The south venerates the constitution, and is prepared to stand by it for ever, *such as it came from the hands of our fathers*; to risk every thing to defend and maintain it *in its integrity*. But the south is under no such delusion as to believe that it derives any *peculiar* protection from the Union. On the contrary, it is well known we incur *peculiar danger*, and that we bear far more than our proportion of the burdens. The apprehension is also fast fading away that any of the dreadful consequences commonly predicted will necessarily result from a separation of the states. And *come what may*, we are firmly resolved that OUR SYSTEM OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY SHALL STAND. The fate of the Union then—but, thank God, not of republican government—rests mainly in the hands of the people to whom your letter is addressed—the “professing Christians of the northern states having no concern with slaveholding,” and whom with incendiary zeal you are endeavoring to stir up to strife—without which fanaticism can neither live, move, nor have any being.

We have often been taunted for our sensitiveness in regard to the discussion of slavery. Do not suppose it is because we have any doubts of our rights, or scruples about asserting them. There was a time when such doubts and scruples were entertained. Our ancestors opposed the introduction of slaves into this country, and a feeling adverse to it

was handed down from them. The enthusiastic love of liberty fostered by our revolution strengthened this feeling. And before the commencement of the abolition agitation here, it was the common sentiment that it was desirable to get rid of slavery. Many thought it our duty to do so. When that agitation arose we were driven to a close examination of the subject in all its bearings, and the result has been *universal conviction* that in holding slaves we violate no law of God—inflit no injustice on any of his creatures—while the terrible consequences of emancipation to all parties and the world at large, clearly revealed to us, make us shudder at the bare thought of it. The slaveholders are therefore indebted to the abolitionists for perfect ease of conscience, and the satisfaction of a settled and unanimous determination in reference to this matter. And could their agitation cease now, I believe, after all, the good would preponderate over the evil of it in this country. On the contrary, however, it is urged on with frantic violence, and the abolitionists, reasoning in the abstract, as if it were a mere moral or metaphysical speculation, or a minor question in politics, profess to be surprised at our exasperation. In their ignorance and recklessness they seem to be unable to comprehend our feelings or position. The subversion of our rights, the destruction of our property, the disturbance of our peace, and the peace of the world, are matters which do not appear to arrest their consideration. When revolutionary France proclaimed “Hatred to Kings and unity to the Republic,” and inscribed on her banners, “France risen against tyrants,” she professed to be worshipping “abstract rights.” And if there can be such things, perhaps she was. Yet all Europe rose to put her sublime theories down. They declared her an enemy to the common peace; that her doctrines alone violated the “law of neighborhood,” and, as Mr. Burke said, justly entitled them to anticipate the “*damnum nondum factum*” of the civil law. Danton, Barrere, and the rest, were apparently astonished that umbrage should be taken. The parallel between them and the abolitionists holds good in all respects.

The rise and progress of this fanaticism is one of the phenomena of the age in which we live. I do not intend to repeat what I have already said, or to trace its career more minutely at present. But the legislation of Great Britain will make it historical, and doubtless you must feel some curiosity to know how it will figure on the page of the annalist. I think I can tell you. Though I have acceded, and do accord, to you and your party great influence in bringing about the parliamentary action of your country, you must not expect to go down to posterity as the only cause of it. Though *you* trace the progenitors of abolition from 1516 through a long stream, with divers branches, down to

the period of its triumph in your country, it has not escaped contemporaries, and will not escape posterity, that England, without much effort, sustained the storm of its scoffs and threats until the moment arrived when she thought her colonies fully supplied with Africans; and declared against the slave-trade only when she deemed it unnecessary to her, and when her colonies, full of slaves, would have great advantages over others not so well provided. Nor did she agree to West India emancipation until, discovering the error of her previous calculation, it became an object to have slaves free throughout the western world, and on the ruins of the sugar and cotton growers of America and the Islands, to build up her great slave empire in the East; while her indefatigable exertions, still continued, to engraft the right of search upon the law of nations, on the plea of putting an end to the forever increasing slave-trade, are well understood to have chiefly in view the complete establishment of her supremacy at sea. On these points let me recommend you to consult a very able Essay on the Slave-trade and Right of Search by M. Jollivet, recently published; and as you say, since writing your circular letter, that you "burn to try your hand on another little essay if a subject could be found," I propose to you to "try" to answer this question, put by M. Jollivet to England: "*Pourquoi sa philanthropie n'a pas daigné, jusqu'à présent, doubler le cap de Bonne-Espérance!*" Nor must you flatter yourself that your party will derive historic dignity from the names of the illustrious British statesmen who have acted with it. Their country's ends were theirs. They have stooped to use you, as the most illustrious men will sometimes use the vilest instruments, to accomplish their own purposes. A few philanthropic common-places and rhetorical flourishes, "in the abstract," have secured them your "sweet voices" and your influence over the tribe of mawkish sentimentalists. Wilberforce may have been yours, but what was he besides but a wealthy county member? You must therefore expect to stand on your own merits alone before posterity, or rather that portion of it that may be curious to trace the history of the delusions which from time to time pass over the surface of human affairs, and who may trouble themselves to look through the ramifications of transcendentalism in this era of extravagances. And how do you expect to appear in their eyes? As Christians, piously endeavoring to enforce the will of God and carry out the principles of Christianity? Certainly not; since you deny or pervert the Scriptures in the doctrines you advance, and in your conduct furnish a glaring contrast to the examples of Christ and the apostles. As philanthropists devoting yourselves to the cause of humanity, relieving the needy, comforting the

afflicted, creating peace and gladness and plenty round about you? Certainly not; since you turn from the needy, the afflicted; from strife, sorrow, and starvation which surround you; close your eyes and hands upon them; shut out from your thoughts and feelings the human misery which is real tangible, and within your reach, to indulge your morbid imagination in conjuring up woes and wants among a strange people in distant lands, and offering them succor in the shape of costless denunciations of their best friends, or by scattering among them "fire-brands, arrows, and death." Such folly and madness—such wild mockery and base imposture—can never win for you, in the sober judgment of future times, the name of philanthropists. Will you even be regarded as worthy citizens? Scarcely, when the purposes you have in view can only be achieved by revolutionizing governments and overturning social systems, and when you do not hesitate zealously and earnestly to recommend such measures. Be assured, then, that posterity will not regard the abolitionists as Christians, philanthropists, or virtuous citizens. It will, I have no doubt, look upon the mass of the party as silly enthusiasts, led away by designing characters, as is the case with all parties that break from the great, acknowledged ties which bind civilized man in fellowship. The leaders themselves will be regarded as mere ambitious men; not taking rank with those whose ambition is "eagle-winged and sky-aspiring," but belonging to that mean and selfish class who are instigated by "rival-hating envy," and whose base thirst is for notoriety; who cloak their designs under vile and impious hypocries, and, unable to shine in higher spheres, devote themselves to fanaticism as a trade. And it will be perceived that, even in that, they shunned the highest walk. Religious fanaticism was an old established vocation, in which something brilliant was required to attract attention. They could not be George Foxes, nor Joanna Southcotes, nor even Joe Smiths. But the dullest pretender could discourse a jumble of pious bigotry, natural rights, and drivelling philanthropy; and, addressing himself to aged folly and youthful vanity, to ancient women, to ill-gotten wealth, to the reckless of all classes who love excitement and change, offer all the cheapest and the safest glory in the market. Hence, their numbers; and, from number and clamor, what impression they have made on the world.

Such I am persuaded is the light in which the abolitionists will be viewed by the posterity their history may reach. Unless, indeed—which God forbid—circumstances should so favor as to enable them to produce a convulsion which may elevate them higher on the "bad eminence" where they have placed themselves.

NEGRO SLAVERY. — MR. CALHOUN'S LETTER TO MR. KING. BRITISH MOVEMENTS IN TEXAS; HER EMANCIPATION SCHEMES AND THEIR FAILURE; HER POLICY IN REGARD TO SLAVERY.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
Washington, August 12, 1844. }

SIR:—I have laid your dispatch, No. 1, before the President, who instructs me to make known to you that he has read it with pleasure, especially the portion which relates to your cordial reception by the king, and his assurance of friendly feelings toward the United States. The President, in particular, highly appreciates the declaration of the king, that, in no event, would any steps be taken by his government in the slightest degree hostile, or which would give to the United States just cause of complaint. It was the more gratifying from the fact, that our previous information was calculated to make the impression, that the government of France was prepared to unite with Great Britain in a joint protest against the annexation of Texas, and a joint effort to induce her government to withdraw her proposition to annex, on condition that Mexico should be made to acknowledge her independence. He is happy to infer from your dispatch, that the information, as far as it relates to France, is, in all probability, without foundation. You did not go further than you ought in assuring the king that the object of annexation would be pursued with unabated vigor, and in giving your opinion that a decided majority of the American people were in its favor, and that it would certainly be annexed at no distant day. I feel confident that your anticipation will be fully realized at no distant period. Every day will tend to weaken that combination of political causes which led to the opposition of the measure, and to strengthen the conviction that it was not only expedient, but just and necessary.

You were right in making the distinction between the interests of France and England, in reference to Texas—or rather, I would say, the apparent interests of the two countries. France cannot possibly have any other than commercial interest in desiring to see her preserve her separate independence; while it is certain that England looks beyond to political interests, to which she apparently attaches much importance. But, in our opinion, the interest of both against the measure is more apparent than real; and that neither France, England, nor even Mexico herself, has any in opposition to it, when the subject is fairly viewed and considered in its whole extent and in all its bearings. Thus viewed and considered, and assuming that peace, the extension of commerce, and security, are objects of primary policy with them, it may, as it seems to me, be readily shown

that the policy on the part of those powers which would acquiesce in a measure so strongly desired by both the United States and Texas, for their mutual welfare and safety, as the annexation of the latter to the former, would be far more promotive of these great objects than that which would attempt to resist it.

It is impossible to cast a look at the map of the United States and Texas, and to note the long, artificial, and inconvenient line which divides them, and then to take into consideration the extraordinary increase of population and growth of the former, and the source from which the latter must derive its inhabitants, institutions and laws, without coming to the conclusion that it is their destiny to be united, and, of course, that annexation is merely a question of *time* and *mode*. Thus regarded, the question to be decided would seem to be, whether it would not be better to permit it to be done now, with the mutual consent of both parties, and the acquiescence of these powers, than to attempt to resist and defeat it. If the former course be adopted, the certain fruits would be the preservation of peace, great extension of commerce by the rapid settlement and improvement of Texas, and increased security, especially to Mexico. The last, in reference to Mexico, may be doubted; but I hold it not less clear than the other two.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that this government has any hostile feelings towards Mexico, or any disposition to aggrandize itself at her expense. The fact is the very reverse.

It wishes her well, and desires to see her settled down in peace and security; and is prepared, in the event of the annexation of Texas, if not forced into conflict with her, to propose to settle with her the question of boundary, and all others growing out of the annexation, on the most liberal terms. Nature herself has clearly marked the boundary between her and Texas by natural limits too strong to be mistaken. There are few countries whose limits are so distinctly marked; and it would be our desire, if Texas should be united to us, to see them firmly established, as the most certain means of establishing permanent peace between the two countries, and strengthening and cementing their friendship. Such would be the certain consequence of permitting the annexation to take place now, with the acquiescence of Mexico; but very different would be the case if it should be attempted to resist and defeat it, whether the attempt should be successful for the present or not. Any attempt of the kind would, not improbably, lead to a conflict between us and Mexico, and involve consequences, in reference to her and the general peace, long to be deplored on all sides, and difficult to be repaired. But should that not be the case, and the in-

terference of another power defeat the annexation for the present, without the interruption of peace, it would but postpone the conflict, and render it more fierce and bloody whenever it might occur. Its defeat would be attributed to enmity and ambition on the part of that power by whose interference it was occasioned, and excite deep jealousy and resentment on the part of our people, who would be ready to seize the first favorable opportunity to effect by force, what was prevented from being done peaceably by mutual consent. It is not difficult to see how greatly such a conflict, come when it might, would endanger the general peace, and how much Mexico might be the loser by it.

In the mean time, the condition of Texas would be rendered uncertain, her settlement and prosperity in consequence retarded, and her commerce crippled, while the general peace would be rendered much more insecure. It could not but greatly affect us. If the annexation of Texas should be permitted to take place peaceably now, (as it would, without the interference of other powers,) the energies of our people would, for a long time to come, be directed to the peaceable pursuits of redeeming, and bringing within the pale of cultivation, improvements and civilization, that large portion of the continent lying between Mexico on one side, and the British possessions on the other, which is now, with little exception, a wilderness with a sparse population, consisting, for the most part, of wandering Indian tribes.

It is our destiny to occupy that vast region; to intersect it with roads and canals; to fill it with cities, towns, villages and farms; to extend over it our religion, customs, constitution and laws; and to present it as a peaceful and splendid addition to the domains of commerce and civilization. It is our policy to increase, by growing and spreading out into unoccupied regions, assimilating all we incorporate: in a word, to increase by accretion, and not, through conquest, by the addition of masses held together by the cohesion of force. No system can be more unsuited to the latter process, or better adapted to the former, than our admirable federal system. If it should not be resisted in its course, it will probably fulfil its destiny without disturbing our neighbors, or putting in jeopardy the general peace; but if it be opposed by foreign interference, a new direction would be given to our energy, much less favorable to harmony with our neighbors, and to the general peace of the world.

The change would be undesirable to us, and much less in accordance with what I have assumed to be primary objects of policy on the part of France, England, and Mexico.

But, to descend to particulars: it is certain that while England, like France, desires the independence of Texas, with the view to com-

mercial connections; it is not less so, that one of the leading motives of England for desiring it is the hope that, through her diplomacy and influence, negro slavery may be abolished there, and ultimately, by consequence, in the United States, and throughout the whole of this continent. That its ultimate abolition throughout the entire continent is an object ardently desired by her, we have decisive proof in the declaration of the Earl of Aberdeen, delivered to this department, and of which you will find a copy among the documents transmitted to Congress with the Texan treaty. That she desires its abolition in Texas, and has used her influence and diplomacy to effect it there, the same document, with the correspondence of this department with Mr. Pakenham, also to be found among the documents, furnishes proof not less conclusive. That one of the objects of abolishing it there is to facilitate its abolition in the United States, and throughout the continent, is manifest from the declaration of the abolition party and societies, both in this country and in England. In fact, there is good reason to believe that the scheme of abolishing it in Texas, with the view to its abolition in the United States and over the continent, originated with the prominent members of the party in the United States; and was first broached by them in the (so called) World's Convention, held in London in the year 1840, and through its agency brought to the notice of the British government.

Now, I hold, not only that France can have no interest in the consummation of this grand scheme, which England hopes to accomplish through Texas, if she can defeat the annexation; but that her interest, and those of all the continental powers of Europe, are directly and deeply opposed to it.

It is too late in the day to contend that humanity or philanthropy is the great object of the policy of England in attempting to abolish African slavery on this continent. I do not question but humanity may have been one of her leading motives for the abolition of the African slave trade, and that it may have had a considerable influence in abolishing slavery in her West India possessions—aided, indeed, by the fallacious calculation that the labor of the negroes would be at least as profitable, if not more so, in consequence of the measure. She acted on the principle that tropical products can be produced cheaper by free African labor and East India labor, than by slave labor. She knew full well the value of such products to her commerce, navigation, navy, manufactures, revenue and power. She was not ignorant that the support and the maintenance of her political preponderance depended on her tropical possessions, and had no intention of diminishing their productiveness, nor any anticipation that such would be the effect when the scheme of abolishing

slavery in her colonial possessions was adopted. On the contrary, she calculated to combine philanthropy with profit and power, as is not unusual with fanaticism. Experience has convinced her of the fallacy of her calculations. She has failed in all her objects. The labor of her negroes has proved far less productive, without affording the consolation of having improved their condition.

The experiment has turned out to be a costly one. She expended nearly one hundred millions of dollars in indemnifying the owners of the emancipated slaves. It is estimated that the increased price paid since, by the people of Great Britain, for sugar and other tropical productions, in consequence of the measure, is equal to half that sum; and that twice that amount has been expended in the suppression of the slave trade; making, together, two hundred and fifty millions of dollars as the cost of the experiment. Instead of realizing her hope, the result has been a sad disappointment. Her tropical products have fallen off to a vast amount. Instead of supplying her own wants and those of nearly all Europe with them, as formerly, she has now, in some of the most important articles, scarcely enough to supply her own. What is worse, her own colonies are actually consuming sugar produced by slave labor, brought direct to England, or refined in bond, and exported and sold in her colonies as cheap or cheaper than they can be produced there; while the slave trade, instead of diminishing, has been in fact carried on to a greater extent than ever. So disastrous has been the result, that her fixed capital vested in tropical possessions, estimated at the value of nearly five hundred millions of dollars, is said to stand on the brink of ruin.

But this is not the worst. While this costly scheme has had such ruinous effects on the tropical productions of Great Britain, it has given a powerful stimulus, followed by a corresponding increase of products, to those countries which have had the good sense to shun her example. There has been vested, it is estimated by them, in the production of tropical products, since 1808, in fixed capital, nearly \$1,000,000,000, wholly dependent on slave labor. In the same period, the value of their products has been estimated to have risen from about \$72,000,000 annually, to nearly \$220,000,000; while the whole of the fixed capital of Great Britain, vested in cultivating tropical products, both in the East and West Indies, is estimated at only about \$830,000,000, and the value of the products annually at about \$50,000,000. To present a still more striking view of three articles of tropical products, (sugar, coffee, and cotton,) the British possessions, including the West and East Indies, and Mauritius, produced, in 1842, of sugar, only 3,993,771 pounds; while Cuba, Brazil, and the United States, ex-

cluding other countries having tropical possessions, produced 9,600,000 pounds; of coffee, the British possessions produced only 27,393,003, while Cuba and Brazil produced 201,590,125 pounds; and of cotton, the British possessions, including shipments to China, only 137,443,446 pounds, while the United States alone produced 790,479,275 pounds.

The above facts and estimates have all been drawn from a British periodical of high standing and authority,* and are believed to be entitled to credit.

This vast increase of the capital and production on the part of those nations who have continued their former policy toward the negro race, compared with that of Great Britain, indicates a corresponding relative increase of the means of commerce, navigation, manufactures, wealth and power. It is no longer a question of doubt, that the great source of the wealth, prosperity, and power of the more civilized nations of the temperate zone, (especially Europe, where the arts have made the greatest advance,) depends, in a great degree, on the exchange of their products with those of the tropical regions. So great has been the advance made in the arts, both chemical and mechanical, within the few last generations, that all the old civilized nations can, with but a small part of their labor and capital, supply their respective wants; which tends to limit within narrow bounds the amount of the commerce between them, and forces them all to seek for markets in the tropical regions, and the more newly settled portions of the globe. Those who can best succeed in commanding those markets, have the best prospect of outstripping the others in the career of commerce, navigation, manufactures, wealth and power.

This is seen and felt by British statesmen, and has opened their eyes to the errors which they have committed. The question now with them is, how shall it be counteracted? What has been done cannot be undone. The question is, by what means can Great Britain regain and keep a superiority in tropical cultivation, commerce and influence? Or, shall that be abandoned, and other nations be suffered to acquire the supremacy, even to the extent of supplying British markets, to the destruction of the capital already vested in their production? These are the questions which now profoundly occupy the attention of her statesmen, and have the greatest influence over her councils.

In order to regain her superiority, she not only seeks to revive and increase her own capacity to produce tropical productions, but to diminish and destroy the capacity of those who have so far outstripped her in consequence of her error. In pursuit of the former, she has cast her eyes to her East India pos-

* Blackwood's Magazine, for June, 1844.

sessions—to central and eastern Africa—with the view of establishing colonies there, and even to restore, substantially, the slave trade itself, under the specious name of transporting free laborers from Africa to her West India possessions, in order, if possible, to compete successfully with those who have refused to follow her suicidal policy. But these all afford but uncertain and distant hopes of recovering her lost superiority. Her main reliance is on the other alternative—to cripple or destroy the productions of her successful rivals. There is but one way by which it can be done, and that is by abolishing African slavery throughout this continent; and that she openly avows to be the constant object of her policy and exertions. It matters not how, or from what motive, it may be done: whether it may be by diplomacy, influence or force; by secret or open means; and whether the motive be humane or selfish, without regard to manner, means or motive. The thing itself, should it be accomplished, would put down all rivalry and give her the undisputed supremacy in supplying her own wants and those of the rest of the world; and thereby more than fully retrieve what she has lost by her errors. It would give her the monopoly of tropical productions, which I shall next proceed to show.

What would be the consequence if this object of her unceasing solicitude and exertions should be effected by the abolition of negro slavery throughout this continent, some idea may be formed from the immense diminution of productions, as has been shown, which has followed abolition in her West India possessions. But, as great as that has been, it is nothing compared to what would be the effect if she should succeed in abolishing slavery in the United States, Cuba, Brazil, and throughout this continent. The experiment in her own colonies was made under the most favorable circumstances. It was brought about gradually and peaceably, by the steady and firm operation of the parent country, armed with complete power to prevent or crush at once all insurrectionary movements on the part of the negroes, and able and disposed to maintain to the full the political and social ascendancy of the former masters over their former slaves. It is not at all wonderful that the change of the relations of master and slave took place, under such circumstances, without violence and bloodshed, and that order and peace should have been since preserved. Very different would be the result of abolition, should it be effected by her influence and exertions in the possessions of other countries on this continent, and especially in the United States, Cuba, and Brazil, the great cultivators of the principal tropical products of America. To form a correct conception of what would be the result with them, we must look not to Jamaica, but to St.

Domingo, for example. The change would be followed by unforgiving hate between the two races, and end in a bloody and deadly struggle between them for the superiority. One or the other would have to be subjugated, extirpated, or expelled; and desolation would overspread their territories, as in St. Domingo, from which it would take centuries to recover. The end would be, that the superiority in cultivating the great tropical staples would be transferred from them to the British tropical possessions.

They are of vast extent, and those beyond the Cape of Good Hope possessed of an unlimited amount of labor, standing ready, by the aid of British capital, to supply the deficit which would be occasioned by destroying the tropical productions of the United States, Cuba, Brazil, and other countries cultivated by slave labor on this continent, so soon as the increased price, in consequence, would yield a profit. It is the successful competition of that labor which keeps the prices of the great tropical staples so low as to prevent their cultivation with profit in the possessions of Great Britain, by what she is pleased to call free labor. If she can destroy its competition, she would have a monopoly in those productions. She has all the means of furnishing an unlimited supply—vast and fertile possessions in both Indies, boundless command of capital and labor, and ample power to suppress disturbances, and preserve order throughout her wide domains.

It is unquestionable that she regards the abolition of slavery in Texas as a most important step toward this great object of policy, so much the aim of her solicitude and exertions; and the defeat of the annexation of Texas to our Union as indispensable to the abolition of slavery there. She is too sagacious not to see what a fatal blow it would give to slavery in the United States, and how certainly its abolition with us would abolish it over the whole continent, and thereby give her a monopoly in the productions of the great tropical staples, and the command of the commerce, navigation, and manufactures of the world, with an established naval ascendancy and political preponderance. To this continent the blow would be calamitous beyond description. It would destroy, in a great measure, the cultivation and production of the great tropical staples, amounting annually in value to nearly \$300,000,000—the fund which stimulates and upholds almost every other branch of its industry, commerce, navigation, and manufactures. The whole, by their joint influence, are rapidly spreading population, wealth, improvement and civilization over the whole continent, and vivifying by their overflow the industry of Europe, thereby increasing its population, wealth, and advancement in the arts, in power, and in civilization.

Such must be the result, should Great Britain succeed in accomplishing the constant object of her desire and exertions, the abolition of negro slavery over this continent; and toward the effecting of which, she regards the defeat of the annexation of Texas to our Union so important. Can it be possible that governments so enlightened and sagacious as those of France and the other great continental powers, can be so blinded by the plea of philanthropy as not to see what must inevitably follow, be her motive what it may, should she succeed in her object? It is little short of mockery to talk of philanthropy, with the examples before us of the effects of abolishing negro slavery in her own colonies, in St. Domingo, and the northern states of our Union, where statistical facts not to be shaken prove that the freed negro, after the experience of sixty years, is in a far worse condition than in the other states, where he has been left in his former condition. Now the effect of what is called abolition, where the number is few, is not to raise the inferior race to the condition of freemen, but to deprive the negro of the guardian care of his owner, subject to all the depression and oppression belonging to his inferior condition. But, on the other hand, where the number is great, and bears a large proportion to the whole population, it would be still worse. It would be to substitute for the existing relation a deadly strife between the two races, to end in the subjection, expulsion or extirpation of one or the other; and such would be the case over the greater part of this continent where negro slavery exists. It would not end there, but would in all probability extend, by its example, the war of races all over South America, including Mexico, and extending to the Indian as well as to the African race, and make the whole one scene of blood and devastation.

Dismissing, then, the stale and unfounded plea of philanthropy, can it be that France and the other great continental powers—seeing what must be the result of the policy for the accomplishment of which England is constantly exerting herself, and that the defeat of the annexation of Texas is so important toward its consummation—are prepared to back or countenance her in her efforts to effect either? What possible motives can they have to favor her cherished policy? Is it not better for them that they should be supplied with tropical products in exchange for their labor, from the United States, Brazil, Cuba, and this continent generally, than to be dependent on one great monopolizing power for their supplies? Is it not better they should receive them at the low prices which competition, cheaper means of production, and nearness of market, would furnish them by the former, than to give the high prices which monopoly, dear labor, and great distance from market would impose? Is it not

better that their labor should be exchanged with a new continent, rapidly increasing in population and the capacity of consuming, and which would furnish in the course of a few generations a market nearer to them, and of almost unlimited extent, than with one whose population has long since reached its growth?

The above contains those enlarged views of policy which, it seems to me, an enlightened European statesman ought to take, in making up his opinion on the subject of the annexation of Texas, and the grounds, as it may be inferred, on which England vainly opposes it. They certainly involve considerations of the deepest importance, and demanding the greatest attention. Viewed in connection with them, the question of annexation becomes one of the first magnitude, not only to Texas and the United States, but to this continent and Europe. They are presented that you may use them on all suitable occasions where you think they may be with effect; in your correspondence, where it can be done with propriety or otherwise. The President relies with confidence on your sagacity, prudence and zeal. Your mission is one of the first magnitude at all times, but especially now; and he feels assured nothing will be left undone on your part to do justice to the country and the government in reference to this great measure.

I have said nothing as to your right of treating with Texas without consulting Mexico. You so fully understand the grounds on which we rest our right, and are so familiar with all the facts necessary to maintain them, that it was not thought necessary to add any thing in reference to it.

NEGROES.—SLAVE LAWS OF THE SOUTH.—This essay, the production of the Hon. J. B. O'Neal of South Carolina, though based upon the slave system of that state, gives a fair idea of the system throughout the entire south. Most of the ameliorations which are proposed would have been carried out long ago but for the officious and crazy influence of the abolitionists of the north. Many of the states have acted upon them; all will if let alone. There are "beams" enough in the world to remove before this "mote."—(Ed.)

The Status of the Negro, his Rights and Disabilities.—The act of 1740, sec. 1, declares all negroes and Indians (free Indians in amity with this government, negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes, who now are free, excepted) to be slaves: the offspring to follow the condition of the mother: and that such slaves are chattels personal.

Under this provision it has been uniformly held, that color is *prima facie* evidence that the party bearing the color of a negro, mulatto or mestizo, is a slave; but the same *prima facie* result does not follow from the Indian color.

Indians, and descendants of Indians, are regarded as free Indians in amity with this government, until the contrary be shown. In the second proviso of sec. 1, of the act of 1740, it is declared, that "every negro, Indian, mulatto and mestizo, is a slave, unless the contrary can be made to appear;" yet, in the same it is immediately thereafter provided—"the Indians in amity with this government excepted, in which case the burden of proof shall lie on the defendant," that is, on the person claiming the Indian plaintiff to be a slave. This latter clause of the proviso is now regarded as furnishing the rule. The race of slave Indians, or of Indians not in amity to this government, (the state,) is extinct, and hence the previous part of the proviso has no application.

The term negro is confined to slave Africans (the ancient Berbers) and their descendants. It does not embrace the free inhabitants of Africa, such as the Egyptians, Moors, or the negro Asiatics, such as the Lascars.

Mulatto is the issue of the white and the negro.

When the mulatto ceases, and a party bearing some slight taint of the African blood ranks as white, is a question for the solution of a jury.

Whenever the African taint is so far removed, that upon inspection, a party may be fairly pronounced to be white, and such has been his or her previous reception into society, and enjoyment of the privileges usually enjoyed by white people, the jury may rate and regard the party as white.

No specific rule, as to the quantity of negro blood which will compel a jury to find one to be a mulatto, has ever been adopted. Between one quarter and one eighth seems fairly to be debatable ground. When the blood is reduced to, or below one eighth, the jury ought always to find the party *white*. When the blood is one quarter or more African, the jury must find the party a mulatto.

The question of color, and of course of caste, arises in various ways; and may, in some cases, be decided without the intervention of a jury. As when a party is convicted and brought up for sentence, or a witness on the stand objected to as a free negro, mulatto, or mestizo, in these cases, if the color be so obvious that there can be no mistake about it, the judge may refuse to sentence, or may exclude the witness; still, if the party, against whose color the decision may be made, should claim to have the question tried by a jury, it must, I apprehend, be so tried.

There are three classes of cases, in which the question of color, and of course, of caste, most commonly occurs. 1st. Prohibition against inferior courts, or the tax collector. 2d. Objections to witnesses offered to testify in the superior courts. 3d. Actions of slander for

words charging the plaintiff with being a mulatto.

In the first class, free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes, are liable to be tried for all offenses, by a magistrate and five freeholders, (except in Charleston, where two magistrates must sit,) and of course, any person claiming to be white, (over whom, if that be true, they have no jurisdiction,) charged before them criminally, may object to their jurisdiction, and if they persist in trying him or her, may apply for, and on making good the allegation, is entitled to have the writ of prohibition. It seems if the party submit to have the question of jurisdiction tried by the inferior court, he will be concluded.

The writ of prohibition is generally granted, nisi, on a suggestion sworn to by the relator, by any judge at chambers, on notice being given to the court claiming jurisdiction; but if the fact be uncontroverted, or so plain as not to admit of doubt, that the relator is white, the judge may at once grant an absolute prohibition. Generally, however, an issue is ordered to be made up on granting the prohibition, nisi, in which the relator is plaintiff, and on the jury finding the relator to be a free white person, the prohibition is made absolute.

In this class, too, the tax collectors frequently issue tax executions for capitation taxes, against persons whom they suppose to be free negroes, mulattoes, or mestizoes, ("free persons of color," as they are sometimes loosely called.) If the person or persons against whom they be issued be not liable to the tax, they may, on a suggestion, move for, and have the writ of prohibition.

In such cases, where, from the affidavits accompanying the suggestion, it appears that the relator or relators has or have been received in society as white, and has or have enjoyed the privileges of a white person, or of white people, I have uniformly made the order for prohibition to become absolute, if the tax collector did not within a given time file his suggestions contesting the status of the relator or relators. This course has been adopted, because the tax collector has no jurisdiction over the person of the relator, and has no judicial authority whatever to decide the question of caste. His execution is predicated of an assumed fact. He is, therefore, bound to make that good, before he can collect the tax. This course has been found extremely convenient, as it has cut off an immense amount of litigation. For, generally, the tax collectors exercise a sound and honest discretion, in pursuing only those cases where there seems to be no room to doubt the degraded caste of the relator or relators.

Where, however, there is to be a question as to the color of the relator or relators, the court may, in its discretion, cast the burden

of proof on the tax collector, or the relator. Generally, I think, it should be cast on the tax collector, as his execution is the first allegation of the color of the relator. As the issue may result, the writ of prohibition is made absolute or dissolved.

In all the cases of the first class, the decision is conclusive; in all subsequent cases, civil or criminal. For the prohibition is in the nature of a criminal proceeding, operating *in rem*, and binds not only the parties, but also all the people of the commonwealth. So it seems, that any decision made in favor of the caste of the relator, as white, may be given in evidence in his favor.

In the second class, the objection to the competency of the witness makes the issue collateral, and it is tried *instanter*, without any formal issue being made up, and the finding is upon the record on trial. The verdict, in such a case, concludes nothing beyond the question of competency in that case. It, however, might be given in evidence for or against the witness, not as conclusive, but as a circumstance having weight in settling the question of status, in all other cases.

In the third class, where jurisdiction is pleaded and found, it would seem to forever conclude the plaintiff from re-agitating the question. But, where the defense is as usual, that the defendant had good reason to suspect and believe that the plaintiff was, as he alleged, a mulatto, in such case, a finding of nominal damages sustains the defense, yet it concludes not the plaintiff from afterward averring and proving that he was white.

Free Indians and their descendants, unmixed by African blood, are entitled to all the privileges of white men, except that of suffrage and office. The former, and of consequence the latter, has been denied to a pure Indian, living among the whites. The foregoing principle, resulting from the case cited in the margin, is, I am persuaded, wrong. The term white, ("free white man,") used in our constitution, is comparative merely: it was intended to be used in opposition to the colors resulting from the slave blood. The case should be reviewed, and I trust the decision will be reversed; for the case in which it was made will always condemn it. The relator, the Rev. John Mush, was an Indian, of the Pawmunki tribe of Indians, in Virginia; he was a soldier of the revolution; he had as such taken the oath of allegiance. He was sent out as a missionary to the Catawbas. He, however, did not reside among them; he lived among the white inhabitants of York District, where he had resided for many years. He was a man of unexceptionable character. Yet, strange to say, he was held not to be entitled to vote. If that decision be right, how long is the objection to prevail? When is the descendant of an Indian to be regarded as white? Is it, that he is not to be so re-

garded, until a jury shall find him to be white, on account of the great preponderance of the white blood? But the Indian blood, like that of the white, is the blood of freedom; there is nothing degrading in it; and hence, therefore, the Indian and his descendants may well claim to be white within the legal meaning of our constitution.

A mestizo is the issue of a negro and an Indian, and is subject to all the disabilities of a free negro and mulatto.

The burden of proof of freedom rests upon the negro, mulatto, or mestizo, claiming to be free.

Under the act of 1740, 1st sec., 1st proviso, and the act of 1799, it is provided, if any negro, mulatto or mestizo shall claim his or her freedom, he may, on application to the clerk of the Court of Common Pleas of the District, have a guardian appointed, who is authorized to bring an action of trespass, in the nature of ravishment of ward, against any person claiming property in the said negro, mulatto or mestizo, or having possession of the same; in which action the general issue may be pleaded, and the special circumstances given in evidence; and upon a general or special verdict found, judgment shall be given according to the very right of the case, without any regard to defects in the proceeding, in form or substance. In such case, if the verdict be that the ward of the plaintiff is free, a special entry shall be made declaring him to be free; and the jury is authorized to assess damages which the plaintiff's ward may have sustained, and the court is directed to give judgment, and award execution for the damages and cost; but if judgment is given for the defendant, then the court is authorized to inflict corporal punishment on the ward of the plaintiff, not extending to life or limb. Under the second section of the act of 1740, it is provided, that the defendant in such action shall enter into a recognizance with one or more sufficient sureties to the plaintiff, in such sum as the Court of Common Pleas may direct, conditioned to produce the ward of the plaintiff, at all times when required by the court, and that while the action or suit is pending, he shall not be eloiigned, abused or misused.

Under the 1st proviso, the action of trespass in the nature of ravishment of ward, is an action sounding altogether in damages. The finding for the plaintiff is altogether of damages, which may be made up of the value of the services of the plaintiff's ward, and recompense for any abuse or injury which he may sustain. For such damages and the costs, the judgment is entered up, and execution issues.

Under the act, the court is authorized, on such finding for the plaintiff, to make a special entry, that the ward of the plaintiff is free. This entry ought to recite the action, the

finding of the jury, and then should follow the order of the court, that the plaintiff's ward is free, and that he be discharged from the service of the defendant. This should be spread on the minutes of the court. This entry is, it seems, evidence of the freedom of the plaintiff's ward in all other cases, and against all other persons. It is only conclusive, however, against the defendant; against all other persons, it is *prima facie* merely. Under the 2d section, the proceeding is by petition, setting out the action brought to recover the freedom of the negro, the possession by the defendant, with a prayer that the defendant enter into the recognizance required by law. If this order be disobeyed, the defendant may be attached for a contempt, until it be obeyed; or it may be in analogy to the decision under the Trover Act, that the sheriff might arrest the defendant under the order, and keep him in custody until he entered into the recognizance. I never knew the order made but once, and that was in the case of Spear and Galbreath, guardians of Charles, vs. Rice.—Harp. 20. In that case, the order was complied with by the defendant on notice of it.

The evidence of freedom is as various as the cases.

Proof that a negro has been suffered to live in a community for years as a freeman, is *prima facie* proof of freedom.

If, before the act of 1820, a negro was at large, without an owner, and acting as a freeman for twenty years, the court would presume *omnia esse rita acta*, and every muniment necessary to give effect to freedom to have been properly executed.

This rule applies also, when freedom has been begun to be enjoyed before the act of 1820, and the twenty years are completed after.

Before the act of 1800, (hereafter to be adverted to,) any thing which showed that the owner had deliberately parted with his property, and dissolved the *vinculum servitii*, was enough to establish freedom.

The validity of freedom depends upon the law of the place where it begins. Hence, when slaves have been manumitted in other states, and are found in this state, their freedom *here* will depend on the validity of the manumission at the place whence they came.

By the 7th, 8th and 9th sections of the act of 1800, it was provided, that emancipation could only take effect by deed; that the owner intending to emancipate a slave should, with the slave, appear before a justice of the quorum and five freeholders of the vicinage, and upon oath, answer all such questions as they might ask touching the character and capability of the slave to gain a livelihood in an honest way. And if, upon such examination, it appeared to them the slave was not of bad character, and was capable of gaining a

livelihood in an honest way, they were directed to endorse a certificate upon the deed to that effect; and upon the said deed and certificate being recorded in the clerk's office, within six months from the execution, the emancipation was declared to be legal and valid, otherwise, that it was void. The person emancipating was directed by the 8th section, to deliver to the slave a copy of the deed of emancipation, attested by the clerk, within ten days after such deed shall have been executed.

The person emancipating, neglecting or refusing to deliver such copy, was, by the 9th section, declared to be liable to a fine of \$50, with costs, to be recovered by any one who shall sue for the same.

It was also provided by the 9th section, that a slave emancipated contrary to this act, may be seized, and made property by any one.

It was held, for a long time, that when a will directed slaves to be free, or to be set free, that they were liable to seizure, as illegally emancipated. But the cases of Lenoir vs. Sylvester, and Young vs. the same, put that matter right. In them, it was held that a bequest of freedom was not void under the act of 1800; that it could have no effect until the executor assented; that when he did assent, it was his duty to so assent as to give legal effect to the bequest. As legal owner, he could execute the deed, appear before the magistrate and freeholders, answer the questions, and do every act required by the law, and thus make the emancipation legal.

A slave illegally emancipated was free, as against the rights of the owner, under the act of 1800; he could only restore himself to his rights by capture. The act of 1820 declares that no slave shall be emancipated but by act of the legislature. Still it has been held, in Linam vs. Johnson, and many subsequent cases, that if a slave be in any other way emancipated, he may, under the provision of the act of 1800, be seized as derelict.

The delivery of the deed of emancipation to the clerk to be recorded, is all the delivery necessary to give it legal effect; and the delivery to the clerk is equivalent to recording.

The act of 1820, declaring that no slave should hereafter be emancipated but by act of the legislature, introduced a new, and, as I think, an unfortunate provision in our law. All laws unnecessarily restraining the rights of owners are unwise. So far as may be necessary to preserve the peace and good order of the community, they may be properly restrained. The act of 1800 was of that kind. The act of 1820, instead of regulating, cut off the power of emancipation. Like all of its class, it has done harm instead of good. It has caused evasions without number. These have been successful by vesting the ownership

in persons legally capable of holding it, and thus substantially conferring freedom when it was legally denied.

So, too, bequests or gifts for the use of such slaves were supported under the rule, that whatever is given to the slave belongs to the master.

Since the act of 1820, if a negro be at large, and enjoy freedom for twenty years, he or she is still a slave; as an act of emancipation passed by the legislature will not be presumed.

The act of 1820 was plainly intended to restrain emancipation within the state; it was therefore held by the Court of Appeals, that where a testator directed slaves to be sent out of the state and there set free, such bequest was good.

In 1841, the legislature, by a sweeping act, declared, 1st, That any bequest, deed of trust, or conveyance, intended to take effect after the death of the owner, whereby the removal of any slave or slaves without the state is secured or intended, with a view to the emancipation of such slave or slaves, shall be void, and the slave or slaves' assets in the hands of any executor or administrator. 2d, That any gift of any slave or slaves, by deed, or otherwise, accompanied by a trust, secret or implied, that the donee shall remove such slaves from the state to be emancipated, shall be void, and directed the donee to deliver up the slave or slaves, or account to the distributees, or next of kin, for their value. 3d, That any bequest, gift, or conveyance of any slave or slaves, with a trust or confidence, either secret or expressed, that such slave or slaves shall be held in nominal servitude only, shall be void, and the donee is directed to deliver the slave or slaves, or to account for their value to the distributees, or next of kin. 4th, That every devise or bequest to a slave or slaves, or to any person upon a trust or confidence, secret or expressed, for the benefit of any slave or slaves, shall be void.

This act, reversing the whole body of the law, which had been settled by various decisions from 1830, can have no effect on any deed, will, gift, or conveyance, made prior to its passage, 17th December, 1841.

This act, it has been always said, was passed to control a rich gentleman in the disposition of his estate. Like every thing of the kind, he defeated it, and the expectations of his next of kin, by devising his estate to one of his kindred, to the exclusion of all the rest.

My experience as a man, and a judge, leads me to condemn the acts of 1820 and 1841. They ought to be repealed, and the act of 1800 restored. The state has nothing to fear from emancipation, regulated as that law directs it to be. Many a master knows that he has a slave or slaves, for whom he feels it to be his duty to provide. As the law now

stands, that cannot be done. In a slave country the good should be especially rewarded. Who are to judge of this but the master? Give him the power of emancipation, under well regulated guards, and he can dispense the only reward which either he or his slave appreciates. In the present state of the world, it is especially our duty, and that of slave owners, to be just and merciful, and in all things to be *exceptione majori*. With well regulated and mercifully applied slave laws, we have nothing to fear for negro slavery. Fanatics of our own or foreign countries will be in the condition of the viper biting the file. They, not we, will be the sufferers. Let me, however, assure my countrymen, and fellow slaveholders, that unjust laws, or unmerciful management of slaves, fall upon us and our institutions with more withering effect than any thing else. I would see South Carolina the kind mother and mistress of all her people, free and slave. To all, extending justice and mercy. As against our enemies, I would say to her, *Be just and fear not*. Her sons faltered not on a foreign shore; at home, they will die in the last trench, rather than her rights should be invaded or despoiled.

Free negroes, mulattoes and mestizos, are entitled to all the rights of property, and protection in their persons and property, by action or indictment, which the white inhabitants of the state are entitled to.

Free negroes are *sui generis*. The act of 1822, section 8, requires every male free negro, above the age of fifteen, to have a guardian, who must be a respectable freeholder of the district, (who may be appointed by the clerk.) Notwithstanding this provision, the free negro is still, as I have said, *sui juris*, when of and above the age of twenty-one. The guardian is a mere protector of the negro, and a guarantor of his good conduct to the public.

They may contract and be contracted with. Their marriages with one another, and even with white people, are legal. They may purchase, hold, and transmit by descent, real estate. They can mortgage, aliene, or devise the same. They may sue and be sued, without noticing their respective guardians.

They are entitled to protect their persons by action, indictment, and the writ of habeas corpus, (except that the writ of habeas corpus is denied to those who enter the state contrary to the act of 1835.) They cannot repel force by force—that is, they cannot strike a white man who may strike any of them.

It has, however, been held, in a case decided in the Court of Appeals, and not reported, that insolence on the part of a free negro would not excuse an assault and battery. From that decision I dissented, holding, as in the *State vs. Harden*, 2d Speers, (note,) 155, "That words of impertinence or insolence addressed by a free negro to a white man, would justify an assault and battery." As

a general rule, I should say, that whatever, in the opinion of the jury, would induce them, as reasonable men, to strike a free negro, should in all cases be regarded as a legal justification in an indictment."

In addition to the common law remedies, by action of assault and battery and false imprisonment, and indictments for the same, the act of '37 furnishes another guarantee for the protection of free negroes, mulattoes, or mestizoes, by declaring any one convicted of their forcible abduction, or assisting therein, to be liable to a fine not less than \$1,000, and imprisonment not less than twelve months.

Free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes cannot be witnesses or jurors in the superior courts. They can be jurors no where. They cannot even be witnesses in inferior courts, with the single exception of a magistrate's and freeholder's court, trying slaves or free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, for criminal offenses, and then without oath. This was, however, not always the case, to the entire extent which I have stated. It was at one time held, that any *person of color*, if the issue of a free white woman, is entitled to give evidence, and ought to be admitted as a witness in our courts. This was predicated of a clear mistake of the civil law maxim of *partus sequitur ventrem*, and of the provision in the first section of the act of 1740, that the offspring should follow the condition of the mother, which only mean that slavery or freedom should be the condition of the offspring; but where the words mulatto or mestizo are ever used as designating a class, they are to be interpreted by their common acceptance.

It is singular that the 13th and 14th sections of the act of 1740, directing who may be witnesses against slaves, free negroes, &c., should have been confined to free Indians and slaves, who are to be examined without oath. From which it would seem that free negroes, mulattoes, &c., might be examined in such cases, as at common law, upon oath. But the practice under the act has been uniform, as I have before stated it. I think it a very unwise provision and course of practice, to examine any witnesses, in any court or case, without the sanction of an oath. Negroes (slaves or free) will feel the sanction of an oath with as much force as any of the ignorant classes of white people in a Christian country. They ought, too, to be made to know, if they testify falsely, they are to be punished for it by human laws. The course pursued on the trial of negroes in the abduction and obtaining testimony, leads to none of the certainties of truth. Falsehood is often the result, and innocence is thus often sacrificed on the shrine of prejudice.

Free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes may make all necessary affidavits on collateral matters, in cases in the superior courts, in which they may be parties, as on motions of postponement, &c. So, too, they may in such

court take the oaths under the insolvent debtor's or prison bounds' act, and under the acts of Congress to obtain a pension.

Free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes (except such as are proved, to the satisfaction of the tax collector, to be incapable of making a livelihood,) are liable to a capitation tax, (fixed by each tax act;) they may make a return personally, or any member of the family may make a return for the rest; or if one be sick, he or she may make such return by agent. They are liable to be double taxed for not making a return of themselves.

This tax seems to have originated in 1805. The act of 1833 directs the issuing of executions against free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes, who may fail to pay the tax, and that, under *them*, they may be sold for a term not exceeding one year; provided, however, that they shall in no instance be sold for a longer term than may be necessary to pay the taxes due; but they cannot be sold under the double tax executions to be issued against them for not making returns of themselves. Such executions go against property merely. The constitutionality of the provision for the sale of free negroes in payment of their taxes is exceedingly questionable.

The term "*free person of color*," used in many of our acts, since 1840, has given rise to many imperfect and improper notions. Its meaning is confined by the act of 1740, and all proper constructions of our *code noir*, to *negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes*. In common parlance it has a much wider signification; hence the *danger of its use*; for all who have to execute the acts of the Legislature are not *learned lawyers* or judges. The Legislature ought to use the words of the act of 1740, "free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes," and then every one would have a certain guide to understand the words used.

The act of 1835 declares it to be unlawful for any free negro, or *person of color*, to migrate into this state, or to be brought or introduced within its limits, by land or water.

Any free negro or person of color, not being a seaman on board any vessel arriving in this state, violating this law, shall, and may be seized by any white person, or by the sheriff or constable of the district, and carried before any magistrate of the district, city, or parish, who is authorized to bail or commit the said free negro, and to summon three freeholders, and form a court for the trial and examination of the said free negro, or person of color, within six days after his arrest, and, on conviction, order him to leave the state; and at the time of conviction, to commit him to jail until he can leave the state, or to release him, on bail, not longer than fifteen days. And if, after being bailed and ordered to leave the state, the free negro, or person of color, shall not leave within fifteen days, or having left shall return, shall be arrested, and on con-

viction, before a court of one magistrate and three freeholders, he shall be liable to such corporal punishment as the court shall order; if, after such punishment, the offender shall still remain in the state "longer than the time allowed," (which is, I suppose, the time previously fixed, fifteen days,) or shall return, upon proof and conviction, before a court of one magistrate and three freeholders, the free negro, or person of color, may be sold, and the proceeds appropriated, one half to the use of the state, and the other half to the use of the informer.

If the free negro, or person of color, come into this state, on board any vessel, as a cook, steward, mariner, or in any other employment, the sheriff of the district is to apprehend and confine in jail such free negro, or person of color, until the vessel be hauled off from the wharf, and ready for sea. The act provides, that on the apprehension of any free negro, or person of color, on board any vessel, the sheriff shall cause the captain to enter into a recognizance, with good and sufficient security, in the sum of \$1,000 for each free negro, or person of color, who may be on board his said vessel, that he will comply with the requisitions of this act, which are, that he will, when ready for sea, carry away the said free negro, or person of color, and pay the costs of his detention; but if the captain be unable, or refuse so to do, he is to be required, by the sheriff, to haul his vessel in the stream one hundred yards distance from the shore, and there remain until ready for sea. If this be not complied with in twenty-four hours, the captain is liable to be indicted, and, on conviction, is to be fined not exceeding \$1,000, and imprisoned not exceeding six months.

Whenever any free negro, or person of color, shall be apprehended and committed for coming into this state by sea, it is the duty of the sheriff to call upon some magistrate, to warn the offender never again to enter the state, and, at the time of giving such warning, the magistrate is to enter the name of such free negro, or person of color, in a book, to be kept by the sheriff, with a description of his person and occupation, which book is evidence of the warning, and is to be deposited in the clerk's office, as a public record. If the offender shall not depart the state, in case the captain shall refuse or neglect to carry him or her away, or, having departed, shall ever again enter into the state, he or she is liable to be dealt with, and incur the forfeiture described in the first section.

If any free negro, or person of color, before the passage of the act of 1835, or since, has left, or shall leave the state, they are for ever prohibited from returning, under the penalty of the first section.

The eighth section of the act excepts from its operation free negroes and persons of color coming into the state from shipwreck, but de-

clares them liable to arrest and imprisonment, as provided in the second section, and to incur all its penalties, if, within thirty days, they shall not leave the state.

The ninth section excepts free negroes and persons of color, who shall arrive as cooks, stewards, or mariners, or in any other employment, in any vessel of the United States, or on board any national vessel of the navies of any of the European or other powers in amity with the United States, unless they shall be found on shore, after being warned by the sheriff to keep on board their vessels. The act does not extend to free American Indians, free Moors, or Lascars, or other colored subjects beyond the Cape of Good Hope, who may arrive in any merchant vessel.

Free negroes and *free persons of color* (meaning, of course, mulattoes and mestizoes) are prohibited (unless they have a ticket from their guardian) from carrying any fire-arms or other military or dangerous weapons, under pain of forfeiture, and being whipped, at the discretion of a magistrate and three freeholders. They cannot be employed as pioneers, though they may be subjected to military fatigue duty.

The first, second, third, and fifth sections of the act of 1836, are, to my mind, of so questionable policy, that I should be disposed to repeal them. They carry with them so many elements of discord with our sister states and foreign nations that, unless they were of paramount necessity, which I have never believed, we should at once strike them out. I am afraid, too, there are many grave constitutional objections to them, in whole or in part.

In a previous part of this digest, I have had occasion, incidentally, to state the meaning of the civil law maxim, "*partus sequitur ventrem*," and of the provision of the 1st section of the act of 1740, "the offspring to follow the condition of the mother." Both mean that the offspring of a slave mother must also be a slave.

The maxim, as well as the provision of the act, has a further meaning in relation to property. It determines to whom the issue belongs. The owner of the mother has the same right in her issue, born while she belongs to him, which he has in her. If, for example, the person in possession is tenant for life, then such an one takes an estate for life in the issue. If there be a vested estate, in remainder, or one which takes effect on the termination of the life estate, the remainder man is entitled to the issue, on the falling in of the life estate, as he is entitled to the mother. If there be no estate carved out beyond the life estate, then as the mother reverts so also does the issue.

The estate of a tenant for life in slaves engaged in making a crop, if he die after the first of March, is continued, by the act of '89, until the crop be finished, or until the last

day of December, in the year in which the tenant dies.

The issue of a white woman and a negro is a mulatto, within the meaning of that term, and is subjected to all the disabilities of the degraded caste into which his color thrusts him. The rule "*partus sequitur ventrem*" makes him a free man. The result of mingling the white and negro blood is to make him a mulatto, and that carries with it the disqualifications heretofore pointed out.

The 1st section of the act of 1740 declares slaves to be chattels personal.

The first consequence legally resulting from this provision would have been, without any act of the Legislature, that the stealing of a slave should be a larceny (grand or petit) at common law.

But in 1754 an act was passed, which, by its 1st section, made it a felony, without the benefit of clergy, to inveigle, steal, and carry away, or to hire, aid or counsel any person or persons to inveigle, steal, or carry away, any slave or slaves, or to aid any slave in running away, or departing from his master's or employer's service.

This law, beginning in our colonial times, and made for us by our rulers, given to us by Great Britain, has remained ever since unchanged, and has been sternly enforced as a most valuable safeguard to property. Yet public opinion was gradually inclining to the belief that its provisions were too sanguinary, and that they might be *safely* mitigated, when the torrents of abuse poured upon the state and the judge presiding on the trial from abroad, and the free states of the Union, on account of the conviction of a worthless man, John L. Brown, for aiding a slave to run away and depart from her master's service, *stopped the whole movement of mercy*. It is *now*, however, due to ourselves that this matter should be taken up, the law changed, and a punishment less than death be assigned for the offense.

Slaves are, in our law, treated as other personal chattels, so far as relates to questions of property or liability to the payment of debts, except that by the county court act (which in this respect is perhaps still of force) slaves are exempted from levy when other property be shown; and also by the act of '87, for recovering fines and forfeited recognizances, the sheriff is directed to sell, under the executions to be issued, every other part of the personal estate before he shall sell any negro or negroes.

In consequence of this slight character which they bear in legal estimation, as compared with real estate, (which has itself, in our state, become of too easy disposition,) slaves are subjected to continual change: they are sold and given by their masters without writing; they are sold by administrators and executors, and by the sheriff, (and may even be sold

by constables.) These public sales by administrators, executors, or the sheriff, may be for payment of debts or partition—they (slaves) are often sold under the order of the Ordinary, without any inquiry, whether it be necessary for payments of debts or division. This continual change of the relation of master and slave, with the consequent rending of family ties among them, has induced me to think, that if by law they were annexed to the freeholds of their owners, and when sold for partition among distributees, tenants in common, joint tenants and coparceners, they should be sold with the freehold, and not otherwise, it might be a wise and wholesome change of the law. Some provision, too, might be made, which would prevent, in a great degree, sales for debts. A debtor's lands and slaves, instead of being sold, might be sequestered until, like *vivum vadium*, they would pay all his debts in execution by the annual profits. If this should be impossible, on account of the amount of the indebtedness, then either court, law or equity, might be empowered to order the sale of the plantation and slaves together or separately—the slaves to be sold in families.

Although slaves, by the act of 1740, are declared to be chattels personal, yet they are also in our law considered as persons with many rights and liabilities, civil and criminal.

The right of protection which would belong to a slave, as a human being, is, by the law of slavery, transferred to the master.

A master may protect the person of his slave from injury, by repelling force with force, or by action, and in some cases by indictment.

Any injury done to the person of his slave, he may redress by action of trespass *vi et armis*, without laying the injury done, with a *per quod servitium amisit*, and this even though he may have hired the slave to another.

By the act of 1821 the murder of a slave is declared to be a felony, without the benefit of clergy; and by the same act, to kill any slave, on sudden heat and passion, subjects the offender, on conviction, to a fine not exceeding \$500, and imprisonment not exceeding six months.

To constitute the murder of a slave, no other ingredients are necessary than such as enter into the offense of murder at common law. So the killing, on sudden heat and passion, is the same as manslaughter, and a finding by the jury, on an indictment for the murder of a slave, of a killing on sudden heat and passion, is good, and subjects the offender to the punishment of the act; or, on an indictment for the murder of a slave, if the verdict be guilty of manslaughter, it is good, and the offender is to receive judgment under the act.

An attempt to kill and murder a slave by

shooting at him, was held to be a misdemeanor, and indictable as an assault with an intent to kill and murder. This was a consequence of making it murder to kill a slave.

The act of 1841 makes the *unlawful* whipping or beating of any slave, without sufficient provocation by word or act, a misdemeanor; and subjects the offender, on conviction, to imprisonment not exceeding six months, and a fine not exceeding \$500.

This act has received no judicial construction by our Court of Appeals. It has been several times presented to me on circuit, and I have given it construction. The terms "shall *unlawfully* whip or beat any slave not under his charge," "without reasonable provocation," seem to me convertible. For, if the beating be excusable from reasonable provocation, it cannot be unlawful. So if the beating be either without provocation, or is so enormous that the provocation can be no excuse, then it is unlawful. What is sufficient provocation, by word or deed, is a question for the jury. The question is, whether, as slave owners and reasonable men, if they had been in the place of the defendant, they would have inflicted the whipping or beating which the defendant did? If they answer this question in the affirmative, then the defendant must be acquitted—otherwise, convicted.

The acts of 1821 and 1841 are eminently wise, just and humane. They protect slaves, who dare not raise their own hands in defense, against brutal violence. They teach men, who are wholly irresponsible in property, to keep their hands off the property of other people. They have wiped away a shameful reproach upon us, that we were indifferent to the lives or persons of our slaves. They have had, too, a most happy effect on slaves themselves. They know *now* that the shield of the law is over them; and, thus protected, they yield a more hearty obedience and effective service to their masters.

By the last clause of the 37th section of the act of 1740, it is provided, if any person shall wilfully cut out the tongue, put out the eye, castrate, or cruelly scald, burn, or deprive any slave of any limb or member, or shall inflict any other cruel punishment, other than by whipping, or beating with a horsewhip, cowskin switch, or small stick, or by putting irons on or confining or imprisoning such slave, every such person shall, for every such offense, forfeit the sum of £100, current money, equal to \$61 23-100. This provision, it has been held, extends to any cruel beating of a slave.

The provision is humane, but the punishment is too slight for such scandalous offenses.

To secure convictions under this part of the 37th section, and also where slaves were killed, it was provided in the 39th section, that if a slave suffered in life or limb, or was cruelly beaten or abused, where no white person was present, or, being present, shall neg-

lect or refuse to give evidence, in every such case the owner, or person having the care and management of the slave, and in whose possession of power the slave shall be, shall be adjudged guilty, unless he can make the contrary appear by good and sufficient evidence, or *shall, by his own oath, clear and exculpate himself*. This provision has been considered as applicable to trials under the act of 1821, and the prisoner charged with the murder of a slave has been allowed to exculpate himself.

This is the greatest temptation ever presented to perjury, and the Legislature ought to speedily remove it.

The 38th section of the act of 1740 requires the owners of slaves to provide them with sufficient *clothing, covering and food*, and if they should fail to do so, the owners respectively are declared to be liable to be informed against to the next nearest justice of the peace, (magistrate now,) who is authorized to hear and determine the complaint; and if found to be true, or, in the absence of proof, if the owner will not exculpate himself by his own oath, the magistrate may make such order as will give relief, and may set a fine not exceeding £20, current money, equal to \$13 66-100, on the owner, to be levied by warrant of distress and sale of the offender's goods.

This provision, it must be remarked, (leaving out the exculpatory part,) is a very wise and humane one, *except that the penalty is entirely too slight*. I regret to say, that there is, in such a state as ours, great occasion for the enforcement of such a law, *accompanied by severe penalties*. It might be proper that this matter should, by the direction of an act hereafter to be passed, be given in charge to the grand jury, at each and every term, and they be solemnly enjoined to inquire of all violations of duty on the part of masters, owners, or employers of slaves, in furnishing them with sufficient clothing, covering and food; and the law might also direct, that every one by them reported should be ordered instantly to be indicted.

It is the settled law of this state, that an owner cannot abandon a slave needing either medical treatment, care, food, or raiment. If he does, he will be liable to any one who may furnish the same. In *Fairechild vs. Bell*, that good man and great judge, Wilds, whose early death South Carolina had good cause to deplore, said, in the noble language of a Christian and patriot, "The law would infer a contract against the evidence of the fact, to compel a cruel and capricious individual to discharge that duty, which he ought to have performed voluntarily. For, as the master is bound by the most solemn obligation to protect his slave from suffering, he is bound, by the same obligation, to defray the expenses or services of another to preserve the life of his

slave or to relieve the slave from pain and danger. *The slave lives for his master's service. His time, his labor, his comforts, are all at his master's disposal.* The duty of humane treatment and of medical assistance (when clearly necessary) ought not to be withheld."

By the 22d section of the act of 1740, slaves are protected from labor on the Sabbath day. The violation of the law in this respect subjects the offender to a fine of £5 current money, equal to \$3 7-100, for every slave so worked.

By the 44th section of the same act, owners or other persons having the care and management of slaves, are prohibited from working or putting the said slaves to work for more than fifteen hours, from the 25th March to 25th September, and fourteen hours from 25th September to 25th March, under a penalty of £20 current money, equal to \$13 6-100, for every offense.

The time limited and allowed for labor in this section is too much. Few masters now demand more than twelve hours' labor from 1st March to 1st October, and ten hours from the 1st October to 1st March. This, after allowing suitable intervals for eating and rest, is about as much as humane, prudent masters will demand.

A slave may, by the consent of his master, acquire and hold *personal* property. All, thus acquired, is regarded in law as that of the master's.

The only exception is under the 34th section of the act of 1740, which makes goods acquired by traffic and barter for the particular and peculiar benefit of such slave, boats, canoes, or periaugers, in the possession of a slave, as his own, and for his own use; horses, mares, neat cattle, sheep or goats, kept, raised or bred, for the use of any slave, liable to be seized by any one, and forfeited by the judgment of any justice (magistrate) before whom they may be brought.

Under this section it has been lately held, that no one can enter on the plantation of the master to make such seizure.

A seizure can therefore only be made when a slave is found, as owner, in possession of the contraband articles, outside of his master's plantation.

This qualification may render the law harmless; still, it ought to be repealed. The reasons which led to its enactment have all passed away. It is only resorted to *now* to gratify the worst passions of our nature. The right of the master to provide as comfortably as he pleases for his slave could not be, and ought not to be abridged in the present state of public opinion. The law may very well compel a master to furnish his slave with proper, necessary, wholesome and abundant raiment and food; but certainly no legislator *now* would venture to say to a master,

You shall not allow your slave to have a canoe to fish with, or to carry vegetables to market, or that he should not be allowed to have a horse to attend to his duties as a stock-minder in the swamps, savannas and pine forests of the lower part of the state, or that a family of slaves should not have a cow to furnish them with milk, or a hog to make for them meat, beyond their usual allowance. All these are matters between the master and the slave, in which neither the public, nor any prying, meddling, mischievous neighbor, has any thing to do. Experience and observation fully satisfy me that the first law of slavery is that of kindness from the master to the slave. With that properly inculcated, enforced by law and judiciously applied, slavery becomes a family relation, next in its attachments to that of parent and child. It leads to instances of devotion, on the part of the slave, which would do honor to the heroism of Rome herself.* With such feelings on our plantations, what have we to fear from fanaticism? Our slaves would be our sentinels to watch over us—our defenders to protect our firesides from those *proclaiming harpies who preach freedom and steal slaves from their happy homes.*

A slave cannot contract and be contracted with. This principle was broadly laid down, by the Constitutional Court, in a case in which a note was given by the defendant to the plaintiff's slave, by name, and the plaintiff brought the action upon it. From this decision Judge Cheeves dissented; upon, I presume, the ground that the master had the right to affirm the contract and make it his own, and consider it for his own benefit. In it, I think, he was right, on the principle that the acquisition of a slave is his master's, and that a slave's contract is like an infant's with an adult. It is not binding on the slave, but if the master affirm it, the defendant cannot be discharged.

A slave cannot, even legally, contract marriage. The marriage of such an one is morally good, but in point of law the union of slave and slave, or slave and free negro, is concubinage *merely*.

The consequence is, that the issue of a marriage between a slave and a free negro are illegitimate, and cannot inherit from father or mother, who may be free.

The hardship of such a case, where the issue of free negroes married to one another

* In 1812, February, Professor Charles Dewar Simmons, on his return to Columbia from Charleston, found the Haugabook swamp entirely over the road. In attempting to cross, on horseback, he was washed off the road and separated from his horse. He first succeeded in reaching a tree, then constructed a raft of rails tied with his comfort. Three times his slave Marcus swam to his rescue. His master told him he could not help him, to save himself; but he persisted until both perished together.

can inherit, might very well lead to a judicious enactment to remedy it.

A slave cannot testify, except as against another slave, free negro, mulatto, or mestizo, and that without oath.

The propriety of this is now so doubtful, that I think the legislature would do well to repeal this provision, and provide that slaves, in all cases against other slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, may be examined *on oath*.

By the act of 1834, slaves are prohibited to be taught to read or write, under a penalty (if a white person may offend) not exceeding \$100 fine, and six months' imprisonment; if a "*free person of color*," not exceeding fifty lashes, and a fine of \$50.

This act grew out of a feverish state of excitement, produced by the impudent meddling of persons out of the slave states with their peculiar institutions. That has, however, subsided, and I trust we are now prepared to act the part of wise, humane, and fearless masters, and that this law, and all of kindred character, will be repealed. When we reflect, *as Christians, how can we justify it, that a slave is not to be permitted to read the Bible?* It is in vain to say there is danger in it. The best slaves in the state are those who can and do read the Scriptures. Again, who is it that teach your slaves to read? It generally is done by the children of the owners. Who would tolerate an indictment against his son or daughter for teaching a favorite slave to read? *Such laws look to me as rather cowardly.* It seems as if we were afraid of our slaves. Such a feeling is unworthy of a Carolina master.

The 2d section of the act of 1834 prohibits the employment of a slave, or free person of color, as a clerk or salesman, under a penalty not exceeding \$100 fine, and imprisonment not exceeding six months.

The 1st section of the act of 1800 prohibits the assemblies of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, or mestizoes, with or without white persons, in a confined or secret place of meeting, or with gates or doors of such place of meeting barred or bolted, so as to prevent the free ingress and egress to and from the same; and magistrates, sheriffs, militia officers and officers of the patrol, are authorized to enter, and if necessary, to break open doors, gates or windows, (if resisted,) and to disperse the slaves, free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, found there assembled. And the officers mentioned in the act are authorized to call such force and assistance from the neighborhood as they may deem necessary; and may, if they think necessary, impose corporeal punishment on such slaves, free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes; and, if within Charleston, they may deliver them to the master of the workhouse, who is required to receive them, and inflict any such punishment as any two

magistrates of the city may award, not exceeding twenty lashes. If out of the city, the slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, found assembled contrary to this act, may be delivered to the nearest constable, who is to convey them to the nearest magistrate, and to inflict, under his order, punishment not exceeding twenty lashes.

The 2d section of the act of 1800, which prohibited meetings for the religious or mental instruction of slaves or free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, before the rising of the sun, or after the going down of the same, was very properly altered, by the act of 1803, so as to prohibit the breaking into any place of meeting, wherein the members of any religious society are assembled, before nine o'clock at night, provided a majority are white people. After nine o'clock at night, or before, if the meeting be composed of a majority of negroes, (although white persons may be present,) it may be dispersed by magistrates, sheriffs, militia officers and officers of the patrol, and slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes may be punished, not exceeding twenty lashes.

In the case of *Bell ads. Graham*, it was held that these acts could not justify a patrol in intruding on a religious meeting, *in the daytime*, in an open meeting-house, where there were some white people, although there might be a majority of negroes.

The 2d section of the act of 1800, and the amendatory act of 1803, are treated now as dead letters. Religious meetings of negroes, with only one or more white persons, are permitted by night as well as by day. They ought to be repealed. They operate as a reproach upon us in the mouths of our enemies, in that we do not afford our slaves that free worship of God which he demands for all his people. They, if ever resorted to, are not for doing good, but to gratify hatred, malice, cruelty or tyranny. This was not intended, and ought to have no countenance or support in our statute law.

The 40th section of the act of 1740 regulates the apparel of slaves, (except livery men or boys,) and prohibits them from wearing any thing finer, other, or of greater value, than negro cloth, duffils, kerseys, osnaburgs, blue linen, check linen, or *coarse garlix*, or calicoes, checked cottons or Scotch plaids; and declares all garments of finer and other kind to be liable to seizure by any constable as forfeited.

This section has not, within my knowledge, ever been enforced. Indeed, if enforced now, it would make an immense booty to some hungry, unprincipled seeker of spoils. It ought to be repealed.

The 42d section of the act of 1740 prohibits a slave, or slaves, from renting or hiring any house, room, store or plantation, on his own account. Any person offending against this act, by renting or hiring to a slave, or slaves,

is liable to a fine of £20 currency, equal to \$13 66-100, to be recovered on complaint made to any magistrate, as is directed in the act for the trial of small and mean causes.

The 43d section of the act of 1740, which declares it to be unlawful for more than seven male slaves in company, without some white person accompanying them, to travel together any of the public roads, and, by doing so, makes it lawful for any white person to take them up and punish them by whipping, not exceeding twenty stripes, is, I am afraid, of force, unless it be considered as impliedly repealed by the restriction on the patrol, to whip slaves found out of their owner's plantation without a ticket in writing.

The occasion for such a law has passed away. Public opinion has considered it unnecessary; and, like every useless severity, mercy has condemned it. It would be well that it should be repealed.

The act of 1819, 5th section, repeals the 23d section of the act of 1740. The law now makes it unlawful for any slave, except in the company and presence of some white person, to carry or make use of any fire-arms, or other offensive weapon, without a ticket or license, in writing, from his owner or overseer; or unless such slave be employed to hunt and kill game, mischievous birds or beasts of prey, within the limits of his master's plantation, or unless such slave shall be a watchman in and over his owner's fields and plantation. If this law be violated, any white person finding a slave carrying or using a gun, or other offensive weapon, without a ticket or license, in writing, from his owner or overseer, or not used to hunt game, &c., within the plantation, or as a watchman in the same, may seize and appropriate to his own use such gun or offensive weapon. But to make the forfeiture complete and legal, the party making the seizure must, within forty-eight hours after the seizure, go before the next magistrate and make oath of the manner of taking; and then, after forty-eight hours' notice to the owner or overseer having charge of the slave, by summons to show cause why the articles should not be condemned, (the service of the summons being proved on oath,) the magistrate may, by certificate, under his hand and seal, (if he be satisfied that the arms have been seized according to the act of 1819,) declare the same to be forfeited.

The 6th section of the act of 1822 declares it to be unlawful to hire to male slaves their own time; and if this law be violated, the slaves are declared liable to seizure and forfeiture, according to the provisions of the act in the case of slaves coming into this state.

Whether this provision relates to the 4th section of the act of 1816, 7 stat. 453, or to the 5th section of the act of 1803, 7 stat. 450, is indeed somewhat uncertain. The act of 1816, and all its provisions, were repealed by

the act of 1818, 7 stat. 458. The act of 1803 seems to be unrepealed, and hence, therefore, I presume the proceeding to forfeit must be under it. By it, the proceeding is to be in the name of the state, in the nature of an action of detinue.

The latter part of the 36th section of the act of 1740 declares, that any master or overseer who shall permit or suffer his or their negro, or other slave or slaves, at any time, to beat drums, blow horns, or use any other loud instruments, or whosoever shall suffer and countenance any public meeting or feastings of strange negroes or slaves on their plantation, shall forfeit £10, current money, equal to \$6 88-100, upon conviction or proof, provided information or suit be commenced within one month.

This provision is one so utterly unnecessary, that the sconer it is expunged from the statute book the better. Indeed, it is not only unnecessary, but it is one under which most masters will be liable, whether they will or not. Who can keep his slaves from blowing horns or using other loud instruments?

The 2d section of the act of 1803 prohibits the importation of any negro, mulatto, mestizo, or other person of color, bond or free, from the Bahama, West India Islands, or South America, and also from other parts, of all of those persons who have been resident in any of the French West India Islands.

The 3d section provides that no male slave above the age of fifteen years shall be brought into this state from any of our sister states, unless the person importing such negro shall produce and file in the office of the clerk of the district where the person so importing may reside, a certificate under the hands of two magistrates, and the seal of the court of the district where the slave so imported resided for the last twelve months previous to the date of the certificate, that he is of good character, and has not been concerned in any insurrection or rebellion.

Under the 5th section, if slaves be brought into this state, in violation of the provisions of the 2d and 3d sections, they are declared to be forfeited, one half to the state, the other half to the informer; to be recovered in the name of the state, by action in the nature of an action of detinue, in which it is not necessary to prove that the defendant was in possession at the commencement of the suit, and the informer is a competent witness.

The 3d section of this act has been so often violated, that it could hardly be enforced at present without great injustice. Still, the provision is a wise one. No greater curse has ever been inflicted on South Carolina, than the pouring upon her of the criminal slaves of our sister states. It might be well for the legislature, in revising (which I hope they will speedily do) our *Code Noir*, to re-enact this provision.

The act of 1835 makes it unlawful to bring into this state originally, or to bring back into this state after being carried out of it, any slave from any port or place in the West Indies, or Mexico, or any part of South America, or from Europe, or from any sister state, situated to the north of the Potomac river or city of Washington, under the penalty of \$1,000 for each slave, to be recovered in an action of debt, and forfeiture of the slave.

This provision does not extend to runaway slaves.

By the act of 1847, any slave carried out of this state in the capacity of steward, cook, fireman, engineer, pilot, or mariner, on board any steamer, or other vessel trading with any port or place in the Island of Cuba, may be brought back into this state, if he may not in his absence have visited some other port or place in the West Indies other than the Island of Cuba, or a port or place in Europe, Mexico, South America, or any state north of the river Potomac and city of Washington.

The 7th section of the act of 1835, providing for the condemnation and forfeiture of a slave by a court of a magistrate and freeholders, was declared by the whole Court of Errors, in the State *vs. Simmons et al.*, to be unconstitutional. How the forfeiture declared in the 6th section is to be carried out, is somewhat doubtful. I suppose it might be a part of the judgment on the indictment and conviction of the owner for bringing back a slave, which he had carried to the prohibited places. The whole provision had better be repealed. Slaves visiting free states find nothing to enamor them of negro freedom *there*; in general, after all the *labors of love* of our negro-loving brethren of the free states, they, in general, return to their southern homes better slaves. Forfeitures, too, may occur under this act, (which none of us would bear. Every servant, (negro, mulatto, or mestizo) who has been in Mexico during the war, and who has returned, is liable to be forfeited, and his master to pay a fine of \$1,000. Could the law be enforced in such a case? We have nothing to fear, if the whole act of 1835 be repealed. It ought to be, for no law should stand which public opinion, in many cases, would not suffer to be enforced. Indeed, there are few, very few cases, where the act of 1835 could meet with public favor. I speak unreservedly, for I am talking to friends, slaveholders—citizens of a state whom I love, and whom I would have to be “without fear and without reproach.”

CRIMES OF FREE NEGROES, MULATTOES, MESTIZOES, AND SLAVES—THEIR PUNISHMENT AND MODE OF TRIAL, INCLUDING THE LAW AS TO RUNAWAYS AND THE PATROL.—The general rule is, that whatever would be a crime at common law, or by statute, in a white person, is also a crime of the same degree in a free

negro, mulatto, mestizo, or slave. In some instances the punishment has been altered, in others new offenses have been created. There are also cases in which the slave or free negro, mulatto, or mestizo, from his status, would be guilty of a higher crime than a white person would be under the same circumstances. These will be tried to be fully noticed in this digest. Whenever a slave commits a crime by the command and coercion of the master, mistress, owner, employer, or overseer, it is regarded as the crime of the master, mistress, owner, employer, or overseer; and the slave is not criminally answerable.

A free negro, mulatto, or mestizo cannot lawfully strike any white person, even if he be first stricken, and, therefore, if he commit homicide of a white person, generally, he cannot be guilty of manslaughter; he is either guilty of murder, or altogether excused. I suppose if one without authority to govern or control a free negro, mulatto, or mestizo, were in the act of endangering life or limb of the free negro, mulatto, or mestizo, and he, to defend himself and save life or limb, were to slay his assailant, *it might* be excusable. A free negro, mulatto, mestizo, or slave, slaying one of the same *status*, would be guilty of murder, manslaughter, or be excused *se defendendo*, as in the case of white people, at common law.

The 17th section of the act of 1740 declares a slave who shall be guilty of homicide of any sort upon any white person, except it be *by misadventure*, or in defense of his master, or other person under whose care and government such slave shall be, shall, upon conviction, suffer death.

This seems to conflict, in some degree, with what is said, 3d chap, 1st section. Still, I think what is affirmed *there*, is law. A homicide committed by the command and coercion of the master is not one of which the slave is guilty, but the master alone is guilty of it.

By the 24th section of the act of 1740 it is provided, if a slave shall grievously wound, maim, or bruise any white person, unless it be by the command, and in the defense, of the person or property of the owner, or other person having the care or government of such slave, such slave, on conviction, shall suffer death.

The 18th section of the act of 1751 (which, having altered the act of 1740, is by the act of 1783 continuing the act of 1740, continued, instead of the parts altered) gives to the courts trying any negro or other slave, for any offense under the acts of 1740, or 1751, where any favorable circumstances appear, the power to mitigate the punishment by law directed to be inflicted.

The meaning of the words grievously wound, maim, or bruise, has never received any precise adjudication. In the case of the

State *vs.* Nicholas, a portion of the court indicated their opinion to be, that to grievously wound, maim, or bruise, meant such an injury as might endanger life or limb. This is, I think, the true meaning. The subject, before 1848, passed under my review, in the unfortunate case, in York, which led to the passage of the act of 1843. In that case, the lady on whose body the outrage was attempted was seriously bruised, yet so as in no way to endanger life. I thought, and so decided, that the slave was not guilty of a capital felony.

By the act of 1843, any slave or *free person of color* (meaning any free negro, mulatto, or mestizo) who shall commit an assault and battery on a white woman, with intent to commit a rape, shall, on conviction, suffer death, without the benefit of clergy.

The 24th section of the act of 1740 declares any slave who shall strike any person, unless it be by the command and in defense of the person and property of the master, or other person having the care and government of such slave, for the first and second offense, liable to such punishment as the court may think fit, not extending to life or limb, and, for the third offense, to the punishment of death. Under the 4th section, and this of the 3d chapter, it ought to be remarked, that *that portion* of the 24th section of the act of 1740 which exempts a slave from punishment for acting in obedience to his master, and in his defense, requires more to make out his exemption than the act intended. For it not only requires that the striking, wounding, maiming, and bruising should be under the command of the master, but also in defense of his person or property. Either the command of the owner or other person having the care or government of the slave, the defense of his person or property, should be enough. *The law ought to be so amended.* Any slave, seeing a white man about to knock his master down, or in the act of stealing his property, ought not to wait for a command—his blow in defense, under such circumstances, is good and ought to be lawful.

The 16th section of the act of 1740 provides that any slave, free negro, mulatto, Indian, or mestizo, who shall *wilfully and maliciously* burn or destroy any stack of rice, corn, or other grain, of the produce, growth, or manufacture of this state; or shall wilfully and maliciously set fire to, burn, or destroy any tar kiln, barrels of pitch, tar, *turpentine*, or resin, or any other goods or commodities, the growth, produce, or manufacture of this state; or shall feloniously steal, take, or carry away any slave, being the property of another, *with intent to carry such slave out of the state*; or shall wilfully and maliciously poison, or administer any poison to any person, *freeman*, woman, servant, or slave, shall suffer death. Over these and all other offenses, for which, under the act of 1740, death may

be the punishment, the court, under the 18th section of the act of 1751, mentioned in the 5th section of the 3d chapter of this digest, have the power of mitigating the punishment. The term Indian, used in this 16th section of the act of 1740, means either a freed Indian, (one who was once a slave,) or an Indian not in amity with this government. (See 3d section of 1st chap.) In the case of the State *vs.* White and Sadler, it was held that the act of 1754, making it a felony without clergy to inveigle, steal, or carry away any slave, applied to slaves as well as to free people, and hence, therefore, that it repeals that provision of the act of 1740 which made it capital, on the part of a slave, "to steal, take, or carry away any slave, the property of another, *with intent to carry such slave out of the state.*" I think the decision is very questionable. For in 1788 the act of 1740 was continued as law, without noticing this supposed repeal of 1754. If the act of 1754, in this respect, and not the act of 1740, is to govern slaves, then every slave aiding another in running away is liable to be hanged. This certainly is rather a hard consequence.

By the 17th section of the act of 1740, and the 14th section of the act of 1751, amending the same, any slave who shall raise or attempt to raise an insurrection, or shall delude and entice any slave to run away and leave this state, and shall have actually prepared provisions, arms, ammunition, horse or horses, or any boat, canoe, or other vessel, whereby the guilty intention is manifested, is liable, on conviction, to be hanged, unless the court, from favorable circumstances, should mitigate the sentence, or, from several being concerned, should be disposed to select some, on whom they would inflict other corporal punishment.

A slave who shall harbor, conceal, or entertain any slave that shall run away, or shall be charged or accused with any criminal matter, shall suffer such corporal punishment, not extending to life or limb, as the court may direct.

A free negro, mulatto, or mestizo, who, in 29th section of the act of 1740, was liable to a penalty for harboring a slave, is, by the act of 1821, (which operates as an implied repeal,) if he or she harbor, conceal, or entertain any fugitive or runaway slave, liable on conviction to such corporal punishment, not extending to life or limb, as the court may in their discretion think fit.

The 30th section of the act of 1740 prohibits any slave residing in Charleston from buying, selling, dealing, trafficking, bartering, exchanging, or using commerce, for any goods, wares, provisions, grain, victuals of any sort or kind whatsoever, (except slaves who, with a ticket in writing from their owner or employer, may buy or sell fruit, fish, and garden stuff, or may be employed as porters, carters, or fishermen, or may purchase any thing for the use of

their masters, owners, or other person who may have the care and government of such slaves, in open market) All goods, wares, provisions, grain, victuals, or commodities, in which such traffic by slaves is carried on, are liable to be seized and forfeited, and may be sued for and recovered before any magistrate of Charleston, one half to the informer, the other half to the poor of the parish of St. Philip's, and the magistrate by whom the forfeiture is adjudged, is authorized to inflict corporal punishment on the slave engaged in such traffic, not exceeding twenty stripes. The 31st section prohibits any slave belonging to Charleston from buying any thing to sell again, or from selling any thing on their own account in Charleston. All goods, wares, and merchandise, purchased or sold in contravention of this section, are liable to be forfeited by the judgment of any magistrate of Charleston, one half to the use of the poor, the other half to the informer.

If any slave (without the command of his or her master, mistress, or overseer, evidenced by a ticket in writing) shall shoot or kill, between the first of January and the last day of July in each year, any fawn (deer)—or any buck, (deer,) between the first of September and last day of October, and between the first day of March and last day of April, such slave, upon conviction before a magistrate, by the oath of a sufficient witness, or the confession of the said slave, shall, by order of the magistrate, receive twenty lashes on the bare back, unless security be given for the payment within one month of the fine imposed by the act on white or free persons, £2 proclamation money, equal to \$6 44-100, for each fawn or buck killed. If the slave shall kill a doe, between the first day of March and the first of September, without the consent and privity of the owner or overseer, such slave is liable, on conviction before a magistrate and four freeholders, (sworn according to the 4th section,) to receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back.

A slave detected in fire hunting, or who shall kill in the night-time any deer, horse, or neat cattle, or stock of any kind, not the property of his master or owner, without the privity or consent of the owner or overseer of the said slave, such slave, on conviction before a court of one magistrate and four freeholders, sworn to the best of their judgment, without partiality, favor, or affection, to try the cause now depending between the state, plaintiff, and B., the slave of C., defendant, and a true verdict given, according to evidence, is liable to receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back.

Any slave, who, not in the presence and by the direction of some white person, shall mark or brand any horse, mare, gelding, colt, filly, ass, mule, bull, cow, steer, ox, calf, sheep, goat, or hog, is liable to be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes, by the order of any magistrate before whom the offense shall be proved by the evidence of any white person or slave.

The act of 1834 authorizes the court, before which a slave or free person of color is convicted of any offense, not capital, to punish the offender by imprisonment, provided this act shall not abolish the punishments which were then by law imposed. Under this act, the question will arise, whether the punishment by imprisonment is cumulative; or whether, when resorted to, it is in place of the other punishment to which the offender is liable. I incline to the opinion, that the punishment is not cumulative, but may be substituted for other punishment, at the discretion of the court.

A slave guilty of insolence to a white person, may be tried by a court of a magistrate and freeholders, and punished at their discretion, not extending to life or limb.

"No free person of color," (meaning, I suppose, "no free negro, mulatto, or mestizo,") or slave, can keep, use, or employ a still or other vessel, on his own account, for the distillation of spirituous liquors, or be employed or concerned in vending spirituous liquors of any kind or description, and on conviction thereof, is regarded as guilty of a misdemeanor and is to be punished not exceeding fifty lashes at the discretion of the court; and the still or other vessel is forfeited, and the same is to be sold under an execution to be issued by the magistrate granting the warrant to apprehend the free negro or slave, and the proceeds of the sale are directed to be paid to the commissioners of the poor.

A slave or free person of color (meaning as is above suggested) who shall commit a trespass, which would subject a white person to a civil action, and for which no other penalty is prescribed, is regarded as guilty of a misdemeanor, and is to be punished at the discretion of the court trying him, not extending to life or limb. A question will arise, under this act, whether any civil remedy by way of trespass can now be had against any negro, mulatto, or mestizo, for a trespass by him or her committed.

A free negro, mulatto, mestizo, or slave, being a distiller, vender or retailer of spirituous liquors, who shall sell, exchange, give, or otherwise deliver spirituous liquors to a slave, except upon the written and express order of the owner, or person having the care of the slave, shall, upon conviction, (if a slave,) be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes; if a free negro, mulatto, or mestizo, be also whipped, not exceeding fifty lashes, and fined not exceeding \$50; one half of the fine to the informer, the other half to the state.

A slave, or free person of color, (meaning as before suggested,) convicted of a capital offense, is to be punished by hanging; if convicted of an offense not capital, a slave is to be punished by whipping, confinement in the stocks, or treadmill, or, as is prescribed by the act of '34, (see ante 1st sec,) imprisonment

may be resorted to. A free negro, mulatto, or mestizo, is liable to the same punishment, or may be fined.

In all parts of the state, (except in Charleston,) slaves or free persons of color (meaning as suggested ante 19th sec.) are to be tried for all offenses by a magistrate, and five freeholders; the freeholders are to be obtained by the magistrate who issues the warrant, summoning eight neighboring freeholders, out of whom the prisoner, (if he be a free negro, mulatto or mestizo,) or the owner or overseer, (if a slave,) may select five to sit upon the trial, and upon good cause shown against any freeholder, to be determined by the magistrate, another shall be substituted in his place. If the prisoner, the owner, or overseer, should refuse or neglect to make the selection of the five freeholders to sit, the magistrate may himself make the selection.

In Charleston, (including the parishes of St. Philip's and St. Michael's,) slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, are liable to be tried for capital offenses by two judicial magistrates and five freeholders, or slaveholders, who, I suppose, ought to be obtained as directed—ante 22d section—and in such cases there must be a concurrence of all of the freeholders, and one of the magistrates; in cases not capital, they are to be tried by two judicial magistrates and three freeholders or slaveholders, a concurrence of a majority of the jurors and the presiding magistrate is enough for conviction; if the jurors be unanimous, then in that case the concurrence of the magistrate is dispensed with. In all cases, the ministerial magistrate issuing the warrant is to attend the court, and act as prosecuting officer.

The anomaly is presented *here* of two different systems of jurisprudence for the state and Charleston. Both cannot be right; one should give way to the other.

The jurors when organized should be sworn by the magistrate, to well and truly try the case now pending before you, and adjudge the same according to evidence. So help you God.

A slave, free negro, mulatto or mestizo, charged with a criminal offense, is to be tried within six days, if it be practicable to give at least one day's notice of the time and place of trial to the free negro, mulatto, mestizo, the owner, overseer, or other person having the care and government of the slave—which notice must, in all cases, be fairly given before the trial can proceed.

On the trial of a slave, free negro, mulatto or mestizo, it is the duty of the magistrate to state in writing, plainly and distinctly, the offense charged against the prisoner, and for which he is on trial; to this charge the prisoner ought to be required to answer, either by himself, or through his guardian, master, owner, overseer, or other person having the

care and government of such slave on trial, or by the attorney employed to defend such prisoner. In every such trial, the prisoner is entitled to the benefit of the services of an attorney at law, to defend him. The magistrate is bound to keep a correct statement of the testimony given against and for the prisoner, and to annex it to the charge, (the accusation.) The judgment of the court in the country districts and parishes must be in writing, and signed by the magistrate and any four of the freeholders, or by the whole, if they agree. In Charleston, it must be made up as directed, (ante sec. 23,) and must be signed by those required to concur in it. It is in all parts of the state to be returned to the clerk's office of each judicial district, and be there filed.

When a slave, free negro, mulatto or mestizo, is capitally convicted, an application may be made to any of the judges of the courts of law of this state, in open court, or at chambers, for a new trial. The magistrate presiding is required, for such purpose, to furnish a full report of the trial; and if from that, as well as from affidavits on the part of the prisoner, (which before being laid before the judge must be shown to the magistrate presiding,) the judge should be satisfied the conviction is erroneous, a new trial is to be ordered, on which neither the magistrate, nor magistrates, nor any of the freeholders, who before sat on the case, are to sit again. To afford opportunity for this appeal to be made, or for an application to the governor for a pardon, time, reasonable time, must be allowed by the court between the conviction and the execution of the sentence.

Under these provisions, there is not any very well settled practice. Before a motion for new trial ought to be heard, reasonable notice of the time and place of such motion should be given to the magistrate presiding. When a new trial is ordered, I have always directed the clerk of the court to summon the magistrate and freeholders, who should try the case *de novo*, and to give notice to all concerned of the time and place of trial, and, if necessary, to issue summons for the witnesses. This seemed to secure, in the best way I could devise, consistently with the law, an impartial administration of it.

The right of appeal, in cases not capital, and to afford sufficient time in such cases for an application for pardon, ought to be provided for. For many are the errors and abuses of power committed in this behalf. The whippings inflicted by the sentence of courts trying slaves and free negroes are most enormous, utterly disproportioned to offenses, and should be prevented by all the means in our power. In all cases where whipping is to be resorted to, I would limit the punishment by law, in all cases affecting both black and white, to forty save one, and direct it to be

inflicted in portions, and at considerable intervals of time. Thus mingling imprisonment and whipping together, and holding the rod suspended, in the contemplation of the party, until the delay itself would be worse punishment than the infliction.

The tribunal for the trial of slaves and free negroes (a magistrate and freeholders of the vicinage) is the worst system which could be devised. The consequence is, that the passions and prejudices of the neighborhood, arising from a recent offense, enter into the trial, and often lead to the condemnation of the innocent. The Charleston scheme is better than that which prevails in the country. Still I think it none of the best. I would establish a tribunal to consist of one judicial magistrate, to be appointed by the legislature, to try all criminal cases against free negroes, mulattoes, mestizoes or slaves. He should be compelled to hold his court on the first Wednesday in every month, at the court house; and he should have the power to direct a constable (whom he should be authorized to appoint to attend his courts) to summon twenty-four freeholders or slaveholders of the district, and out of them a jury of twelve should be impanelled to try the prisoner, allowing him, as far as ten, a peremptory challenge, and, on cause shown, to the balance of the panel. The magistrate issuing the warrant should be required to state the offense and act as prosecuting officer. To the charge thus presented, the prisoner should be required to answer; and he should have the benefit of an attorney's services, to defend him on the law and evidence. The judicial magistrate should be required to charge the jury on the law and the facts, as judges of the law courts now do. The jury should simply say, guilty or not guilty. The magistrate presiding should pronounce the judgment of the law. The prisoner on conviction should have the right of appeal to the Court of Appeals, and no sentence should be passed until the case was there heard, and the prisoner remanded for judgment. The judicial magistrate, his constable, and the magistrate issuing the warrant, should be compensated by fees, to be paid in all cases by the state.

Under the law, as it now stands, the state is liable for all the costs attending negro trials, (except free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, in the parishes of St. Philip's and St. Michael's, who, if convicted, and able to pay, are declared liable to pay the same; and also, under the 21st section of the act of 1740, if the prosecution against a slave, free negro, mulatto, or mestizo, appears to be malicious, the court trying the case, and satisfied of that fact, may order and compel the prosecutor to pay the costs.) This provision of the 21st section of the act of 1740 is re-enacted, as to slaves, in the magistrates' and constables' act for St. Philip's and St. Michael's, passed in 1829.

A slave cannot be twice tried and punished for the same offense.

If a slave be out of the house or plantation where such slave resides, or without some white person in company, and should refuse to submit to and undergo the examination of any white person, it is lawful for such white person to pursue, apprehend and moderately correct such slave, and if such slave shall assault and strike such white person, *such slave may be lawfully killed.*

Masters, overseers, or other persons, have the power to apprehend and take up any slave found out of his or her master's or owner's plantation at any time, but more especially on Saturday nights or Sundays, or other holidays, not being on lawful business, or not with a ticket from the master, or not having some white person in company, and even with a ticket, if armed with wooden swords or other mischievous and dangerous weapons, and to disarm such slave, and all such mentioned in this section to whip.

Any person is authorized to take up any runaway slave, and it seems, it is *now* the duty of the person taking up a runaway (when he knows or can be informed without difficulty to whom such slave belongs) to send such slave to the said owner; but if the owner be unknown, then, in Charleston district, it is the duty of the person taking up such runaway slave to send, within five days, the same to the workhouse in the city of Charleston; the master of the workhouse is to admit every such slave upon a certificate from a magistrate of the district, or mayor, or one of the aldermen of the city, containing the particulars of the apprehension of such fugitive slave, and requiring his confinement; in all other parts of the state the runaway slave is to be sent to the jail of the district. It is the duty of the master, jailor or sheriff, to securely keep the slave so committed, and if the same escape by negligence, the master or sheriff (for the jailor is merely the sheriff's keeper) is liable to the owner for the value of the slave, or such damage as may be sustained by such escape. Information of the slave so committed to the care of the master of the workhouse, is to be by him sent to the owner, if known; if he be unknown, the master of the workhouse is to advertise such slave in the city paper, (under the advice of the city attorney,) giving the name, age, and further description, so that the owner may be informed the slave is in custody. In other parts of the state, the runaway is to be advertised once a week for three months, in some public gazette, by the sheriff or jailor, who is also required, if the owner's name and address can be obtained, to give him specific notice of the confinement of the said runaway. The ad-

vertisement must contain the name, age, and other particular description of such slave, and the name of the person said to be the owner. The jailor or sheriff, and the master of the workhouse, is liable to a fine of 10s. or \$2 14 for such slave committed as a runaway, neglected to be advertised. The runaway is to be kept for twelve months, if not claimed by the owner, and in Charleston, proof of property made on oath before one of the judges of the Common Pleas, or any magistrate, within twelve months from the date of the advertisement in Charleston, in other parts of the state, from the commitment, the runaway is to be sold. In Charleston the sale is to be made by city sheriff, he giving one month's notice of the time, place, and reason of such sale; he is to give to the purchaser a receipt for the money arising from such sale, specifying the reasons of the sale, and he (the city sheriff) is directed to pay the said proceeds to the city treasury. Out of the fund so paid over is to be deducted the expenses of the said runaway, as provided and allowed by law. The balance is to be retained by the city treasurer, for the owner, but if not claimed within a year and a day, it is to be paid into the state treasury, and out of it, I presume, the commissioners of public buildings of Charleston district are entitled to draw it, under the general law of '39. In other parts of the state, the sheriff of the district is to advertise the runaway for a month, and then to sell; and after paying the charges or expenses allowed by law, the balance is to be paid to the commissioners of public buildings, and is to belong to them absolutely, if not claimed by the owner of the slave so runaway within two years. The title to be executed by the sheriff to the purchaser of such runaway, is good, and bars the rights of the owner. Any neglect or default in the duties required by the 53d section of the act of '39, subjects a jailor or sheriff to an action on the case.

A person taking up a runaway, and failing to send the same to the workhouse or the district jail within five days, is liable to pay 20s. or \$4 28 for every day the same may be retained. The person taking up a runaway is entitled to 10s., or \$2 14 for taking up such runaway, 4d. or 7 cts. for every mile from the place where taken to the owner's residence, (if the runaway be carried to the owner,) or to the district jail or the workhouse, and half a dollar per day for the travel, computing the journey at twenty-five miles to the day. To entitle the person taking up a runaway to these allowances, he must carry the slave to a neighboring magistrate, who may examine on oath the captor, touching the time and distance he has necessarily travelled, and shall go with such slave, and the said magistrate shall give a certificate, on a just estimate of such time and distance, and on presenting such certificate,

the jailor is to give his note for the same, payable to the bearer. The master of the workhouse is to pay the same, instead of giving a note. These fees are to be paid to the jailor, or master of the workhouse, by the owner, or out of the sale of the said runaway, if he should not be claimed by the owner and be sold.

It is the duty of the master of the workhouse, jailor, or sheriff, to provide sufficient food, drink, clothing, and covering, for every runaway slave delivered into the custody of either. The jailor or sheriff is entitled to charge twenty cents per day for each runaway confined, and also for all necessary expenses in providing clothes or blankets. In the workhouse a runaway slave is directed to be put to labor on the treadmill, and therefore no charge for diet is made.

Each militia beat company, by its commander, (except the company or companies on Charleston neck,) is divided into convenient patrol districts. All the free white male inhabitants, above the age of eighteen years, of each patrol district, are liable to do patrol duty, except aliens or transient persons above the age of forty-five years, or who have not resided within the state for six months, or persons who are above the age of forty-five, who do not own slaves, or alien enemies. Persons liable to do patrol duty may send in their places, respectively, an able-bodied white man, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, as a substitute; and for failing to discharge the patrol duty, in person or by substitute, each person liable to do the same, without a legal excuse, is liable to pay a fine of \$2 for each default, and ten per cent. on his general tax of the preceding year.

It is the duty of the commanding officer of each beat company to make out a roll of the inhabitants of each patrol division liable to do patrol duty, and from such roll, at each regular muster of his company, to prick off, *at his discretion*, any number of persons to do patrol duty until the next muster, and appoint *some prudent and discreet person* to command the said patrol. If the officer commanding the beat company fails to prick off, at each muster, the patrol of each division, or the commandant of the patrol fails in his duty, each of them is liable to a fine not exceeding \$30.

It is the duty of the commandant of the patrol to call them out at least once a fortnight, and to take up and correct with stripes, not exceeding twenty, with a switch or cow-skin, all slaves found outside of their owner's or employer's plantation, without a ticket or letter to show the reasonableness of his absence, or some white person in company to give an account of the business of such slaves; and also, if the slave have a ticket, and has in his possession a gun, pistol, or other offensive weapon, unless such slave be on lawful business, or in company with some white person not less than ten years of age. Fire-arms and other

offensive weapons, found by the patrol in the possession of a slave, in violation of the above provisions, are liable to seizure by them, and condemnation and forfeiture to the use of the regiment to which the patrol may belong. To obtain such forfeiture, the leader of the patrol making the seizure must, within ten days, go before the nearest magistrate, and make oath of the manner, time and place of taking; and if the magistrate shall be satisfied of the legality of the seizure, he shall summon the owner of the slave from whom the arms have been taken to appear before him, within ten days, to show cause why the arms should not be condemned. If the owner should fail to appear, or, appearing, should show insufficient cause, the said arms or weapons shall, by certificate under the hand of the magistrate, be "*declared condemned*," and may be sold within ten days, and the proceeds, after payment of the costs, paid to the paymaster of the regiment.

The patrol have the power, and are required to enter into any disorderly house, vessel, or boat, suspected of harboring, trafficking, or dealing with negroes, whether the same be occupied by white persons, free negroes, mulattoes, mestizoes, or slaves; and to apprehend and correct all slaves found there, by whipping, (unless, as I apprehend, such slaves shall not only have a ticket to be absent, but also a ticket to trade.) The patrol is required to inform a magistrate of such white persons, free negroes, mulattoes, or mestizoes, as may be found in such house, vessel, or boat, and to detain, until recovered by law, such produce or articles for trafficking as may be therein found, if such detention be authorized by any three freeholders, or any magistrate. It is the duty of the owner of each boat or vessel navigating the public rivers or canals of this state, to keep and produce to the magistrates or patrols, when required, a list of all the negroes composing the crew, with their owners' names, and a description of their persons.

The patrol may, as is stated in the 44th and 45th sections of chapter 2d of this digest, break up unlawful assemblies of slaves, and inflict punishment on slaves there found, not exceeding twenty stripes, with a switch or cowskin.

Every owner of a settled plantation, who does not live on the same six months in every year, and who employs upon the same fifteen or more slaves, is required to keep upon the same some white man capable of performing patrol duty, under a penalty of fifty cents per month, for each and every working slave employed on the said plantation.

Patrols are not liable, in the discharge of their duty, to the payment of any tolls.

In incorporated towns and villages, the power and duty of regulating the patrol in the same, is vested in and devolved upon the municipal authorities of the same.

The captain of a beat company cannot constitute himself the captain of a patrol.

The ticket or pass to a slave need not state the place to which he or she is to go, and a patrol whipping a slave, with such a pass, are trespassers. The form given in the act of 1740, "Permit this slave to be absent from the plantation of A. B. until —," or any other equivalent form, will be sufficient.

It is the duty of captains or commanders of patrol to keep their respective commands in good order and demeanor when on duty; and any patrol man misbehaving himself, or neglecting or disobeying the orders of his commandant, is liable to a fine of not less than \$2, nor more than \$20. If the captain of a patrol acts disorderly, so as to defeat the proper execution of the patrol laws, he is liable to be returned by any member of his command, or any other person competent to give evidence, to the commanding officer of the beat company, who is to return him to a court martial for trial, and, if found guilty, he may be fined not less than \$5, nor more than \$50.

Each captain of the patrol is required, at the next regular muster of the beat company after his appointment, to make a return, on oath, of the performance of his duties. Failing to make such a return, he is liable to a fine of \$20.

The penalties to be incurred by the commanding officers of beat companies, commandants of the patrols, and patrol men, for neglect of duty, or violation of law, may be imposed by courts martial.

If the patrol be sued, and the party suing fail to recover, he is liable to treble costs; which is full costs, to which is added one half, and then half of that half.

The act of '39, in repealing all other laws on the subject of the patrol, *unfortunately* excepts the act regulating the performance of patrol duty on Charleston neck. The act of '23, so saved from repeal, differs in many respects from the general law, which it is now necessary to state. 1st. A majority of the company officers is to direct how the company is to be divided into patrol districts, and the captain is so to divide it, and it is so to continue until altered by a majority of said officers. The officers failing to do this duty, are liable to a fine of \$30, to be recovered in the court of law, (by indictment,) as no mode is appointed by the act. 2d. All white males above eighteen and under sixty, residing in said patrol districts, (except ministers of the gospel,) all females owning ten slaves above the age of ten years, and *all persons* having settled farms or a house and lot, with five or more slaves above the age of sixteen, residing within the said *companies*, are liable to do patrol duty. Females required to do patrol duty, must, of course, do so by substitute. 3d. The commanding officer or officers of a company are to appoint, *in writing*, the leader of the pa-

trol, whose qualification and term of office is the same as pointed out in section 40. The person so appointed refusing to accept, the commanding officer or officers of companies or the leaders of patrol not performing the duties required, are liable to a fine of \$20, to be recovered by indictment in the court of law, and paid to the commissioners of cross roads. No person can be compelled to serve as leader more than once in twelve months. 4th. The patrol is not only authorized to enter disorderly houses, &c., as stated in section 42, but, if resisted, they are authorized to break open doors, windows, and locks; they are required to produce to the magistrate, whom they may inform of white persons, free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes, found in houses, the produce or articles for trafficking found there, *to be disposed of according to law*. 5th. The leader of a patrol is, as is stated in section 49, to keep his command in good order, &c.; any patrol man misbehaving, &c., is liable to a fine of \$2, to be imposed by the officers of the company to which he belongs, and to be paid to the commissioners of cross roads, Charleston neck. A leader acting disorderly may be proceeded against as stated in section 49; he is to be tried by a court consisting of the officers of his company, or any three officers of the regiment, and may be fined \$10, to be paid to the same authorities, commissioners of cross roads, Charleston neck. 6th. A substitute for patrol must be between eighteen and sixty. 7th. Free negroes, mulattoes, or mestizoes found on Charleston neck, are to be treated by the patrol as slaves, unless they produce their free papers, office copies, or other satisfactory evidence of freedom. If found out of their own houses, or the inclosure of their employer, not having a regular ticket from their guardian, after 9 P. M., from 20th September to 20th March, and 10 P. M., from 20th March to 20th September, they are declared liable to be treated as slaves without a pass. 8th. No grocery, retail shop, or any store, shop, or place, wherein are vended spirituous liquors, is to be kept open on the Sabbath day, or any other day after 9 P. M., from 20th September to 20th March, and after 10 P. M., from 20th March to 20th September; any owner or occupant violating this law, or trading, trafficking, or bartering therein, with any slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, or mestizoes, is liable to a fine of \$50, to be recovered by indictment in the court of law, and paid to the commissioners of cross roads, Charleston neck. 9th. Each inhabitant of Charleston neck, liable to patrol duty, is required to provide and carry with him on service a good gun or pistol in order, with at least six ball cartridges for the same, or cutlass, under the penalty of \$2, and ten per cent. on his general tax of the year preceding. 10th. The commanding officer of the company or companies on Charleston neck may appoint a secretary, whose duty it

shall be to prepare and lay before the military courts herein before mentioned all necessary papers, and to keep a record of the proceedings of the same, which is to be open to the inspection of all interested. For this duty he is exempted from patrol duty. 11th. The leader of each patrol may appoint a warner to summon the patrol; and for this duty he is exempted from the patrol. 12th. It is the duty of the officers commanding the companies on Charleston neck, and all magistrates, to inform the leaders of the patrols of unlawful assemblies of negroes, (slaves,) free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes. The leaders on receipt of this information are to turn out their patrols, and discharge the duty required by law; failing to do this, they are respectively liable to a fine of \$20, to be paid to the commissioners of cross roads, Charleston neck. For uniformity sake, I think this act of '23 should be repealed.

The commissioners of cross roads on Charleston neck, by the act of '45, were authorized to build a guard-house, and it provides that all free negroes, mulattoes, mestizoes and slaves, on Charleston neck, charged or found guilty of violating the law, shall be therein confined and *there* punished; and also slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, taken up by the patrol, shall there be whipped according to the patrol law, unless the owner or person having charge of such slaves, free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, or their guardians, shall pay to the commissioners of cross roads one dollar for each of said slaves, free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes.

THE RIGHTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL REMEDIES, AND LIABILITIES OF THE MASTER. ALSO, THE LAW TO PREVENT THE DISTURBANCE OF THE PEACE IN RELATION TO SLAVES AND FREE NEGROES.—The right of a master in a slave, and all which appertains or belongs to him, is that of property. If the slave be in the possession of another, his owner may maintain detinue for his specific delivery, or may have a bill in equity, to compel his possession to be restored, (unless he may have been bought for sale, in which case the owner is left to his remedy at law,) or may bring trover to recover the damages sustained in his conversion. The owner may bring trespass for any forcible taking of the slave from his possession, or for any forcible injury done to his person. So, too, if a slave wander from the possession of the owner, and another employ him, the owner may bring assumpsit for his labor, or trover for the time he may be in the employment of a third person, or if such person *knew he was a slave*, the action on the case might be sustained. So, too, if a bailee abuse or employ a slave differently from the contract of bailment, and he is killed or injured, the bailee would be liable to the owner. So, too, a common carrier transporting a slave from one place to another, is liable for an injury to, the death, or

loss of the slave, as he would be for other articles, with this exception, if he shows that he used proper care and diligence, and the injury, loss, or death resulted from the act of the slave, then he would not be liable. Any employment of a slave without the consent of the master, by which the slave is killed or injured, makes the person so employing him liable for the damages sustained by the owner. For personal property in the possession of the slave, and commonly called the property of the slave, the master may maintain the same actions against one possessing himself of it, as he could for the slave himself. For harboring a runaway slave, knowing him to be such, an action on the case can be maintained by the owner.

A contract for the hire of a slave for a year is an entire contract; yet if the slave die, his wages will be apportioned. But if the slave be sick, or run away, no deduction is to be made on either account. The owner is not liable, generally, for medical services rendered to his slave while in the possession of one to whom he may be hired. The master is liable for medical services rendered to his slave without his knowledge, if the slave be in great danger.

By the 5th section of the act of '39, provision is made, if any white man shall beat or abuse any slave, quietly and peaceably being on his master's plantation, or found any where without the same, with a lawful ticket, that he shall forfeit \$50, to be recovered by and to the use of the owner, by action of debt, besides being liable to the owner, in action of trespass for damages. Under this provision, it has been held, that where a slave was found out of his master's plantation, but had a ticket, and was whipped by the party finding him, that the master could maintain the action under the act, and recover.

The act of '23, for the regulation of patrol duty on Charleston neck, section 4, provides if any white man shall *wantonly* beat or abuse any slave, quietly and peaceably being in his or her owner's inclosure, or found any where without the same, with a lawful ticket, he shall forfeit fifty dollars, to be recovered by the owner, and to his use, besides being liable to the owner in an action of trespass for damages. This provision is identical with that of '39, except that, in the act of '23, the beating or abusing must be *wantonly*. In the act of '39 no such word is used. It may be, under the act of '23, malice or cruelty would have to be shown.

The third section of the act of 1747 provides, that if any overseer or manager shall employ, upon his own account or business, any of the negroes committed to his care, by sending them on errands, or in any other manner whatever, such overseer or manager shall pay the sum of 10s. (equal to \$2 14) for every day he or they shall so employ any negro com-

mitted to the care of such overseer or manager. (This penalty, another part of the act, section 1st, directs to be recovered before a justice of the peace, magistrate now, in the manner and form prescribed for the recovery of small debts and damages.) The 3d section further provides that, to establish the fact of the employment of the owner's slaves by the overseer or manager, the *information of the negroes* shall be sufficient, unless the overseer or manager will exculpate himself on oath.

In the case of Dillard *vs.* Wallace, I ruled that this provision was obsolete from non-user. The Court of Appeals, admitting that its enforcement had been hitherto unknown—and ninety years had then elapsed from its enactment—held that it was still not obsolete. It is, therefore, a law, however anomalous in its provision about evidence, still to be enforced.

If any slave shall be beat, bruised, maimed or disabled, in the lawful business or service of his master, owner, overseer, or other person having charge of such slave, by any person or persons not having sufficient cause or authority, (of which cause the magistrate trying the case is to judge,) he or they shall forfeit 40s. current money, equal to 5s. 8d. sterling, or \$1 20, to the use of the poor of the district or parish. If the slave or slaves be maimed, or disabled from performing his or her or their work, the person or persons beating the slave shall also forfeit and pay to the owner 15s. current money, equal to about 44 cents, for every day he may be unable to discharge his usual service, and the charge of the cure of such slave. If the damages in the whole do not exceed £20 current money, equal to \$12 27, they, as also the penalty for the use of the poor, may be recovered before a magistrate; and if the offender shall produce no goods, on which the same may be levied, the magistrate is authorized to commit him to jail until the same be paid.

These provisions have been very little noticed, and furnish so poor a relief for the abuse to which they apply, that they will rarely be resorted to. The action of trespass is an abundantly better remedy. Still, this law exists, and may, in the case described in the act, be resorted to by owners, if they choose so to do. They cannot, however, have this remedy and also an action of trespass.

Any person who shall give a ticket or written permit to a slave, the property of, or under the charge of, another, (without the consent, or against the will of such owner, or person having charge,) authorizing such slave to be absent, or to deal, trade or traffic, such person is liable to be indicted, and, on conviction, to be punished by fine not exceeding \$1,000, and imprisonment not exceeding twelve months.

Notwithstanding this act, a person who might give a ticket to a slave, with a view to aid a

slave in running away, and departing from his master's service, might be tried and capitally convicted under the act of 1754.

If a white person *harbor, conceal, or entertain* any runaway or fugitive slave, he or she is liable to be indicted for a misdemeanor, or prosecuted in a civil action for damages, at the election of the owner or person injured. If indicted and convicted, the offender is liable to a fine not exceeding \$1,000, and imprisonment not exceeding twelve months. The owner may proceed by indictment, and also civilly, at the same time; he cannot be put to his election until the trial.

If a person be maimed, wounded, or disabled, in pursuing, apprehending, or taking any slave that is run away, or charged with any criminal offense, or in doing any thing else, in obedience to the act of 1740, he shall receive such reward from the public as the General Assembly may think fit; and if he be killed, his heirs, executors, or administrators shall receive the same.

I do not know that any claim has ever been made under this law. Still, however, it seems to be of force, and a claimant would be entitled to the benefit of its provisions.

The court trying and capitally convicting a slave is to appraise the same, not exceeding \$200, and certify such appraisement to the treasurer of the division within which the slave may be condemned; and, in the event of the slave being executed in pursuance of the sentence, the treasurer is directed to pay the appraisement to the owner.

If a white person game with a free negro, mulatto or mestizo, or slave, or shall bet upon any game played, wherein one of the parties is a free negro, mulatto, mestizo or slave, or shall be willingly present, aiding and abetting, where any game of chance is played as aforesaid, in such case, such white person, upon conviction by indictment, is liable to receive thirty-nine lashes, and to be fined and imprisoned at the discretion of the court; one half of the fine is to go to the informer, the other half to the state.

Any shop-keeper, trader, or person, by himself or any other person acting for him or her, who shall buy or purchase from any slave, in any part of this state, any corn, rice, peas or other grain, bacon, flour, tobacco, indigo, cotton, blades, hay, or any other article whatsoever, or shall otherwise deal, trade, or traffic, with any slave not having a permit so to deal, trade, or traffic, or to sell any such article, from or under the hand of his master or owner, or such other person as may have the care and management of such slave, upon conviction, is liable to be fined, not exceeding \$1,000, and to be imprisoned not more than twelve months nor less than one month. It is the business of the party trading with the slave to produce and prove the permit.

If a slave enter a shop, store, or house of

any kind used for dealing, trading and trafficking, with an article, and come out without the same, or enter without an article, and come out with one, it is sufficient evidence to convict the owner or person occupying the same for trade, in an indictment under the act of 1817.

If a white person, being a distiller, vender or retailer of spirituous liquors, shall sell, exchange, give, or in any otherwise deliver any spirituous liquors to any slave, except upon the written and express order of the owner or person having the care and management of the slave, he shall, upon conviction, be fined not exceeding \$100, and imprisoned not exceeding six months; one half of the said fine to the use of the informer, and the other half to the use of the state.

One effect resulting from the act, and certainly neither intended nor anticipated by the legislature, was to repeal the penalty of the act of 1817, quoad distillers, venders and retailers, (the very persons who, above all others, ought to bear the heaviest penalties,) in relation to the sale or exchange of spirituous liquors. The rule of evidence established by the act of 1817, as to the production and proof of the permit, still remains in force.

In an indictment for trading with a slave, or giving or delivering spirituous liquors to a slave, it is necessary that the slave should be described, when possible, by his own and his owner's name, or, if that be not possible, by some equivalent description of the slave.

In indictments under the act of 1834, although the rule of evidence established by its 5th section does not apply, and so, too, under the act of 1817, where the trading is not in a "shop, store, or house of any kind, used for trading," yet if the slave be seen to enter with an article, and come out without it, or to enter without an article and come out with one, it is a fact from which, at common law, a presumption may arise of guilt, and on which the jury may convict.

It was decided, immediately after the passage of the act of 1817, that the sale to a slave of *any article whatsoever*, or purchase from a slave of *any article whatsoever*, belonging to the slave, his master or any other person, was a violation of the law.

If the master or overseer, or other person having charge of the slave, send a slave with goods to detect another in dealing, trading or trafficking with a slave, and stand by and see the trading, it does not excuse the defendant—he still is guilty.

If the owner or overseer or other person having charge of the slave, go with him to make the sale or purchase, and stand by and assent to the same, the vender would not be guilty. For then the trading might be regarded as that of the master by his slave.

If the trader be in the habit of trading with slaves, and had authorized his clerk so to trade,

he may be convicted for a trading with a slave by his clerk in his absence. But the principal cannot be criminally answerable for the act of his clerk, unless done with his knowledge and consent, actual or complied. The same rule holds as to a partner.

An overseer trading with his employer's slaves may be indicted and convicted under the act of 1817.

Before the act of '34, a person who sold liquor to a slave might be indicted for trading with a slave without a ticket, and also for retailing. It follows, since the act of '34 is substituted for that of '17, so far as the penalty is concerned, that a person now may be indicted for selling, giving, exchanging or delivering spirituous liquors to a slave, and for retailing without a license, although there be but one sale and delivery.

If one sell spirituous liquor to a slave, or to another for him, without a permit from his owner, employer, or other person having charge of him, and the slave die in consequence of the too free use of the liquor so sold, the person so selling is liable, in an action on the case, for the value of the slave to the owner.

A license to retail cannot be granted to an applicant, unless he will swear that he will not, during his license, sell, give, exchange, barter, or otherwise deliver, spirituous liquors to any slave, contrary to the law on that subject. If he has been engaged before in the business, he must also swear that he has not, during his past license, sold, given, delivered, exchanged, bartered, or otherwise delivered, spirituous liquors to a slave contrary to law.

If a master, or other person having charge of a slave who may be accused of any capital or other crime, shall conceal or convey away such slave, so that he cannot be brought to trial and punishment, such master or other person shall be liable to forfeit £250 current money, equal to £35 16s. 5d., or \$153 53, if the crime be capital; if not capital, then the forfeiture is £50 currency, equal to £7 3s. 3d., or \$30 70. This provision, in capital felonies, supersedes the common law offense of accessory after the fact in a crime committed by a slave, so far as owners and other persons having charge of a slave may be concerned.

A master is liable for the acts of his slave done negligently, unskillfully or wilfully, in the course of any public employment or business carried on by him, under the authority or with the consent of his master. *As where* a slave navigating his master's vessel, so negligently managed his craft as to injure a wharf or to run down a car of fish; or, where a slave carpenter, with his master's assent, actual or implied, undertakes to repair a house, and in doing it, does it so *unskillfully* that the whole building falls down; or, where a slave blacksmith, in shoeing a horse, becomes enraged with him, and *wilfully* knocks out the horse's

eye with his shoeing hammer—in all these cases, the master is liable, according to the principles which I have above stated.

The master is not liable for the unauthorized acts of his slave, done without his knowledge or consent, actual or implied, and not in any public business or employment, in which he has placed his slave.

Any person or persons who shall, on his, her or their own behalf, or under color or in virtue of any commission or authority from any state or public authority of any state in this Union, or any foreign power, come within this state, with the intent to disturb, hinder or counteract the operation of laws, made or to be made, in relation to slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, are liable to be arrested, and, if not bailed, committed to jail by any of the judges of this state, including the recorder, for a high misdemeanor; and, on conviction, is liable to be sentenced to banishment from the state, and to be fined and imprisoned at the discretion of the court.

Any person within this state, who shall, at any time, accept any commission or authority from any state, or public authority of any state in this Union, or from any foreign power, in relation to slaves or free persons of color, and who shall commit any overt act, with an intent to disturb the peace or security of this state, or with intent to disturb, counteract or hinder the laws of this state, made or to be made, in relation to slaves or free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be sentenced to pay, for the first offense, a fine not exceeding \$1,000, and to be imprisoned not exceeding one year; and, for the second offense, he shall be imprisoned seven years, and pay a fine not less than \$1,000, or be banished from the state, as the court shall see fit.

The governor's duty is, to require all persons who come into this state, for the purposes, and under the circumstances, stated in the first section of the act of '44, and the preceding 29th section of this digest, to depart from the state in forty-eight hours after such notice; and such persons shall thereupon be bound to depart; and, failing to do so, they are guilty of a high misdemeanor, and, upon conviction, are to be sentenced to be banished from the state, and to such fine and imprisonment as the court may think expedient.

Any person convicted a second or any subsequent time, under the first and third sections of the act of '44, set out in the preceding 29th and 31st sections of this digest, is to be imprisoned not less than seven years, to pay a fine not less than \$1,000, and to be banished from the state.

It is the duty of the sheriff of the district to execute the sentence of banishment, by sending the offender out of the state; and if he shall return, (unless by unavoidable acci-

dent,) the sheriff of the district where he may be found is "*to hold*" him in close confinement, under the original sentence, until he shall enter into a recognizance to leave the state never to return.

Free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, entering this state as cook, steward or mariner, or in any other employment, on board any vessel, in violation of the provisions of the 2d section of the act of '35, and which is set out and prescribed in the 59th section of chapter 1 of this digest, and who may be apprehended and confined by the sheriff, are not entitled to the writ of habeas corpus.

If the sheriff shall, by the usual posse comitatus and the civil authorities, not be able to enforce the provisions of the act of '35, the governor, on a requisition made on him and signed by the sheriff, is required to order out a sufficient number of the militia to meet the exigency of the case, to be placed under the command of discreet officers, who shall be ordered to give the sheriff the aid necessary to execute the said act.

NEGRO POPULATION OF THE SOUTH WITH REFERENCE TO LIFE STATISTICS.—I now, in compliance with your request, give you a few remarks on the value of life among the colored population, which is becoming a very important subject for consideration. My time is much occupied with yellow fever, and I might very fairly claim indulgence for the hasty and imperfect manner in which I am performing my task; but I may, with still more propriety, offer as an excuse a deficiency of material, from the universal neglect of VITAL STATISTICS in the United States. We have already seen that there is by no means a redundancy of information as regards the whites; but the neglect, north and south, of statistics of blacks, is positively disreputable in this enlightened epoch.

Though there is a want of data, by which we can fix with accuracy the value of life among the colored population, there are still sufficient to show that insurance companies are going into this branch of their business pell-mell, without knowing any thing of the probabilities. If I can bring them to a halt, and give a better direction to this part of the investigation, it is all I can now hope.

No one can be more fully alive than myself to the vast importance of insurance on negroes, to the south; yet, though I may be severely censured by some, I shall express myself freely, without regard to the opinions of others, as I believe the truth alone can be beneficial on the whole. If risks on this class were taken alone by joint-stock companies, formed of heavy capitalists who were disposed to gamble on the chances, I should have no objection to see a course of experiments which might lead to a discovery of the true value

of life among the colored population; but it should not be forgotten that the life insurance companies now preferred are the *Mutual*, and that unless all the risks work well, the interest of every individual must be jeopardized, as *all* are stockholders under this system. Suppose, for example, 1,000 lives are insured in a mutual company, one half whites, the other colored. If the risks upon the latter are badly selected, upon whom would fall the losses? Not upon the owners of the slaves alone, or rich members of the company, but upon the poor, honest, industrious, and, I may add, unsuspicious man, who at the end of the year scrapes together a few of his hard-earned dollars to invest in an insurance company, with the hope of saving his wife and children from beggary when he is no longer able to toil for them.

The data given in my former paper go strongly to prove that the acclimated population of our southern sea-ports *are taxed too high* for life insurance, and I hope I shall at least gain credit for honesty of intention, if I now express my doubts whether we are taxed enough on the colored population.

The general fact that there is less mortality south than north among the colored class is sufficiently established; but there are no statistics by which the chances of life can be calculated with sufficient accuracy to form the basis of insurance operations in any city in the Union. At the south, vital statistics have been so neglected by local authorities, that, with the exception of Charleston, South Carolina, we are left wholly in the dark, and even here there has been a great deficiency of details. Within the last year or two, however, important improvements have been made in the manner of keeping tables of mortality in Charleston and Mobile, and we may in a few years expect important results.

Though the white and black races stand diametrically opposed to each other as to the influence of climate on health and longevity, and the necessity for so doing is manifest, yet in most cities no attention has been paid to separating the two classes in their bills of mortality. Even in the large cities of the north, the bills of mortality are so badly kept, or so concealed from the public, that nothing can be ascertained on this point. I have made repeated but fruitless efforts to procure bills of mortality of the colored population from Baltimore, New-York, and Boston. I have, however, been fortunate enough, through the kindness of Dr. G. Emerson, (who has taken the trouble to ransack the records for me,) to procure the bills of Philadelphia for 20 years.

I am really at a loss how to account for the silence of Boston on this subject. The statistics of that city, embracing every thing which the statesman, physician, or philanthropist could ask, as births, marriages, deaths, sexes, occupations, ages, diseases, manufactures, &c.,

&c., are all given with admirable system and detail annually, and yet no allusion whatever is made to the mortality of the colored. I have before me the census for each year since 1840, and the last of them, viz., for 1845, is accompanied by a long and able report by Dr. Shattuck on vital statistics, making altogether an octavo volume of 300 pages, and yet not a fact can be found bearing on our subject. Can it be that the mortality of the colored population is concealed on account of its connection with the question of abolition? When I see the intelligence with which these statistics have been conceived and executed—when I see that these details were once carefully kept, and then of late years abandoned—and when I reflect on the improbability of the importance of such facts being overlooked in a city like Boston, I cannot help indulging such a suspicion.

I have on a former occasion, in the Southern Quarterly Review, discussed at some length the question of the unity of the races, and shall not here open that question again; but no one at all familiar with the past history of the negro and his present peculiarities, can entertain a doubt that he is now very widely separated, both in *physique* and *morale*, from the white man, and that it would require a combination of circumstances not likely to occur, and a long series of years, to bring him up to the Caucasian standard.

The extreme antiquity of Egypt as a civilized nation, taught by Champollion, Young, Vyse, Birch, and others, has not only been confirmed by the recent important discoveries of Baron Bunsen and Lepsius, but these gentlemen have fixed beyond dispute the epoch of Menes, the first king of Egypt, at more than 3,600 years before Christ. It is equally well settled by the monumental history of that country, that the negroes existed at that early day with all the physical characteristics they now possess, and that they were treated and spoken of as slaves and barbarians. No one familiar with this discussion will question these statements, and I think we may conclude that if the negro has never, in the course of 5,000 years, been thrown into a position to develop his equality, we have no right to expect any great advance in the next few hundred years. The good old Bishop of Blois, (H. Grégoire,) in his work on the "Literature of Negroes," after exhausting the history of the past, has only been able to collect a few examples who had attained a certain degree of proficiency in the literature of the whites; but not one of them can bear comparison with the better specimens of the Caucasian race; and all attempts made in the present century at bettering the condition of the slaves have but added to their ignorance and unhappiness.

But, passing by the physical history of the negro in the old world, I shall confine myself to the influence of climate as exhibited in this

country over this race, so far as it is connected with the subject of life insurance.

All testimony combines to establish the fact, that cold climates are most unfavorable to the health and longevity of the blacks; and as some of our readers may not be familiar with vital statistics, I will precede those of the colored class by tables, showing the mortality among the whites in various parts of the world, which may serve for comparison. The deaths, from recent and authentic tables, were as follows:

STATISTICS OF MORTALITY—AVERAGE FOR ONE YEAR.

Boston.....	1 in 47
Philadelphia.....	1 in 42
England.....	1 in 45
France.....	1 in 42
Austria.....	1 in 33
Prussia.....	1 in 38
Russia.....	1 in 38
London.....	1 in 37
Birmingham.....	1 in 36
Sheffield.....	1 in 32
Leeds.....	1 in 37
Bristol.....	1 in 32
Manchester.....	1 in 29
Liverpool.....	1 in 28

I have not been able to get any tables from the towns in Canada, showing the mortality of the negroes. Rankin, in his "Visit to Sierra Leone," informs us, that the negroes who deserted their masters during the revolutionary war, and joined the British army, were afterward colonized in Nova Scotia, but finding it impossible to stand the climate, they were removed to the colony in Africa by the British government. They there, in their state of liberty, showed their constitutional indolence and improvidence, and most of them have had the good fortune to be kidnapped and sold back to the United States. If I recollect correctly, Rankin states, that of 1,100 taken to Sierra Leone, but about 600 of them and their descendants remained at the end of thirty years.

As before stated, I have been unable to procure from Boston and New-York tables exhibiting the mortality of the negroes for late years, but I have so often seen it stated at 1 in 15, and 1 in 18 respectively, that I presume these figures may be assumed as substantially correct.*

Philadelphia may be placed intermediate in point of climate between the extremes of heat and cold in the United States, and we should accordingly expect to find here an intermediate mortality in this class. The tables below (furnished me by Dr. G. Emerson,) when placed beside those of Charleston and Boston,

* If there is any one who has information to the contrary, we would gladly welcome the facts.—ED.

will confirm such a result. As the climate on the gulf approaches still more closely that of the tropic, it is not improbable that the longevity of the blacks is still greater (as it certainly is of mulattoes) here, than in the city of Charleston. The tables of mortality for Charleston and Philadelphia are as follows:

MORTALITY OF CHARLESTON.

Years.	Whites.	Blacks.	
1830.....	1 in 39.4	40.0	
1831.....	1 in 46.6	37.9	
1832.....	1 in 51.9	55.3	
1833.....	1 in 55.0	55.7	
1834.....	1 in 42.1	44.1	Y. Fever.
1835.....	1 in 43.1	46.4	"
1836.....	1 in 40.6	19.6	Cholera.
1837.....	1 in 47.3	46.7	
1838.....	1 in 18.3	33.0	Y. Fever.
1839.....	1 in 29.9	39.0	"
1840.....	1 in 50.7	46.6	
1841.....	1 in 65.1	44.8	
1842.....	1 in 50.3	47.8	
1843.....	1 in 60.8	32.9	
1844.....	1 in 69.3	43.3	
1845.....	1 in 52.9	48.5	

MORTALITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

Years.		Blacks.
1821.....	1 in 16.9	
1822.....	1 in 21.5	
1823.....	1 in 17.5	
1824.....	1 in 17.5	
1825.....	1 in 27.0	
1826.....	1 in 26.1	
1827.....	1 in 18.9	
1828.....	1 in 20.8	
1829.....	1 in 23.7	
1830.....	1 in 27.2	

Years.	Whites.	Blacks.
1831.....	1 in 39.6	33.6
1832.....	1 in 28.8	22.6
1833.....	1 in 47.3	35.2
1834.....	1 in 41.4	33.3
1835.....	1 in 38.3	31.2
1836.....	1 in 43.8	21.4
1837.....	1 in 45.1	32.7
1838.....	1 in 45.0	29.2
1839.....	1 in 49.4	31.3
1840.....	1 in 52.2	38.6

It appears from the above tables, that the average mortality in Philadelphia, among the colored population, was 1 in 26, and in Charleston, 1 in 44. Certainly a very marked contrast, and there can be no doubt that, could the free colored be separated from the slaves, the latter in Charleston would show a still more favorable result.* There is a con-

siderable number of mulattoes and free colored in Charleston. The mortality in Philadelphia has been decreasing among both whites and colored, no doubt from the improved condition of the city.

I have marked above the years in which yellow fever prevailed in Charleston, and it will be seen that the mortality in those years among the negroes was lower than among the whites, on account of their exemption from this disease. In my former article I gave evidence of the fact that the mortality from this disease falls on the *unacclimated whites*.

I have given in the above tables the mortality of whites and blacks together, in each city, in order to contrast the influence of climate on the races. The greatest mortality ever known in Charleston in the colored class, was in 1836, when it was raised by the cholera to 1 in 19, more than double the average; but even cholera and slavery combined here are far less destructive to the negro than liberty and climate in Boston, where the mortality is said to average 1 in 15.

To arrive at a fair estimate of the mortality of this class in northern and southern cities, we must take into consideration, not only the influence of climate, but social condition also. The negro is by nature indolent and improvident, every where and under all climates; and has no where in a state of freedom shown a high degree of longevity, or prolificacy, though by nature the longest lived, I believe, of all the human family. These facts should not be overlooked in estimating their mortality at the north, where they are enjoying all the abstract delights of liberty. In the West Indies, we have a strong illustration of the effect of emancipation, and in their native state, in Africa, the average longevity of the blacks (as in all barbarous nations) will be less than among our slaves. In our northern states, where they to a great extent fail to provide against the severe winters, the diseases arising from cold and want must add much to their misery and mortality.

History cannot point to any epoch or spot on the earth where the condition of the negro race, either physical or moral, has been at all comparable with that of the slaves of the United States. Mr. Lyell, who seems to have reflected much and honestly on the evils of slavery, during his last visit to this country, expressed to me decidedly his conviction that the negroes could only be civilized through slavery. They are here brought into forced contact with a civilized race, from whom they imbibe new and more enlarged ideas; they

* We have the authority of Dr. Niles, then a citizen of New-York, (now of Paris,) in a pamphlet published by him in 1827, for giving the mortality of Baltimore in 1823-24-25, as follows:—Whites, 1 in

44; free blacks, 1 in 32; slaves, 1 in 77-8. This result is probably attributable to two causes—1st, there is a large proportion of mulattoes among the free colored; 2d, the physical wants of the slaves are better supplied, and they are infinitely more cheerful and happy than the free colored.

are taught a rational religion; many learn to read and write; all are taught the agricultural or mechanic arts, or some other useful employment; they not only become more intellectual, but improve in physical appearance; and if they are capable of civilization at all, they are thus admirably prepared for a further advance. Their progress has certainly been infinitely more rapid than it could have been under any missionary or colonial system. Mr. Lyell thinks, from all this, that they may be brought up to the Caucasian standard; but if he will live among them as I have, and study well their history, from the palmy days of Egypt down, he will find abundant reason to change this opinion. The races of men, like animals in a wild, uncultivated state, may, if docile, be tamed, educated and vastly improved; but there are limits set to each by nature, beyond which no advance can be made. Although there may be an occasional example where a negro will show a degree of intelligence and capacity for improvement beyond the mass, yet no negro has ever left behind him any intellectual effort worthy of being preserved. The negro is naturally mild and docile; the Indian, on the contrary, is an untamable, carnivorous animal, which is fading away before civilization, in spite of the efforts of missionaries. Can any one who knows any thing about the present condition of the Indians and their past history, propose a scheme for their improvement, which would offer the least prospect of success? The race must soon be extinct; even the pure blood Mexicans, who, I have no question, are a different race from the aboriginal savage, are going down in darkness to their long home.*

The negro will reach, I may say *has* reached, his highest degree of civilization, and emancipation has so far only proved what I think is inevitable, that when removed from compulsion he relapses into barbarism. The Indian can be made to do nothing "on compulsion"—he would rather die than be a slave.

When a race (as the negroes) has had possession of a continent for at least 5,000 years, and no monument stands to designate a single civilized spot; when we see that it held constant intercourse with Egypt in her glory; when, too, we see the result of all recent experiments of abolitionists, I think we may safely conclude that the negro attains his greatest perfection, physical and moral, and also his greatest longevity, in a state of slavery. The single fact of the longevity of the colored class in Charleston is a very signifi-

cant one, and should be pondered on by the philanthropist. The colored population of this city show not only a lower ratio of mortality than any laboring class of any country, but a lower mortality than the aggregate population (including nobility and all) of any country in Europe, except England, with which it is about on a par, and would surpass even England were the slaves taken separate from the free colored. The mortality of the aggregate colored population of Charleston now is less than that of the aggregate of any town in Europe.

That the negro, even when placed under the most favorable circumstances as to physical wants, &c., is unfavorably affected by cold climates, is a fact which admits of no dispute. All the hospital practitioners of the northern cities must acknowledge the fact. So sensitive are they to cold, and so little are they affected by that fell destroyer of the white race, *malaria*, which kills more than war and famine, that they suffer in the southern states more from diseases of winter than those of summer. They are, I am informed, exempt from the violent congestive fevers of our interior districts, and other violent forms of marsh fever; and so exempt are they from yellow fever, that I am now attending my first case of this disease in a full-blooded negro. In fact, it would seem that the negro blood is an antidote against yellow fever, for the smallest admixture of it with the white will protect against this disease, even though the subject come from a healthy northern latitude in the midst of an epidemic. There are some exceptions, but they are rare. I will not fatigue the reader by an elaborate comparison of the diseases of the two races, as influenced by climate, but will allude to a single one—consumption.

In Charleston they have but recently commenced separating the white and colored population in their bills of mortality, with full details, and I have the deaths from consumption in the latter class for but one year, viz., 1846; but the ratio of deaths from this disease is so uniform, that it fluctuates but little when undisturbed by epidemic diseases. In Charleston, the deaths from consumption in 1846 were 1 in 7 of all the deaths; and in Mobile the average for the three years, 1844-'45-'46, the ratio was 1 in 8 in the colored population.

The following extract is from the New-York Medical and Surgical Reporter, February 27, 1847:

"*Colored Home.*—The report of the resident physician, James D. Fitch, M. D., for the year ending 1st January, 1847, is just published. By the tabular account of the inmates during that time, which specifies the sex, age, history and diseases of all who have come under the supervision of Dr. Fitch, we find that the total number in charge during the year was

* The Peruvian and Mexican, the most civilized races found in America, had smaller heads than the savage tribes. How did their heads get smaller by cultivating their intellects, if they are the same race with the latter? This is a question I should like to see solved.

464, and the number of deaths 89. . . .

The disease most prominent is consumption, by which more than one half of the deaths have been caused, the number being 47," &c.

Now, how near this astounding mortality from consumption may be to the general result of other years in New-York and Boston, I have not the data to determine. I can only say that I have no disposition to plead one side; but, on the contrary, would be very glad if some gentleman of the north would give me or the public all the information possible. Why do they not give us the facts fully?

The combined influence of climate and social condition is again illustrated by the comparative increase of the colored class north and south. It has been already stated that the *whole* population of Philadelphia, including white and colored, in the decennial period from 1830 to 1840, increased 35 per cent., while the colored, taken alone, shows an increase of but 18 per cent. From the constant escape of negroes from the slave states, and the protection offered them in Philadelphia, we should have expected a different result. I will here introduce an extract bearing on this point, from my article in the Southern Quarterly Review, January, 1846, on the Unity of the Human Race.

It occurred to me that one of the best methods of testing the influence of climate on the negro race, would be to ascertain the relative proportion of children, in different states, to the free colored women between 15 and 45 years, (the fruitful age.) I have accordingly constructed the following table from the census of 1840, in which is given all the free colored children under 10 years, and the colored females as near as possible. The census gives the free colored females between 10 and 24, between 24 and 36, and between 36 and 55. I have, therefore, taken half of the aggregate of the first and last, and added this amount to the whole of those between 24 and 36, which must give a sufficiently near approximation to the truth.

I have, in the fourth column of the table, placed the per centage of excess or deficiency of children compared with the females; and the excess or deficiency in each state is expressed by placing the sign *plus* or *minus* before the number expressing the per centage.

I have confined these statistics to the *free* colored population, because they are the most stationary; and similarity of habits and other circumstances render them the fairest test. There are some irregularities in these statistics which are difficult to explain, but if we take the aggregate of sections, or any rational view of the matter, I think they are not unsatisfactory. I give them for what they are worth, hoping they will at least lead the way to other observations.

	Number of free colored women between 15 and 45 years.	Free colored children under 10 years.	Per centage of excess or deficiency of children under 10 compared with the females.
Maine.....	280	296	+ 5
New-Hampshire.....	117	107	— 9
Massachusetts.....	1,782	1,807	+ 1
Rhode Island.....	850	673	—26
Connecticut.....	1,836	1,902	+ 3
Vermont.....	156	167	+ 7
New-York.....	12,511	12,040	— 3
New-Jersey.....	4,374	5,853	+33
Pennsylvania.....	11,687	12,509	+ 7
Delaware.....	3,207	5,358	+33
Maryland.....	13,727	18,548	+35
Virginia.....	10,457	15,857	+53
North Carolina.....	5,507	7,666	+39
South Carolina.....	1,776	2,795	+57
Georgia.....	515	802	+55
Alabama.....	406	572	+40
Mississippi.....	269	409	+50
Louisiana.....	5,892	8,178	+38
Tennessee.....	999	1,854	+95
Kentucky.....	1,276	1,984	+55
Ohio.....	3,558	5,190	+43
Indiana.....	1,348	2,370	+75
Illinois.....	696	1,084	+55
Missouri.....	298	345	+15
Florida.....	177	216	+23
Arkansas.....	81	144	+77
Michigan.....	148	173	+17
Dis. of Columbia.....	2,161	2,376	+ 9

The only line which can be drawn across the United States without intersecting states, is one about thirty-six and a half degrees of latitude, which very nearly bounds on the north, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas. The states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida, are all south of this line, and the other states all north of it. From the abundance of provisions, the absence of malaria, the protection here given to the colored class, we might reasonably infer that they would be most prosperous and prolific in the northern division. The southern division comprises all the most sickly portions of our country, and the free negroes have less liberty and indulgence than at the north. A calculation made from the above table gives but about 25 per cent. more children than females in the northern division, while in the southern the excess is 44 per cent. The New-England states alone show 3 per cent. less children than females of the child-bearing age.

By the census of 1800, there were in the New-England states, of all ages, 17,317 free colored, and in 1840 there were but 22,633, or an increase only of 5,316 in 40 years! If climate and social condition have nothing to do with this result, I must leave it to others to show what becomes of the natural increase, and of the colored immigrants constantly coming in.

But, had we all the data necessary for fixing the value of life in the pure whites and blacks, another question arises with regard to the longevity of the mixed bloods or *mulattoes*. This question presents many ramifications, which are not only curious, but deeply important to the philanthropist. It has been more fully treated in some of its bearings than I have room for here, in the article alluded to in the Southern Quarterly, and I now shall merely touch it so far as it is connected with the value of life. Whether it be primitive or not, the white and black races are to all intents and purposes *specifically different*, and it is our business now to treat them as we find them in reference to our subject.

A writer in the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, November, 1842, under the signature of "Philanthropist," who seems to be an earnest seeker after truth, uses the following language:

"From authentic statistics and extensive corroborating information, obtained from sources to me of unquestionable authority, together with my own observations, I am led to believe that the following statements are substantially correct:

"1st. That the longevity of the Africans is greater than that of the inhabitants of any other part of the globe.

"2d. That mulattoes, *i. e.*, those born of parents one being African and the other white or Caucasian, are the shortest lived of any class of the human race.

"3d. That the mulattoes are not more liable to die under the age of 25 than the whites or blacks; but from 25 to 40 their deaths are as 10 to 1 of either the whites or blacks between those ages; from 40 to 55, the deaths are as 50 to 1; and from 55 to 70, 100 to 1.

"4th. That the mortality of the free people of color is more than 100 per cent. greater than that of slaves.

"5th. That those of unmixed extraction in the free states are not more liable to sickness or premature death than the whites of their rank and condition in society; but that the striking mortality so manifest among the free people of color, is in every community and section of the country invariably confined to the mulattoes.

"It was remarked by a gentleman from the south, eminent for his intellectual attainments, and distinguished for his correct observation,

and who has lived many years in the southern states, that he did not believe that he had ever seen a mulatto of 70 years of age.

"From a correspondence published in the Boston Spectator, in April last, are taken the following statistics:

"In a colored population of 2,634,348, including free blacks, there are 1,980 over 100 years of age; whereas there are but 647 whites over 100 in a population of 14,581,000.

"In Boston, the number of deaths annually among the colored population is about 1 in 15, and there are fewer pure blacks in this city than any other. The same comparative mortality between mulattoes and blacks exists in the West Indies and in Guiana, where unfavorable social causes do not operate against the mulattoes as in the United States."

Though they do substantially, my observations at the south will not fully corroborate all the above conclusions of "Philanthropist." My belief is that the mulattoes *do* die more than whites or blacks under 25, as they *certainly* do above this age, and that the pure blacks are destroyed by cold climate as well as the mulattoes, though the latter may be most sensitive.

I will here give the results of my own professional observation during twenty years at the south, which I feel assured time and experience will substantially confirm. The facts were forced upon me during my intercourse with the colored class, and attracted my attention long before I had formed any theory on the subject, and at a time when my convictions were the opposite of what they now are.

1st. The mulattoes are intermediate in intelligence between the blacks and whites.

2d. They are less capable of enduring fatigue, exposure, and hardships of all kinds, than either blacks or whites.

3d. The mulatto women are peculiarly delicate, and more subject to a variety of chronic diseases peculiar to females.

4th. The women are bad breeders and bad nurses—many do not conceive, and most are subject to abortions, or premature births.

5th. The two sexes, when they marry, are less prolific than when crossed on one of the parent stocks.

6th. The specific difference of the races is strongly illustrated in the exemption of the negroes from yellow and congestive fevers; not only the negro, but the quarteroon, though a native of a cold latitude, is to a great extent exempt; there are occasional exceptions, and it is well known that yellow fever, like cholera, has often been fatal to domestic animals.

The above facts, which I think will in the main hold good in all the Atlantic states, and are more marked the farther north we look, would seem to be contradicted to a consider-

able extent, if not wholly refuted, by an opposite state of things on the gulf. I hope the contradiction, however, will prove to be only apparent.

The mulattoes, by which I mean all grades of mixture, derived from the early population of Pensacola, Mobile, and New-Orleans, and who are a mixture principally of French and Spanish blood with that of the negro, present very different physical characters from the mulattoes seen in the Atlantic states, who are derived mainly from the Anglo-Saxon race. The complexion on the gulf of the colored creoles (as they are called) is a strong copper, or bronze of different shades, which is agreeable to the eye, and strikingly different from the chalky, sickly hue of the others; they excite at once in the mind the idea of a *new*, or *distinct race*—are well formed, more robust and hardy, and their features often regular and handsome, partaking little of the contour of the negro; they are also much more prolific and long-lived than the mulattoes of the colder states. A stranger coming to Mobile, or New-Orleans, could not fail to be forcibly struck by the physical peculiarities of these colored creoles, many of whom resemble so closely certain Mongol tribes, as to give strong support to the suggestion of Dr. S. G. Morton, that the latter *may* possibly be a mixed race of Caucasians and negroes; an idea which will be much strengthened by his remarks on the influence of climate on hybridity. Their hair is often as straight, black, and glossy as that of the Chinese or Indian; the high cheek-bone and obliquity of the eyes is not uncommon. In looking over the well-executed heads in Richards' *Physical History of Man*, I can find no type of the colored races of the *old world*, as the Mongol, Hindoo, Malay, &c., of which I have not seen a good imitation in real life among the colored creoles of Mobile and New-Orleans; but it is remarkable that they show *no resemblance to the aborigines of the new world*—these stand out from the rest of mankind, as Dr. Morton's *Crania Americana* will show, as boldly as a new and distinct creation.

It is perhaps a difficult task to account for the above differences between these creoles and the mulattoes of colder climates; it is possible that a reason may be found in certain affinities or repulsions of certain races, which fits or unfits them for perfect amalgamation. The population of Germany, France, Spain, Italy, England, Ireland, and Scotland, is such a heterogeneous compound at the present day of aborigines, Celts, Slavonians, and Germans, that there are now endless disputes as to the original physical character of each of these latter races, and as to the blood which now predominates in each country. The modern Britons, and the Germans, from whom they are principally descended, are usually much more fair in complexion than the French,

Spaniards, Italians, Russians, Poles, &c., who, Lawrence and others maintain, are derived from the Celts and Slavons, of dark skin, hair and eyes. Explain the fact as we may, it is to my mind evident that negroes amalgamate much better with the dark than the fair races.

When we reflect on the specific difference between the two races, (Caucasian and Negro,) and the many peculiarities which belong to the mulatto, I think we are justifiable in regarding the latter as a hybrid. I have shown on a former occasion that naturalists have been able to lay down no rule which could offer the slightest objection to this idea. We have shown also that different hybrids are subject to very different laws; some are prolific and others not, &c. Why may it not be a law of the human hybrid, that it is more delicate, less hardy and long-lived than the parent stocks? There are facts in natural history which lend support to this idea.

Dr. Morton, the distinguished author of the *Crania Americana* and *Egyptica*, in a paper read last November before the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, on "hybridity in animals and plants, considered in reference to the question of the unity of the human species," give us some interesting facts, which may account more satisfactorily for the distinctive character of the mulattoes north and south. After showing that not only different *species*, but *genera* produce prolific hybrids, he gives facts to prove that climate has much to do with the fecundity of certain hybrids; they may not breed, for example, in a cold climate, but will in a warm one, which is more congenial to their nature. Such would seem to be the case with the mulatto or hybrid offspring of the Caucasian and Negro races; the facts can be clearly established that the mulattoes (the colored creoles at least) of Mobile and New-Orleans are more prolific, more hardy, longer lived, and in every respect a superior race to those of the north. My observations for some years were made on the mulattoes of South Carolina, and, even as far south as this, their inferiority is manifest.

The facts and deductions thus far presented would lead very strongly to the conclusion that the black slaves of the south are very safe risks for insurance; but though fully persuaded of the favorable position of this class, both as to climate and social condition, in reference to health and longevity, and though deeply impressed with the importance of this branch of life insurance to the slave states, still I must say that I believe there are yet no data by which the value of these lives can be fixed with sufficient accuracy to justify the thoughtless procedure of some companies.

The mortality among the colored class in Charleston, including blacks, mulattoes, slaves,

and free, is 1 in 44 annually; and though this is a more favorable table than can be found in any laboring class in the world, and though even this mortality might be greatly diminished could we separate the free and the hybrids from the black slaves; yet it must be remembered that among the whites it is only the better class that apply for policies, and that the negroes are the laboring class of the south. It is a well-known fact, that as you rise in the scale of society, so does the longevity increase, simply because the upper classes are less exposed to the causes of diseases, and can command comforts and prompt medical advice in sickness. The experience too of insurance companies in Europe, shows that there is far less mortality in their selected lives than in the aggregate population of a nation. It cannot be reasonably expected, then, that the slaves at the south can equal in longevity the better classes of Europe, or the selected lives of insurance companies.

The black slaves, though generally treated with kindness and indulgence, are the laboring class—are exposed much to the causes of disease, and are less protected in sickness than the higher classes; like the man-servant and maid-servant of the free states, they are less cared for in sickness and health than the master and mistress. The longest lived class in England are the nobility; and though poverty in itself may not be a sin, it is not only a disgrace, but tempts many a poor fellow to sell soul and body both.

"Lord lead us not into temptation," is the wisest prayer ever uttered—it contains a profound reflection on human nature. Men are prone to become very good and pious when they get too old to be tempted, and we would therefore pray daily not to be tempted. Life insurance on negroes offers strong temptations to be feared, many of which I have not time to enumerate.

When a company insures the life of a free man, it has the best of all guaranties against foul play, viz.: the innate love of life of the insured party. But, on the other hand, we occasionally see at the south unfeeling masters, as we do unfeeling husbands, cruel fathers, and cruel masters to apprentices, in the free states; and such individuals will not show any increase of kindness during sickness, should their interest be opposed to humanity. As long as the negro is sound, and worth more than the amount insured, self-interest will prompt the owner to preserve the life of the slave; but, if the slave become unsound, and there is little prospect of perfect recovery, the underwriters cannot expect fair play—the insurance money is worth more than the slave, and the latter is regarded rather in the light of a superannuated horse.

Human nature is the same every where, and at all times. See how the English manufacturer coins his guineas out of the exhausted

frames of his wretched operatives; after one set of victims is worked to death, another is at hand ready for the sacrifice. So with the southern masters; though their slaves, as a general rule, meet with more kindness than any laboring class in the world, yet when it ceases to be the interest of the owner to preserve the life of the slave, he will in many instances cease to be careful of it. Any man who will drive a horse cruelly, will drive a negro or operative to death, if he can gain any thing by so doing.

Suppose a thousand slaves to be insured for seven years, and at the end of one, two, three, four, or five years, a portion of them should become unsound, and it is no longer the interest of the owners that they should live out the seven years; would not many be like the Yankee captain with the insured ship, "Damn the old hulk, let her sink—I am safe." That "Almighty Dollar" would soon silence the soft, small voice of humanity.

We have every reason to believe that many unsound negroes would be insured fraudulently, which could be easily done—and it is a singular fact, that the negroes who will nurse the master with untiring devotion and kindness, night and day, are, like dogs, utterly regardless of each other's wants in sickness; this is a characteristic in freedom or slavery.

It would be unsafe to insure negroes on plantations in the country, because it is impossible, I fear, to get competent and reliable medical examiners, and for other reasons. Most of the applications would probably be from the towns. It has not been, nor do I think it is likely to become, the custom of masters to insure slaves, except in those instances where they suppose some extraordinary risk to life is incurred, and if such risks alone be taken, the chances must be against the underwriters. I will mention for example the fact, that most of the negroes presented to me for insurance have been deck hands of steamboats, who, besides the danger of being blown up, are exposed to other dangers much greater; at one moment they are employed as firemen, and at the next, they are rolling cotton bales down the river bank at midnight in a cold rain. Many are consequently attacked by pleurisy, and other acute diseases; they are not unfrequently seriously injured by blows from the cotton bales while rolling down the high bluffs, and lastly, they often become intemperate, and contract other bad habits which lead to disturbance of health.—*Nott*.

Since the above was printed, we have received the following letter from Dr. Nott, which is worthy of attention:

THE SLAVE QUESTION.—With what intense

anxiety are the eyes of the whole country fixed upon the meeting of our next national assembly! Do we not all feel that we are on the verge of a struggle which must shake the Union to its very foundations? The social position of the negro race, and its influences on the various sections of the country, is to be discussed, and, in my opinion, most of the leaders of public opinion, north and south, are wholly unprepared to meet the great difficulties that complicate this subject; and the facts I have here and on former occasions alluded to, call loudly upon the attention of the statesman, the patriot and philanthropist. All the reasoning and action of legislators heretofore have been deduced too much from the history of the Caucasian race, as if the question were settled that the white man and negro are essentially the same, and demand the same course of policy. When we ask for *facts*—for some clear light of experience, drawn from the history of the past, to lead us out of the labyrinth in which fate has placed us—we are answered by the sentimental abstractions of the closet. But, Mr. Editor, these great difficulties cannot be met and overcome by abstractions. We must look to the natural history of the races for light; and I have no hesitation in asserting that nothing wise—nothing productive of substantial good to the negro race—can be effected without a full knowledge of their physical and intellectual character.

Can humanity look without a shudder upon the reckless impetuosity with which demagogues and fanatics decide great questions like this, involving the lives, fortunes, and happiness of millions of human beings, without the slightest knowledge of those facts which are indispensable to the formation of a rational opinion? The angry and senseless discussions on negro emancipation, which have agitated Christendom for the last half century, were commenced in ignorance, and the abolitionists have only become more angry and unreasonable as facts have risen up against their theories.

It has become evident that this controversy, as now conducted, must lead to consequences fraught with evil both to the white and black races. Is it not time, then, that good and wise men should rise up, inform themselves thoroughly, and, looking the difficulties full in the face, adopt such a course as reason and humanity shall dictate?

The object of the honest abolitionist must certainly be, to better the condition either of the white or black races. How are the whites to be benefited? What the distant future may bring forth, human sagacity cannot foretell; but we know that all great and sudden changes in the policy of a coun-

try must be productive of distress; and no one can doubt that emancipation of the southern slaves would, for a long series of years, be followed by utter destruction of the great staples of the south, and a corresponding destruction of the manufacturing and other interests of the north. It would not stop here; but the older nations who are fed by our commerce would suffer, even more, perhaps, than ourselves. Should such consequences be hazarded without good and sufficient reasons? But how are the blacks to be benefited by emancipation? This is the great point on which the controversy should run. Where are we to look for light on this point, either in the history of the past, or in the teachings of the present day? Will some abolitionist talk to us sober sense and reason, and demonstrate some plan by which the negro can be made free, prosperous and happy? I am a slave owner, and while on the one hand I shall, in common with the southern people, resist all encroachments on our constitutional and natural rights, I am, on the other hand, free to say that I am ready to advocate any scheme of emancipation which will insure to the slaves of the south greater happiness than they now enjoy. Every candid and intelligent man, who has examined the facts, must acknowledge that the negroes of the southern states are infinitely better off than those of Africa, all of whom are the slaves of barbarian chiefs; that they are in a far better condition, morally and physically, and more happy, than those of the free states; that they are in every respect in a better condition than the emancipated blacks of the West Indies; and that African colonization, and the long and painful labors of missionaries, have so far resulted in no good.

Whether the negro be of distinct origin—whether he be a descendant of Adam, changed by the long continued action of physical causes, or whether the Almighty has, by a direct curse, blackened his skin and clouded his intellect, it is not our intention here to inquire; but it cannot be denied that the negro *now* presents peculiar physical and intellectual characters. We must, therefore, take him as we find him, and for all practical purposes it is immaterial which theory we adopt. The true questions to be decided are—To what position among mankind is he *now* best suited? and, to what position more exalted can time and experience elevate him?

Though many contend that mental cultivation, continued through several generations, may greatly improve a race, no one of our authoritative writers on the natural history of man, whether Christian or Infidel, whether advocating or opposing the

unity of the human race, can be found to maintain the intellectual equality of the black and white races.

Experience teaches that none but an intelligent people are fit for any form of government short of an absolute despotism, and it is difficult to imagine how the negro is to be sufficiently enlightened to qualify him for self-government. He cannot be educated to any extent while a slave, because he becomes unfit for slavery and dangerous to the master. He cannot be liberated and allowed to remain where he now is, because a large population, so indolent, improvident and vicious as free negroes every where are, could not be tolerated in any country. Could Alabama, for example, permit her 800,000 slaves to be freed and turned loose within her borders? And I would ask the states north of the Potomac, if they would vote for the emancipation of three millions of slaves, with the "*proviso*," that when liberated they should all settle at the north? I have no doubt that the abolitionists of the north would sooner vote that all the tribes of Africa should be turned over to the devil without benefit of clergy. Self-preservation equally forbids that such an idea should be entertained for the southern states.

But one scheme, then, can be seriously entertained, viz., that of colonization; and it is much to be desired that some one would give us a project by which these millions of ignorant, stupid negroes can be successfully colonized, and kept from relapsing (as they are rapidly doing in St. Domingo) into African barbarism. The experiments in colonization, and even the gigantic efforts to suppress the slave trade, have so far been productive of nothing but evil; and we have every reason to believe, that if the negro *can be* so improved as to qualify him for self-government, a long series of years will be required to effect such a result. The monumental history of Egypt, according to recent researches of Bunsen, Lepsius, and other learned hierologists, shows, beyond dispute, that the negro presented the same physical and intellectual characters 5,000 years ago that he does now; and how long, may it be asked, will it take to bring him up to the Caucasian standard? I deny, positively, that there is any evidence in the history of the past, or the experience of our own times, to prove that the brain of a race can be enlarged and the intellect expanded by cultivation through a series of generations. The skulls of the untutored Germans of antiquity—of the Greek peasants—of the ancient Britons, and of the wandering Circassians, who are now bidding defiance to the Emperor of Russia, are as well formed as those of the nobility of England of the present day. Baron Larrey, whose authority will not be questioned in this matter, tells us that the wandering Arabs have the finest formed

brains he ever saw. The Caucasian head is always ready formed, and when the spark is applied the intellect blazes forth. Wherever this race is brought under a good government, great men spring up from the very forests. Can any one believe for a moment that the genius of Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon, Hannibal, Newton, La Place, Cuvier, Shakspeare, &c., is attributable to cultivated ancestry? No—the same blood has been coursing through the veins of the race from Adam down to the present day.

But let us suppose, for a moment, that the negro really is susceptible of progressive improvement. Where is the nation willing to devote the time and money necessary for the perfection of three millions of negroes? Will Old England? No. Will New-England? No. They may both be ready to sacrifice both the whites and blacks of the south on the altar of false humanity, but neither will stretch out his hand to offer substantial aid in the cause.

I must bring this hasty letter to a close, but hope I have said enough to make apparent the paramount importance of *negro statistics*. If the blacks are intellectually inferior to the whites—if the whites are deteriorated by amalgamation with the blacks—if the longevity and physical perfection of the mixed race is below that of either of the pure races, and if the negro is by nature unfit for self-government, these are grave matters for consideration. These conclusions I solemnly believe to be true, and that full investigation will only tend to confirm them; and I may add, that my conviction is the result of much personal observation and careful perusal of every work of note on the natural history of man in the French and English languages.

The negroes have attained a greater moral and intellectual elevation—greater physical development and longevity, and incomparably more happiness, in our slave states, than they have ever enjoyed under any other circumstances. Every feeling of humanity, then, and every motive of policy, should bid us handle gently a question of such extreme delicacy. We have yet no light to guide us safely in a change; and as we know that the southern people are responsible to God alone for their sins, and that it is his hand at last that rules the destinies of nations, it would be better, far, to leave this question to the slow but certain work of time and experience. (Mobile, Ala.)

PHYSICAL AND MORAL CONDITION OF BLACKS, NORTH AND SOUTH.*—We have lately taken some pains in examining the reports of 1845, 1846, and 1847, of the *Prison Discipline Association*, kindly furnished us at the office in New-York, in the hope of finding statistical information which might be of value in con-

* By the Editor.

nection with the subject of the above article; but, unfortunately, the same fault may be found with these reports as with all others, that they do not sufficiently discriminate between black and white. However, such facts as we could gather, after a search of a thousand pages, we present. They pertain as much to the morals as the longevity of northern negroes.

MORTALITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

Penitentiary.

Years.	Whites, per cent.	Blacks, per cent.
1830	4.19	0.
1831	4.18	10.02
1832	1.44	13.52
1833	1.11	0.
1834 .....	.8	6.68
1835	1.26	4.61
1836 .....	.99	6.74
1837	3.	6.49
1838	2.92	11.80
1839 .....	.81	4.62
1840	3.88	8.02
1841	1.97	4.61
1842	1.41	9.03
	<hr/> 27.24	<hr/> 86.14
	2.09	6.62

City.

1821	2.31	5.92
1822	2.39	4.65
1823	2.96	5.71
1824	2.85	5.71
1825	2.36	3.70
1826	2.48	3.82
1827	2.11	5.29
1828	2.29	4.81
1829	2.27	4.22
1830	2.20	3.68
	<hr/> 24.22	<hr/> 47.51
	2.42	4.75

"It will be perceived," says the report of 1845, (from which this table is taken,) "that these numbers are to each other in the proportion of 1 to 1.96. That is, out of 1,000 of each color residing in the city, 196 blacks die for every 100 whites; and for every 1,000 of each color in the Penitentiary, the astonishing number of 316 blacks to every 100 whites. Returns from the Philadelphia County Prison, for the last ten years, show that out of 101 deaths in that establishment, 54 died of consumption. Of these, 40 were colored, and 14 white."

In the Wethersfield Penitentiary, from March, 1841, to March, 1844, the average of deaths was 2.82 for whites, 10.96 for colored.

Eastern Penitentiary, Pennsylvania, for three years, ending 1843, 1.85 per cent. deaths, white; 6.63 black. In the Philadelphia prison, for ten years, ending 1845, white prisoners, 1,179; black, 1,089; deaths, white, 1 in 46; black, 1 in 12. The whole admission of convicts in the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, from October, 1829, to December, 1845, was 2,054, of which 692 were black, or about one third! This frightful immorality and crime of the black population will be understood when it is reflected how small a proportion of the population of Pennsylvania, or even of Philadelphia, it embraces. Extraordinary as it may seem, in 1840 very nearly 140 per cent. of the inmates of the same prison were colored! "Perhaps," says Dr. Ginon, the physician in charge, in his report, "the most striking feature is the great disproportion between white and colored deaths—a disproportion that has engaged the attention and sympathy of some of our most enlightened and benevolent citizens, and given rise to various hypotheses. If my experience, &c., justify, I would say, without hesitation, it is owing entirely to their utter neglect of the necessary means of preserving health, extreme sensuality, &c. This opinion I believe myself in possession of sufficient facts to substantiate," &c.

In 1845, Matthew L. Bevan, Esq., President of the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, adverts again to the subject: "The increase of deaths comes from blacks. This increase of mortality is found in the fact that those colored inmates from the county of Philadelphia, are so constitutionally diseased, as under any and all circumstances to be short-lived, from their character and habits. They die of constitutional and chronic disorders, which are general among their order, owing to the privations they undergo, and the want of proper attention in infancy, and their peculiar mode of living." Mr. Bevan concludes: "Indulging in the use of ardent spirits, subjected to a prejudice, which bids defiance to any successful attempt to improve their physical or moral condition, from youth to manhood, sowing the seeds of disease in their constitutions, and at last becoming inmates of prisons," &c.!!!

These sad and mournful pictures from a city like Philadelphia, where the blacks might be supposed as favorably situated as freedom could make them, are worthy of deep contemplation. If, after a period of so protracted freedom, their condition has, so far from improving, sunk lower and lower, beyond measure lower than in any city where the institution of slavery exists, it would seem full time for blind and raving sentimentality to come to its senses, and let alone what it is incapable of meddling with without mischief. If, however, the "equality" of the negroes north, south, and east is the point, degrade

the southern, or, what is the same thing, as Philadelphia shows, *free them, and you have the desired result.*

We introduce a few more facts from the Prison Discipline Reports. In the New-York Penitentiary, 1846, there were 788 whites, 96 blacks, or 1 in 8. The blacks in New-York do not exceed, if they equal, 1-50 of the whole population. In the City Prison the blacks were about 20 per cent., or 1 in 5½. The reader will understand what is the relative proportion of black and white population in the city of New-York. At Sing Sing, 1846, there were 854 inmates, of which 193 (1 in 4½) were black. One seventh of the commitments of that year were black. Of the committed, 400 were intemperate—110 being blacks. Number of deaths in prison among blacks, in 1846, were 29—4 being of consumption, and 7 rheumatism.

Dr. Welch, in his report of 1844, says: "It also appears from the records of the State Prison of Connecticut that, since the commencement of the institution in 1828, *half of the deaths have been among the blacks, amounting to 5.40 per cent., whites, 1.07 per cent.*" He also refers to the authority of Dr. Nott, of Mobile, in support of his opinion that *the blacks of the north possess "less vitality than the whites."*

We regret that our data at this moment are so incomplete. They, however, present some food for reflection. One might think that our friends and fellow-citizens at the north would have enough to do to look after the condition of their own affairs, instead of troubling themselves with ours. We do not envy them their occupation in either case.

NEGRO SLAVERY.—THE ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND PROSPECTS OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES, &c.—Whatever definition may be given to slavery, or by whatever laws it has been conceived necessary to regulate it, nothing can be more clear than that the *personal* character of the slave, or his rank as an element of population, distinguishes entirely the relation, and that the idea of *property* is a subordinate one, *sui generis*. and in but a limited degree analogous to what is usually understood by that term in its technical sense. Property gives the absolute power and control, not only *over*, but *in*, the subject, without any limitation or restraint, except so far as the rights of others shall not be interfered with. It exists by my will, and I may change, alter, or *destroy* it. No such power is, or perhaps ever has been, claimed or exercised over the slave, since the Christian world first abandoned the barbarous doctrine that an infidel was not entitled to the rights of a human being.

The power which the master exercises over a slave is far more analogous to that exercised upon an indentured apprentice than to any power claimed over a mere chattel. The

apprenticeship may be as *involuntary* as the slavery in its incipency and continuance, and very often is. The apprentice and the slave are both for a term of years, the one being for a lifetime. The master's power, in both instances, extends to the entire regulation and control of the person, and the absolute enjoyment of his labor. In both instances is he responsible to the law for an abuse of power. The obligations of the master are identical in kind, though not in degree—support, or support and instruction. In either instance there is room for much kindness and much tyranny.

The analogy between the slave and the apprentice fails in these respects, that the master may at any time transfer to another his right in the personal services of his slave, and has the same disposing power over his offspring born during slavery. It is evident, however, that these are not *necessary* and characteristic elements of slavery, any more than the absence of a transferring power is necessary in apprenticeship. The master's obligations to the slave are not personal to him, are not founded upon any particular skill which may be peculiar, but may be performed by any of the human family. He has been at the whole expense, care, and concern of raising and providing for the offspring of the slave during infancy and childhood, and has a well-established claim to be reimbursed. The child is but naturally substituted to the parents. The consideration is a clear one which the slave receives; and, should one pretend that it is inadequate, he will have enough to do to travel the world over in search of the labor which meets with an adequate consideration.

The truth is, the power of the master over the slave is only that of controlling his labor, and he is entitled to use all the means necessary for that purpose. Without inquiring into the foundation of the right, it is evident that this power of the master no more affects the individual and personal character of the slave, than that of the capitalist, all the world over, and especially in the great manufacturing towns of England, over his operatives. It is idle to pretend that the labor of the latter is not as imperiously bowed down and controlled by the sternest dictates of necessity, and without the hope of change or improvement, as that of the former. The English master has the absolute power over the bread—the life of the laborer, and that of his children; how much more over his labor!

As persons, then, and population, we proceed to consider that whole class, in our country, not embraced under the head of free white citizens and "Indians untaxed." We shall trace the history of their introduction, their progress, their relations, and their numbers. Having concluded this branch of the subject, we shall proceed to discuss the qualified right of property which is maintained over them, showing its foundation and extent, its expe-

diency and necessity. These matters are too important to be passed over in times like these. It is necessary that we all clearly and fully understand them. It will be thus seen we have opened before us the subject of slavery in all its aspects, political, civil, religious, historical, and economical.

The first attempt to introduce negro slaves within the United States was in 1645, by a citizen of Boston, and it was not until 1670 that the first cargo of African slaves were brought to Virginia, by a Dutch vessel, and sold. The increase in that colony was at first very slow. In 1671, Sir John Yeamans introduced slaves into South Carolina, from Barbadoes, almost coeval with the establishment of the colony. The increase in this class, by propagation and immigration, was very rapid, doubling, before long, the number of the whites. Maryland, also, in 1671, passed a law for "encouraging the introduction of negroes and slaves."

From this period, the introduction of slavery became general in all the American colonies, increasing by natural means and by the slave-trade, so long as that was permitted, and since, by the ordinary augmentation of population.

At the period of the first census of the United States, in 1790, we find that slavery existed in all of the states and western territories, except Massachusetts and Maine, which were at that period united. In Massachusetts, however, exist various early laws in regard to slavery. In 1691, the general court decreed, "that there shall never be any bond-slavery, &c., among us, *unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, or such as willingly sell themselves, or are sold to us, &c., provided this exempt none from servitude who shall be judged thereto by authority.*"*

In 1703, a duty of £4 was laid upon every negro imported into Massachusetts.† The same year, we find a law of the general court, relating to mulatto and negro slaves, *prohibiting their manumission*, without previous security that they should not afterward be at the charge of the colony, and all other manumission to be void.‡ In 1735, the number of blacks were 2,000; whole population, about 50,000. In 1763, the blacks were 5,000; whites, 240,000. What portion were slaves we are unable to say, though it was judicially declared, after the revolution, in Massachusetts, that slavery was virtually abolished by the constitution of the state.*

The census of 1790 showed 697,697 slaves in the United States, or nearly 17.76 per cent. of the whole population. The free colored were 59,466, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; the free negro and slave population together, being about one

fifth of the whole. In those states where slavery has been subsequently retained, the proportion was, of course, largest, being about 35 per cent., or one third. In South Carolina, the proportion of slaves was most considerable of all, being 43 per cent., or nearly one half; in Tennessee the proportion was least, being 9.6 per cent., or one tenth. The proportion of *free blacks* was largest in Rhode Island, 3,407, or one twenty-third, and in Delaware, one fifteenth. In Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, they were one seventy-fifth, and in Maryland, one fortieth of the whole population. Virginia had 1.70 per cent., South Carolina, .07 per cent., of *free blacks*.

The census of 1800 showed 893,041 slaves, and 108,395 free colored—being a proportion in the former of 16.83 per cent., and 2.05 per cent. in the latter. Thus was exhibited a *decline in the proportion of slaves to free whites* of .73, or nearly 1 per cent., and an *increase in the proportion of free negroes* of .54, or $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The proportion of whole colored to whole white had lost .39, or $\frac{1}{3}$ of 1 per cent. The increase of slaves in ten years had been 27.96 per cent., being $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less than the increase of whites; the increase in free colored being 82.28, more than twice as great as that of the whites. The increase of whites was, of course, greatly affected by immigration, that of the free colored by emancipation. The slaves lost by emancipation, and gained by a few importations still from Africa, perhaps equally. Their increase may thus be considered a *natural* one. The colored population of the New England states increased in ten years but 9 per cent.; the same population in the south increased 33.4.* In all the slave states the proportion of slaves was 35 per cent., being a white gain; the slaves, from being somewhat more than a third of the whole population, became somewhat less. South Carolina still continued to show the largest proportion of slaves, 42.3, showing at the same time a slight decline. Delaware showed the least, 9.6 per cent. The free blacks of New-England had increased about 33 per cent., while the slaves there had lost 60 per cent. Now, either the black population of New-England, or the slave portion of it, had been sold to the southward, or it exhibits the *lowest* increase known to our population.†

The census of 1810 indicated 1,191,364 slaves, and 186,446 free colored; an increase in the slaves of 33.40 as against 27.96 in the previous ten years; of the whole colored, 37.58 against 32.23. To account for this enlarged increase, it must be remembered that Louisiana had been purchased with slaves and colored, and that Africans were continually imported up to 1808. The increase of whites,

* Ancient Charters and Laws of Massachusetts Bay, Boston, 1841, p. 53.

† Collection Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. iv., p. 196.

‡ Ancient Charters, &c., Massachusetts Bay.

§ Kent, vol. ii., Com. Slavery.

* Mississippi territory excluded.

† See Tucker on the Population of the United States.

owing to immigration, was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. greater than that of slaves, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ less than that of the free blacks. In this ten years, the whites gained very slightly upon the slaves, and the whole colored population gained upon the whites. In the slave states the free colored gained 1 per cent. The slaves gained also, and, from a little less, had become a little more than one third. The increase of blacks in New-England exceeded 7 per cent., being a loss of 2 per cent. Their increase in *slave* states was nearly 35 per cent.—a gain of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent. The proportion of slaves to whites is still highest in South Carolina, 47.3. having gained 5 per cent. Louisiana stands next, 45.3; then come Mississippi, Georgia, and Virginia.

The census of 1820* showed 1,543,688 slaves, and 238,197 free colored, an increase in the slaves of 29.57, being nearly 2 per cent. more than the increase of the ten years ending 1800. The whole colored increase was 29.33 per cent. against 37.58; free colored, 27.75 against 72 per cent. The white population gained 1 per cent. on colored, the same on slaves; the free colored gained one tenth of 1 per cent. The falling away of the increase of slaves was owing to many elopements of this class during the war, &c. In the slave states the free colored had remained stationary, and the slaves had gained nearly 1 per cent.; the whole colored had gained on the whites $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., nearly. The increase of blacks in New-England was still about 7 per cent.; at the south, 30 per cent. The proportion of blacks in South Carolina remains highest, 51.4, having gained 4 per cent. In Louisiana, 45 per cent.; Georgia and Mississippi, 43 per cent. The free blacks to whole population have declined in Louisiana, Missouri, and Georgia, an average of near 2 per cent., but increased in all the other slave states except Delaware; in no instance, however, more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and in some instances, a mere fraction.

The census of 1830 included 2,009,043 slaves, and 319,599 free, an increase in the slaves of 30.75, being an augmented increase of 1 per cent.—in the whole colored, 31.37; also an increased increase of 2 per cent.† The white population gained slightly on the colored, and the colored on the slaves. The free colored in slave states increased one tenth of 1 per cent.; the slaves gained $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the whole colored had again gained on the whites. The blacks have actually lost 16 in New-England, whereas at the south they have gained 527,533, or about one third of the original number. The proportion of

slaves has, in ten years, increased 3 per cent. in South Carolina. In Mississippi, 5 per cent., and are 48.1 of the whole population. In Louisiana they were 50.8, an increase of 5 per cent. The free blacks increased in Maryland, District of Columbia and Delaware, 2 to 3 per cent.; in Kentucky, 1 per cent. In other states, trifling losses or gains.*

By the census of 1840, it appeared there were 2,487,350 slaves, and 386,348 free colored persons in the United States, an increase in slaves, in ten years, of 23.81; of free colored, 20.88; a decline in the increase of this population of 13.97 and 6.94 per cent. Professor Tucker argues a very great error somewhere. Though free blacks have emigrated to British provinces, and slaves have been carried to Texas, the numbers were not sufficient to affect, in any degree, the result. The whites have hence gained largely upon the colored, supposing the returns correct, and the free colored have diminished in their ratio of increase. The latter have declined, in proportion, in the slave states, as also have the slaves; the last, in extent, more than one half per cent. The proportion of slaves has increased in South Carolina, and is still largest. In Mississippi it is fifty-two per cent.; in Louisiana it appears to have lost two per cent., being now less than half. In the southern states, the free blacks have ceased to increase with the same ratio; the proportion in Louisiana remains largest, being seven per cent. of the whole population. Virginia comes next. The blacks of New-England increased six per cent. in ten years; those of the slave states, twenty-six per cent.! By this census it appears that every state returned slaves, except Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Michigan. By the last census, Massachusetts and Vermont only were excepted.

We have thus traced the progress of slavery in the United States, from the first introduction of the institution down to the completion of the census of 1840. The decennial enumeration to be taken the present year, 1850, and hereafter, will show something like the following, supposing the ratio of increase of slaves and free blacks to be preserved:

	Slaves.	Free Blacks.	Total Slave and Free.
1850†....	3,059,441	463,617	3,523,058
1860.....	3,763,112	556,340	4,319,452
1870.....	4,628,627	667,608	5,296,235
1880.....	5,693,211	801,129	6,494,334
1890.....	7,002,649	961,355	7,962,004
1900.....	8,613,258	1,153,626	9,766,884
1910.....	10,594,307	1,384,351	11,978,658

It is possible the free blacks may increase

* 1820 is compared with 1810, so as not to allow the calculations to be affected by the purchase of Louisiana.

† The returns are corrected for two months, as the census was taken in a different month.

* Florida had been purchased.

† See the actual returns of this census under heads POPULATION—UNITED STATES.

in a greater, and the slaves in a less ratio, without affecting the sum total of increase of the two classes. A diminution in the increase of slaves may result from frequent emancipation, from emigration from the country—but this must be very inconsiderable—or from a lower degree of productiveness, the result of lower physical comfort, diminished valuation, and less industrial uses, &c. We see no reason to allow much for the operation of these causes within the next half century, and may safely estimate ten millions of blacks and colored in the country at the close of it.

It is also clear, from our investigations, that no state, or class of states, can be more responsible than another for the introduction and extension of the institution of slavery in the Union. The results show, too, that, in a condition of freedom, the blacks of New-England have been situated most unpropitiously, as indicated in their trifling increase of numbers—unless we suppose they have passed southward, as general emancipation was expected, or took place in this quarter. Taking the whole Union into account, whatever the merits or demerits of the institution of slavery, ours is but a small share of responsibility for its continuance, and none for its introduction.

The history of slavery carries us back to the origin of society itself. It was found in the earliest advanced nations of antiquity. To attribute its derivation to war is absurd; for, admitting *servus* to be derived from the Latin *servare*, (to preserve a captive,) slavery, we know, was old before Rome had been founded. Perhaps the most curious and ridiculous position is that taken in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, that it originated among the antediluvian giants, whose name implied as, saulters of others. Nimrod, according to the same authority, was one of its authors—since the Bible tells us he was a mighty hunter before the Lord! To such stuff are authors driven in maintaining their favorite theories.

The fact is, that, immediately after the deluge, we have a decree of God himself, condemning the children of Ham to perpetual servitude, using the very Hebrew word which translators render *slave*. After a few generations, slavery is referred to as a well-established institution—for Abraham, the patriarch, had 318 slaves. (Gen. xiv.) The laws of God strictly regulated this relation in all its aspects, and his own peculiar people were *commanded* to buy slaves from the heathen, and not to steal them, and instructed how to treat them after they were bought, &c.*

It is said that the heathen, taking advantage

of this mild slavery, tolerated by God, established a much worse kind among themselves. However this may be, and it is not improbable, many of the Jews, also, abused the institution, as they did other laws; we may well affirm that slavery presents no worse aspect in the civilized nations of the present day, than it did among the Hebrews.

In *Homer*, one of the oldest historians extant, there is abundant evidence that all captives were considered slaves; and Ulysses relates his escape from a Phœnician, who had doomed him to Lybian slavery. Thus have we the slave trade at that early period. Philip of Macedon sold the captive Thebans, in which example he was followed by his son, Alexander the Great. In Athens, during the most polished ages, slavery was a well-established order, although it is said that slaves were treated with more leniency than among other nations. In Rome and Sparta the worst features were exhibited. The Spartans butchered their slaves, when, by reason of great numbers, they would likely become dangerous. Camillus, one of the most accomplished generals of the Roman republic, sold his Etrurian captives to pay the Roman ladies for the jewels they had presented to Apollo. Fabius sold 36,000 citizens of Tarentum to the highest bidder. Julius Cæsar did the same with 53,000 captives. Even debtors were allowed, by the twelve tables, to become the slaves of their creditors. So numerous were the slaves owned by the rich patricians, that Isidorus, who was almost a cotemporary with our Saviour, left to his heirs 4,116 slaves; and Augustus put 20,000, of the same class, on board the corn ships. Though many laws were enacted by Augustus and other patriotic emperors, says the British Encyclopedia, to diminish the power of creditors over their insolvent debtors—though the influence of the mild spirit of Christianity tended much to meliorate the condition of slaves, even under Pagan masters, and though the emperor Hadrian made it capital to kill a slave without a just reason, yet this commerce prevailed for many ages, universally, in the empire, after the conversion of Constantine to the religion of Christ. It was not completely abolished even in the reign of Justinian; and in many countries, which had been once provinces of the empire, it continued long after the empire had fallen to pieces.

Among the ancient Germans, gamblers often became slaves from play, and slavery is said to have existed extensively, though in a mild form, according to Tacitus. In England, in the age of Alfred the Great, (tenth century), purchases of men, horses, and oxen are mentioned in the same statute. In 1574, Queen Elizabeth issued a commission to inquire into the condition of her bond men and women in Cornwall, etc., with a view of compounding with them for their freedom. The

* Dr. Cartwright once told us, that one of the crimes denounced in the Bible is denominated by a term which means, literally, *slave stealers*, (abolitionists.) We forget in what connection the term is used; perhaps in reference to Tyre.

colliers and salters of Scotland were not manumitted until the close of the eighteenth century. These men could be transferred by written deed from proprietor to proprietor, and were in no respect privileged without such deed.

We have not mentioned Egypt, where Joseph was sold to slavery, and where, in that condition, the Israelites existed four hundred years. The Scythians established slavery throughout their northern wilds. Babylon, Tyre, and all the countries around Palestine, had slavery as one of their institutions. The "wrath of Achilles" was a quarrel about a slave. "In early Grecian republics, slavery seemed to be an indispensable element. The slave markets of Rome were filled with men of every complexion and every clime." After the conquest of the Normans, slaves were exported from England into Ireland, until the Irish themselves decreed their emancipation. On the Baltic, the Germans conducted the slave trade, and the Russians supplied slaves to Constantinople by way of the Dnieper. Even the word slave is derived from the Slavonic tribes, who were reduced to slavery in their wars with the Germans. The Jews purchased slaves in France for the Saracens. The Arabians are said to have pawned their children to the Italian monarchs. The Venetians purchased slaves at Rome for the Arabs of Spain and Sicily. In the time of the crusades, three slaves were the price of a war horse. In the countless battles of the Moors and Christians, the captives were indiscriminately enslaved in the worst form. Christians regarded it a pious work, and the infidels retaliated through the pirates of Barbary.

On the discovery of America, the native Indians were imported into Spain as slaves. All the rivers of the country were penetrated for this commerce, which was effected through fraud and force. Even Columbus sent five hundred such slaves to be sold at Seville. This traffic is said to have continued two centuries. The New-Englanders enslaved the Pequods, the Waldrans and the Annon Indians, and they even sought Indian slaves from the southern provinces.* The colonists were supplied with white servants from England by a class of men called "spirits," who deluded them away and sold them in England, as well as in this country, under the hammer. The Scots taken in battle were sold to slavery, the royalist prisoners, and the Catholics of Ireland. The prisoners of Monmouth were eagerly sought as a merchantable commodity. Jeffries, the famous judge of James II., considered these prisoners as worth "ten or fifteen pounds apiece." †

In regard to African slavery, it appears first to have taken deep root in Africa itself, though it is clear, from modern researches, that this people were held in slavery by the Egyptians, as proved by their monuments. The Africans, at no period of history, were devoid of slavery among themselves. They traded slaves to the Tyrians and Carthaginians. Slavery, says the Encyclopedia, seems indeed to have prevailed through all Africa, from the very first peopling of that unexplored country; and we doubt if in any age of the world the unhappy negro was absolutely secure of his personal freedom, or even of not being sold to a foreign trader. The African princes were in the habit of destroying thousands of their prisoners, before an opportunity offered of selling them. The Guinea coast supplied the Arabs with slaves hundreds of years before the Portuguese embarked in the traffic. The Arabs of the desert have always been served by negro slaves. In 651, the king of Numidia promised an annual present of Ethiopian slaves to the Arabs of Egypt. Negro slaves were found in Greece, [Bancroft.] In 1100, they must have been uncommon in Europe, for we learn the crusaders burst into laughter on seeing some negroes in Asia, so comical was their appearance. It appears, however, the Portuguese, fifty years before the discovery of America, found the "trade in negro slaves, having curled hair," very profitable. The Spaniards vied with them in the trade at Seville. Isabella excepted the Moors or negroes of Africa, from the act emancipating the Indians of America.

Queen Elizabeth was so delighted with the success of John Hawkins's slave operations in America, that she became a partner in his monopoly, sharing his gains and protecting him in his worst enterprises.

The early history of slavery in the United States we have already given. (See Thornton, 26th and 27th pages, for the Quaker and Yankee participation in it.) The West India Company sent slaves to New-York by thousands. The Stuarts, and even Queen Anne, patronized the traffic. Amsterdam participated in its results in her corporate capacity. Pennsylvania maintained that it was "neither just nor convenient to emancipate her slaves," and Rhode Island, the greatest of all the slave traders, "doubted if slaves should be baptized, as then they might become free."

It is well known how the introduction of slavery was forced upon the south, and how long resisted. The northern country even declared that no person should own in the colonies land at all, unless he would purchase at least four negro slaves to every hundred acres!

* See Thornton's "Slavery," and the authorities there cited, p. 21.

† See the stirring but disgusting picture of the scene, when peers and dignitaries and favorites, male

and female, importuned the King for the privilege of disposing of these prisoners, and the success which attended them, in Macaulay's History of England.

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